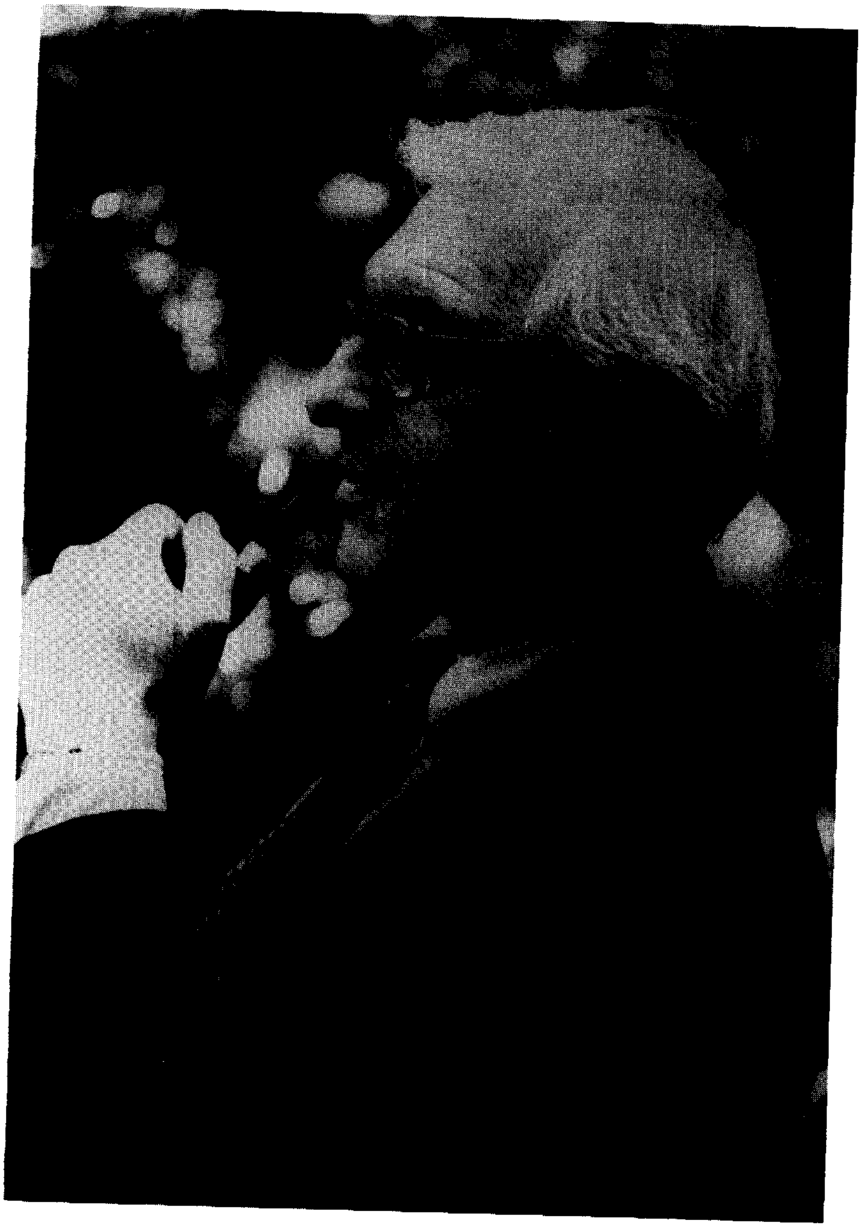


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IHOR ŠEVČENKO

HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

OKEANOS

Essays presented to
IHOR ŠEVČENKO
on his Sixtieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

Edited by
CYRIL MANGO and OMELJAN PRITSAK
with the assistance of
Uliana M. Pasicznyk

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Preface

It is not an easy task these days to find an original title for a *Festschrift* honoring an eminent scholar. In the case of Ihor Ševčenko — a scholar of Renaissance caliber, given the breadth and depth of his sallies into several disciplines — the choice came surprisingly quickly.

Professor Cyril Mango and I chose *Okeanos* in the belief that a volume honoring a remarkable Byzantinist should have reference to an unusual Byzantine work. What we had in mind specifically was the well-known Codex 388 of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, described in an old catalogue as "a big book entitled Okeanos." This "Okeanos," which consists of 981 folia, is a kind of encyclopaedia, embracing on the one hand the physical sciences and on the other — and this was decisive for us — excerpts from important literary, philosophical, and theological works. Professor Psephtogas suggests that the work was compiled by disciples of Theophanes Eleavulkos, a scholar of the sixteenth century.* This extremely rich and varied manuscript contains 304 lemmata and gives a good overview of Byzantine literary production. Many Byzantine authors that Ihor has studied, including such masters as Nikephoros Blemmydes, Theodoros Metochites, and Nikephoros Gregoras, are represented in it. The curious may wish to be told that "Okeanos" was also the title of a lost work by a certain Patrikios Araraios (or Ararsios), of whom nothing appears to be known.**

But why publish this *Okeanos* as a volume of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*? There are good reasons to do so. Christian Rus'-Ukrainian culture came into being as an offshoot of Byzantium. In the Kievan and Galician-Volhynian periods of Rus'-Ukrainian history, the majority of literary and clerical books produced were translations or adaptations from

* Basile Psephtogas, "Le codex du monastère Iviron, dit ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ," *Cyrillomethodianum*, vol. 5 (Thessaloniki, 1981), pp. 135-145.

** *The Synodicon vetus*, ed. John Duffy and John Parker (Washington, D.C., 1979), p. 24.

Byzantine Greek. Even original works, such as the Rus' chronicles, can be fully understood only with reference to Byzantine literary production. The same can be said with regard to the Ukrainian religious and cultural rebirth of the sixteenth to eighteenth century.

Ihor Ševčenko was invited to join the Harvard faculty at the time that the foundations for Ukrainian studies were being laid at the University. When the Ukrainian Research Institute was founded in 1973, Ihor was named its associate director. Hence from the very outset of its activity the Institute profited from his expertise and counsel. This has helped Ukrainian studies to develop as an academic field of inquiry and to avoid being overwhelmed by ethnicity.

In the spring of 1982, I suggested to the associate editors of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Professors George G. Grabowicz and Frank E. Sysyn, that an anniversary volume be dedicated to our mentor and colleague Ihor Ševčenko. Having received their enthusiastic support, I presented the matter to the members of the Committee on Ukrainian Studies, where I again found approbation. At this point it became clear that such a volume could not be planned or edited without the collaboration of a leading Byzantinist. I was very fortunate to find an expert and devoted co-editor in Professor Cyril Mango of Exeter College, Oxford, who is not only one of the world's foremost Byzantinists, but also a personal friend of Ihor's and of mine.

The present volume, which has attracted the participation of leading Byzantinists from around the world, reflects the current state of Byzantine studies. This should help Ukrainists orient their own work on the Rus'-Ukrainian religious and cultural experience. It is also very satisfying that this excellent collection, which contains a number of relevant contributions, appears on the eve of the millenium of Ukrainian Christianity, which will be marked in 1988.

Professor Mango and I are grateful to the fifty-three contributors in the various fields of Byzantine studies who have enriched *Okeanos* with their work, be it in philology, history, literature, or art.

Ihor's wife, Nancy Ševčenko, helped us plan the volume from the very outset. We turned to her often for advice, and thank her for giving it so generously and soundly.

Uliana M. Pasicznyk saw the manuscripts that arrived from around the world through to publication. Brenda D. Sens retyped contributions needing repair. Ihor's students Miroslav Labunka, Jeffrey Featherstone, Sophia Georgiopoulou, Cynthia Stallman, and Thomas Cerbu

assisted with organization and with proofreading. Nina Pritsak also read proof. Olga K. Mayo informed the scholarly community about the appearance of *Okeanos* and handled subscription correspondence. Anthony Bryer of the Centre of Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham and Susan Boyd of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies provided their help. Larisa A. Trolle has assisted in distributing the volume. To them and to other unnamed friends and admirers of Ihor's this volume owes much of its success.

A generous subsidy from the Jarema S. Kurdydyk Trust of the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc., and the contributions of the donors listed on the *Tabula gratulatoria* have helped to finance the volume. Its oversize will, it is hoped, please *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* subscribers, who now have a unique opportunity to delve into the Byzantine world.

Professor Ševčenko was presented a mock-up of his *Festschrift* on the day of his 60th birthday, 10 February 1982, at a gathering of colleagues, students, and friends. The official presentation of *Okeanos* took place at Harvard University in October 1984.

OMELJAN PRITSAK

Ihor Ševčenko as a Byzantinist

It is tempting to explain the pupil by reference to his master, and no one will deny that there are many points of resemblance between Ihor Ševčenko and Henri Grégoire: a solid classical background, an uncommon gift for languages, an ability to make brilliant conjectures (hence a shared interest in epigraphy), a concern for stylistic elegance, a love of debunking accepted myths and also (dare I say it?) a multiplicity of enthusiasms that have prevented both men from writing big books. I am sure that when the time comes to compare the achievement of these two remarkable scholars, Ihor's contribution will be found by far the more lasting. It is enough to set side by side Grégoire's intrepid assault on the *Vita Constantini*, which failed because of insufficient preparation, and Ihor's demolition of the *Toparcha Gothicus*, which, for all its humor, is based on an enormous apparatus of thorough and far-ranging scholarship.

The comparison with Grégoire, useful as a point of departure, soon breaks down. It is not only that Ihor prepares his ground very carefully, with an almost obsessive attention to detail, whereas Grégoire relied on the inspired guess; Ihor has also explored fields that his master had paid little attention to, in particular that of manuscript studies. His massive contribution to our knowledge of the Palaeologan period (much of it conveniently reprinted in *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium*) is very largely based on the exploitation of manuscripts and the publication of previously unedited texts. There is also in Ihor's writings an element of reflection, of philosophical speculation that I do not find in Grégoire — "The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of its Intellectuals" being a good case in point. Lastly, Grégoire was often plain dotty and Ihor has never been that.

The bibliography contained in this volume shows how many aspects of Byzantine studies Ihor has touched upon, and it would be tedious to enumerate them all. Fortunately, the list is not closed. We may confidently expect his new edition of Theophanes Continuatus and an important contribution to the study of Byzantine inscriptions. I hope he will also give us the results of his long-lasting preoccupation with the

Cyrillo-Methodian problem, *vu de Byzance*. Dare we ask for more? For my part, I would be glad to enter a plea for a book on Byzantium and the Slavs and perhaps another on Byzantine hagiography, or at least a long and thoughtful article on each.

I fear I must end on a somewhat melancholy note. Persons of my generation have been led to believe that scholarship always advances and, in a certain sense, Byzantine studies are on the move: there are more Byzantinists in the world than ever before, and their combined output far exceeds the powers of a single individual to digest. Scholarship, however, is not so much the accumulation of ascertainable facts (important as they are) or the use of trendy techniques (more often than not unhelpful) as the application of intelligence and knowledge to making those facts meaningful by establishing connections. How many of our younger Byzantinists have even a fraction of Ihor's knowledge, not to mention his intelligence? If I ask this question, it is in the light of a very recent experience. At an international colloquium which I shall not name a very worthy scholar read what was doubtless a very worthy paper on reference signs in Greek manuscripts. Ihor got up to comment. He pointed out that he, too, had been studying those reference signs for many years and that about a dozen of them in manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries were identical to letters of the Glagolitic alphabet. This remark should have generated a good deal of excitement, but no one in the audience appeared to understand its implications. Are we advancing?

CYRIL MANGO

Ihor Ševčenko as a Byzantino-Slavicist and Historian

What makes Ihor Ševčenko a unique scholar in the vast field of Byzantino-Slavic studies? The question could have a score of answers. Certain to be among them are his astounding philological knowledge of Church Slavonic idioms — Moravian, East European, Balkan — paired with an extraordinary expertise on Byzantino-Slavic ideas, terms, idioms, and tropes. These Ihor sees within the spectrum of universal history and through the prism of the history of ideas. All his studies benefit from an intimate and comprehensive knowledge of both the Byzantine and the Slavic manuscript traditions, which allows him to consider aspects from the palaeographical to the art historical.

Byzantino-Slavica as a discipline begins with study of the mission to the Slavs of the brothers Cyril and Methodius from Thessalonica in the ninth century. There is hardly an aspect of this subject that Ihor has not addressed — from the social background of the father of Cyril and Methodius, the source of the unusual (for Byzantine Greeks) spirit of equality with which the brothers conducted their mission, and the origin of the Slavic (i.e., Glagolitic) script that they created, to the quality of their literary output, the models for the make-up of the earliest Glagolitic manuscripts, and the artistic influence received by the Slavic Balkans from South Italy.

Political ideology has always been a crucial factor in shaping man's history. This was especially true in pre-modern society, both in the West and in the East. A Byzantine "mirror of princes," allegedly from the times of Justinian I (sixth century), had an unprecedented career as a transmitter of political thought. The emerging Kievan intelligentsia included excerpts from an Old Church Slavonic translation of it in Prince Svjatoslav's *Izbornik* of 1076. Centuries later, in 1628, during the rebirth of Rus'-Ukrainian culture, it was retranslated into Slavic and published in Kiev by the prelate (later metropolitan) Peter Mohyla.* The tract also

* "The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla" is the title of one of Ihor's most recent studies, to appear in the Spring 1984 issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, devoted to the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

provided Muscovite bookmen with the rudiments of a political ideology. In 1509, soon after printing was invented in Western Europe, the same tract also appeared there. Its *editio princeps* was published in Venice in the Greek original and in Latin translation. The pamphlet was greeted with exceptional enthusiasm by the nascent West European reading public, from erudites to princes, and became one of the most widely read books of the epoch. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it appeared in at least 61 editions and translations.

It took Ihor Ševčenko to trace the remarkable career of "Agapetus," this "mirror of princes" that traveled from Byzantium to Kiev and then to Western Europe over several centuries.

I cannot mention here all the many other topics that Ihor has studied with similar detective skill, but one subject that I personally am very grateful he investigated is the diffusion of Byzantine scientific and pseudo-scientific knowledge among the Orthodox Slavs.

In 1969 Ihor wrote a historiosophical essay in which he characterized two varieties of historical writers: "the brightly colored butterfly flitting about over a flowerbed" and "the crawling caterpillar whose worm's eye view covers the expanse of a single cabbage leaf"—in other words, the vivid historian versus the technical. The year A.D. 1450 was taken to be the usual divide between the interests and work of these two types of historians.

Since Ihor's historical work focuses on Byzantium prior to its demise in 1453, he would seem to belong in the caterpillar category, an *erudit* who has "mastered the auxiliary sciences and who meticulously polishes his copious footnotes." Nevertheless, while conducting very specialized palaeographical or epigraphical research, he never loses sight of the universal cultural and historical context and always explains his discoveries in terms of their contribution to mankind's knowledge as a whole.

If we are to characterize Ihor's creativity in terms of his own simile of fourteen years ago, we must conclude that Ihor is that rarity, a butterfly who is at once his own caterpillar.

OMELJAN PRITSAK

The Bibliography of Ihor Ševčenko

compiled by

MIROSLAV LABUNKA

The compiling of another author's bibliography is an interesting and rewarding experience for the compiler, for in the process it is possible to discern much about that author himself — his personality and his intellectual development. The themes and topics chosen for study and research over the years, their relation to subjects and geographical areas, the languages applied in research and writing — all add up to a composite picture of the author.

The very first entries in the bibliography of Ihor Ševčenko seem to reveal the particular interests, directions, and even methodological preoccupations of the future scholar. Listed as the first entry is the translation into Polish of an excerpt from Voltaire's *Le siècle de Louis XIV* done when Ihor Ševčenko was a sixteen-year-old student at an academic high school (*gymnasium*) in Warsaw, Poland. The translation shows that the young student was trying to learn about an historical event (the conquest of Flanders by Louis XIV) through and with the help of an original text on the topic. Most of the subsequent titles in the bibliography bear witness to the preoccupation of Ihor Ševčenko — classicist, polyglot scholar, and historian-Byzantinist — with original source material, that is, official documents and literary tracts. These are the medium through which he has studied historical personages, events, and, especially, cultural trends in the Byzantine and Slavic worlds. His bibliography reveals also the multi-faceted personality of a scholar who feels equally at home in the Byzantine past and in present-day society. His comments on the cultural, political, and socioeconomic problems of contemporary societies — both Western and East European — confirm this. Thus, Ihor Ševčenko's bibliography is a quite truthful reflection of his biography.

* * *

Entries in the bibliography are arranged chronologically and comprise the years 1938-1983 (with three entries for 1984). Under each year items

appear in the following order: monographs, articles or parts of monographs, reviews, obituaries, and miscellaneous publications. Under each individual entry additional information is given when appropriate: contents, references to subsequent editions, translations, or reprints. Listed under *Rev.* are reviews and notes on the given entry; not included are reviews and notes of which Ihor Ševčenko's contribution is only a part (e.g., collective monographs or issues of serial publications) and bibliographical entries with short notes. Every effort was made to be comprehensive, but it is probable that some reviews have escaped my notice. Listed under *Disc.* are works of authors discussing a work by Professor Ševčenko in their own writings. Writings about Ihor Ševčenko himself have not been included.

It is impossible to compile an individual's bibliography successfully and comprehensively without turning to the author himself for occasional help. Professor Ševčenko was most understanding in this respect, and I express my sincere thanks to him.

La Salle College

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annals	= *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*
AB	= *Analecta Bollandiana*
BS	= *Byzantine Studies / Études byzantines*
Bsl	= *Byzantinoslavica*
Byz	= *Byzantion*
BZ	= *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
DOP	= *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
HSS	= *Harvard Slavic Studies*
HUS	= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
HZ	= *Historische Zeitschrift*
JÖB	= *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG	= *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
OCP	= *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OKS	= *Ostkirchliche Studien*
RÉB	= *Revue des études byzantines*
RÉG	= *Revue des études grecques*
RÉSEE	= *Revue des études sud-est européennes*
RHE	= *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
Sc	= *Scriptorium*
SEER	= *Slavonic and East European Review*
SOF	= *Südostforschungen*
SRI	= *Studii. Revista de istorie*
Sp	= *Speculum*
SR	= *Slavonic Review*
Viz Vrem	= *Vizantijskij vremennik*
Zb Rad	= *Zbornik Radova Srpske Akademije nauka, Vizantološki institut*

1938

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Von der Liebe zu den Byzantinern

HANS-GEORG BECK

Bekanntlich nennen die Franzosen das, was wir als Geisteswissenschaften bezeichnen, in der Regel »les humanités« und die Engländer sagen dazu »humanities«. Unterschiede in der Terminologie sind wohl nicht allzu wichtig, solange man weiß, wovon man spricht. Trotzdem beneide ich unsere Nachbarn gelegentlich um ihre Terminologie; denn sie läßt weniger leicht als der Exklusivanspruch auf Geist unseren wissenschaftlichen Ausgangspunkt vergessen, insofern er längst vor jedem Bemühen um rationale Abstraktion liegt: jene ganz konkrete, wenn man so will, existenzielle Bedarfslage, bei der jede Frage nach unserer Herkunft, unserem Dasein und dem Sinn unseres Daseins ansetzt. Sie läßt uns wohl auch weniger leicht vergessen, worein all unser Fragen münden sollte: da wohl, wo die Konvergenz noch so vieler Serien schlussfolgernden Denkens und genialer Abstraktionen wieder umschlägt, umschlagen muß, in jenes Concretum, von dem es seinen Ausgang genommen hat; wo sich fernab von jeder Floskel und jedem intellektuellen Schnörkel gebieterisch die Frage aufdrängt: Wozu denn das Ganze und was hat der Mensch als Mensch davon? Menschliches Wissen will ja doch von sich aus den Rahmen der Ratio immer wieder sprengen, und zu den Geisteswissenschaften gehört schließlich nicht nur der Geist sondern der ganze Mensch mit seiner Erkenntniskraft, gewiß, aber doch auch immer wieder — ob man es sich nun eigestehen will oder nicht — mit seiner Kraft zu hassen und seinem Vermögen zu lieben. Will man dies nicht sehen, so ist meines Erachtens eine dürftige, dürre Wissenschaft die Folge; und ich habe den Verdacht, daß die geringe Attraktivität moderner Geisteswissenschaften nicht zuletzt auf ein bedauerliches Defizit an Erotik zurückzuführen ist. Dies natürlich nur in unverbindlicher Parenthese und auf die Gefahr hin, mißverstanden oder doch zu Gottfried Benn's »alten Seelen mit dem stimmungsvollen Gemüt« gezählt zu werden.

Immerhin haben wir Aurelius Augustinus auf unserer Seite: »Nosse amantis est«, — was man ohne Zweifel auch übersetzen kann mit »Man

muß lieben, wenn man erkennen will«. Die Einwände gegen eine solche Maxime sind bekannt: Liebe macht blind, sie macht voreingenommen und sie verzerrt die Tatsachen. Man weiß dies alles. Aber es gibt gewiss auch eine kritische Liebe, eine Liebe, die keinen Abstand verwischt. Und es gibt eine nachsichtige, eine mitleidende, eine betroffene Liebe, und nicht nur Liebe rein um ihrer selbst willen.

Doch lassen wir dies zunächst auf sich beruhen, um zum Thema zu kommen, zur Liebe zu den Byzantinern. Wer liebt sie schon? Und umgekehrt: Was tun diese hochmütigen Byzantiner schon, um unsere Sympathie zu gewinnen oder wenigstens den Byzantinisten, der sich ihnen widmet, vor Überdruss und Langeweile zu retten? Die Antwort ist nicht leicht, und vermutlich müssen wir Augustins Wort zunächst einmal umkehren in ein »Amare noscentis est«. Man müßte diese Byzantiner einmal besser kennenlernen, bevor man an Liebe denken kann. Sie kennenlernen ist allerdings mit Anstrengung verbunden. Nicht nur daß das formale Wissen um einiges über die Kaiserin Theodora und das Kolorit der Ikonen hinausgehen müßte; man müßte auch den Mut haben, unsere eigene Welt, aus der wir unsere Wertkategorien beziehen, gründlich zu verfremden, und den Mut darüberhinaus, über die arroganten Allüren mancher Nachbarfächer Byzanz gegenüber einfach die Nase zu rümpfen.

Daß die alten Vorurteile der Aufklärung gegenüber Byzanz verschwunden wären, ist eine holde Täuschung; sie werden nur besser mit entwaffnender Naivität garniert. Mit anderen Worten: Man tut gut, zunächst einmal daran festzuhalten: Byzanz ist dekadent. Darüber sind sich die Gelehrten eben doch seit Jahrhunderten einig, und die Folgerungen, die daraus gezogen werden, sehen heute nur deshalb etwas anders aus, weil um die vergangene Jahrhundertwende Männer wie Gustave Morau, Odilon Redon und Joris Huysmans die Bezeichnung »Décadents«, mit der man sie als entartet charakterisieren wollte, für sich als Ehrenname in Anspruch nahmen, als Bezeichnung für ihre höchst verfeinerten Ansprüche an sich selbst und an ihre Welt und ihre Zeit. Im geläufigen Sinne des Wortes ist aber Dekadenz immer noch eine Verfallserscheinung gegenüber einer Epoche und deren Kultur, die im nachhinein als Klassik bezeichnet wird. An dieser Begriffsbestimmung wird Byzanz gemessen, und es sind die Klassizisten, die es messen.

So ist Byzanz dekadent in seiner Sprache, einem Griechisch, das immer wieder die goldenen Regeln der antiken Grammatik in den Wind schlägt und mit einer Syntax hantiert, die jeden begnadeten Schulmeister das Gruseln lehren kann; dekadent in einer Literatur, die keine eigenen

Gedanken mehr vorbringt und vom Plagiat der Klassiker lebt; dekadent in einem kulturellen Gehabe, das sich mit antiken Versatzstücken umstellt und in dieser zusammengewürfelten Inszenierung armseliges Provinztheater spielt; dekadent in einer politischen Theorie, die immer noch glaubt, eine kontingente Staatsform metaphysisch begründen zu können und sich obendrein absurd römisch gebärdet; und dekadent nicht zuletzt in Religion und Theologie, die sich in klappernden Formeln und im Zauber der Riten erschöpfen.

Dies ist gar nicht so wenig an handfester Dekadenz. Und ich denke nicht einmal daran, diese Vorwürfe zu widerlegen. Nur halte ich es für voreilig, auf all diese Vorwürfe zu antworten, indem man nun Byzanz endgültig verachtet. Diese byzantinische Dekadenz hat ja so überraschend viel gemein mit unserer eigenen, unleugbaren Dekadenz in Sprache und Literatur, in Politik und Theologie — Gebiete, auf denen wir uns kaum weniger liederlich bewegen und mit denen wir kaum weniger liederlich umgehen als die Byzantiner auf ihrem Feld. Das aber heißt: Schon hier könnte so etwas wie brüderliche Verständnisinnigkeit entstehen, wo Liebe gar nicht mehr abseits steht. Doch dies möchte ich nicht vertiefen, denn man sieht es nicht gern, wenn Alt- und Mittelalterhistoriker Verbindungslinien zur Neuzeit ziehen wollen, so als bewege sie Futterneid gegenüber der Zunft der Soziologen. Sehr viel wichtiger scheint mir die Feststellung, daß dieser byzantinischen Dekadenz meines Erachtens ein besonderer Charme eignet — ein etwa hilfloser und pflegebedürftiger Charme; aber neben dem Charme auch besondere, nicht weniger pflegebedürftige Valeurs. Menschen und Größen wie Perikles oder Caesar haben uns im Grunde längst nicht mehr nötig. Perikles hat seinen Thukydides, und kein Althistoriker ist diesem wirklich gewachsen. Caesar hat sich selbst und kommentiert sich selbst; und er hat eine nicht enden wollende Folge von Pennälern, denn «Gallia omnis divisa est...». Sein Andenken wird so durch dick und dünn aufrechterhalten. Luther braucht uns nicht mehr; er steht fest in Erz und Stein und kann gar nicht anders. Bismark aber fürchtet bekanntlich Gott und sonst nichts auf der Welt, nicht einmal seine modernen Kritiker. Ohne Ironie wird selbst heroische Geschichte geschmacklos.

Der Dekadenten aber sollten wir uns annehmen. Auch sie haben etwas geleistet — und mit Plagiat und geistigem Diebstahl ist es so eine Sache. Bleiben wir zunächst einmal bei jenen antiken Versatzstücken, von denen ich gesprochen habe. Ein Vergleich mit einem Kapitel spätantiker Architekturgeschichte kann vielleicht behilflich sein: Ich meine die Wiederverwendung älterer, klassischer Werkstücke

in gleicher schmückender oder struktureller Funktion bei einem neuen Bauwerk, für das diese Werkstücke keinesfalls geschaffen waren — mit anderen Worten das Phänomen der sogenannten »Spolien«, was so viel bedeutet wie Raub- oder Beutestücke. Man kann das Phänomen interpretieren und hat es interpretiert als die wahllose, unüberlegte Übernahme von altem Material, eben weil es gerade herumlag und wenig Kosten verursachte; und dies durch Architekten und Bauherren, die von sich aus gar nicht in der Lage waren, Neues und Gleichwertiges zu schaffen, zum Teil wohl aus Gründen künstlerischer Insuffizienz. Inzwischen hat man freilich sehen gelernt, daß bei aller wirtschaftlichen Notwendigkeit, auf alte Werkstücke zurückzugreifen, ihre Verwendung durchaus überlegt und nach künstlerischen Prinzipien erfolgen konnte und auch erfolgt ist. Mit dieser neuen Verwendung entstand unter Umständen ein ganz neuer ästhetischer Reiz — ein Reiz, bestehend vielleicht in der unerwartet ansprechenden Stilmischung, in der überraschenden Wechselwirkung zwischen vollendeter alter Form und einer scheinbar kunstlosen, aber — wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf — vielversprechenden neuen Umgebung, in die sie mit unverkennbarem Sinn für Qualität hineinkomponiert wurde.

Übertragen wird diese »Spolientheorie« auf die byzantinische Literatur und nehmen wir zu diesem Zweck einen beliebigen, wissenschaftlich, d.h. kritisch edierten Text. Sofort fallen uns auf jeder Seite umfangreiche Apparate auf, die den Text am unteren Rand begleiten. Da ist selbstverständlich der sogenannte kritische Apparat, d.h. der Apparat der Textvarianten, und da ist der sogenannte Apparatus fontium, der Quellenapparat, der fein säuberlich sämtliche Spolien nachweist, die aus älteren, klassischen Autoren stammen. Hier findet man z.B. vermerkt, daß der Text in Zeile zwei und drei in der Substanz sich schon bei Aristoteles findet, die Metapher in Zeile vier aus Platon stammt und die poetische Wendung in Zeile sechs an Pindar anklingt. Und immer und immer wieder werden Anspielungen oder Reminiszenzen an Homer und nicht minder häufig an die Bibel festgestellt. So kann es über Hunderte von Seiten fortgehen, worauf sich der geneigte Leser, schon gar nicht mehr geneigt, die Frage stellt, ob dem byzantinischen Autor selbst denn überhaupt nichts eingefallen ist, und ob er ausschließlich vom Plagiat lebt. Man soll den Editoren und ihrem Fleiß nichts Abträgliches nachsagen. Sie haben sich redlich bemüht und haben Legitimes geleistet. Sie sind, um es anders auszudrücken, Editoren und keine Literarhistoriker oder Kulturhistoriker. Aber man sollte gelegentlich eine Gegenprobe riskieren, und dies bedeutet, etwa einen modernen deutschen

Text derselben Folter unterwerfen. Träfe man dann auf das Wort »Weltschmerz«, wäre im Apparatus fontium Jean Paul als Gewährsmann zu zitieren, bei »europamüde« Heinrich Heine. Ibsen hätte natürlich für die »Stützen der Gesellschaft« geradezustehen; Bismark wäre für den »Linksruck« verantwortlich zu machen, aber auch für »Civilcourage« und für den »Luxus einer eigenen Meinung«, um nur einiges aus Tausenden von Fällen zu nennen. Und immer wieder würden wir in einem solchen deutschen Text auf die Bibel stoßen, etwa mit einem »Aug' um Aug'«, mit »die Leviten lesen«, mit der »Lammsgeduld«, mit dem Wort »Skandal«, mit dem »Abschaum der Menschheit«, dem »toten Buchstaben« und selbst noch mit den »diestbaren Geistern«. Ebenso oft aber erschiene im Apparatus fontium auch die Antike: die »nackte Wahrheit« etwa, oder der »seltene Vogel«, die »goldene Mitte«, das »zweite Ich«, die »schöne Seele« und das »Lächeln der Auguren«. Jedenfalls könnte ein Apparatus fontium zu einem Stück moderner deutscher Literatur uns durchaus klarmachen, wie sehr wir mit unserer täglichen Sprache und Schreibe in einer langen Tradition stehen, wieviel von dem, was wir formulieren und womöglich für unseren eigenen Einfall halten, längst vor uns formuliert worden ist. Wir geben uns nur selten darüber Rechenschaft, und die Editoren deutscher Texte scheinen auch nicht darauf zu achten. So ergibt sich dann der missliche Eindruck, daß die byzantinische Literatur dekadent ist, weil fleißige Byzantinisten ihr erbarmunglos die Quellen nachgewiesen haben, aus denen sie schöpft, während unsere Literatur natürlich nicht dekadent ist, weil man ihr diesen Nachweis gütig erspart hat.

Doch was soll dies? Es fällt uns ja längst nicht mehr ein, in einem solchen Zusammenhang Jean Paul zu »zitieren« und das Zitat zu verheimlichen. Solche Formulierungen sind ganz einfach unser Besitz; wir denken selten daran, die Frage zu stellen, woher wir ihn haben. Wir denken dabei an gar nichts, jedenfalls nicht daran, uns mit klassischen Federn zu schmücken. Nach allen Grundregeln historischer Gerechtigkeit müßten wir doch Byzanz ähnliches zugestehen. Ein Unterschied dürfte gegeben sein: Die Byzantiner bedienten sich der ererbten Formulierungen wahrscheinlich bewußter als wir, und dies schlicht deshalb, weil ihr Quellenbestand unendlich viel beschränkter war als der unsrige. Einer solchen größeren Überschaubarkeit entspricht auf der anderen Seite ganz naturgemäß ein schärferes literarisches Gedächtnis. Dies aber bedeutet zugleich, daß im Gegensatz zu unseren »punktuellen«, isolierten Reminiszenzen aus älteren Autoren dem Byzantiner der Zusammenhang immer noch gegenwärtig sein kann, und daß ferner den Byzantinern jene

schäbige Zitierweise »... wie schon Goethe sagte ...« kaum geläufig werden konnte. Jedenfalls wird ein Zitat nicht deshalb ohne weiteres zum Plagiat, weil es noch bewußt gebraucht wird, und nicht deshalb ohne weiteres zum Original, weil man seine Herkunft vergessen hat.

Die Zitierweise der Byzantiner hängt wohl mit einem spezifischen Geschichtsbewußtsein und einem spezifischen Meister-Schüler-Verhältnis zusammen. Das berühmte »autos epha«, »ER hat es gesagt«, das in den Schülerkreisen des Pythagoras üblich gewesen sein soll, ist nichts Vereinzeltes. Das Wort des Meisters als Inbegriff geistiger Energie bleibt für die ganze Antike verbindlich. Besonders deutlich wird dies in der Welt des alten ägyptischen Mönchtums. Immer wieder kommt ein Novize oder auch ein älterer Mönch zu einem alten bewährten Wüstenvater und bittet ihn: »Vater, gib mir ein Wort!« und der Zusatz — ausgesprochen oder nicht — lautet: »damit ich gerettet werde«. Und wenn er dann das Wort bekommt, ist es selten ein Wort der Heiligen Schrift, dem ohne weiteres Heilswirksamkeit eigen wäre. Es ist zumeist das Wort persönlicher geistlicher Erfahrung und heilswirksam deshalb, weil der Wüstenvater begnadeter Geistträger ist. Vom christlichen Dogma her ist die sakramentale Kraft eines solchen Väterwortes nicht zur Genüge erklärbar. Diese Kraft steht vielmehr in einer Tradition, die weit in die heidnische Antike zurückreicht, wo das poetische, d.h. schöpferische Wort noch als die göttliche Gabe der Musen verstanden wird, das der Dichter nur weitergibt. Damit nun hängen ganz spezifische byzantinische Vorstellungen von Geschichte zusammen. Man hat nicht den Eindruck, daß sich die Byzantiner für den faktischen Ablauf ihrer Geschichte nachdrücklich interessiert hätten. Die geringe handschriftliche Überlieferung der großen byzantinischen Historiographie könnte in diesem geringen Interesse ihre Erklärung finden. Ernsthaft aber ging es ihnen um den gehorteten, gehäuften und gepflegten Besitz der Weisheit ihrer großen Männer, gleichgültig ob aus der heidnischen Antike oder dem frühen Christentum; d.h. Geschichte bestand für sie in der formulierten moralischen Summe der Vergangenheit, — daher denn ihr besonders gepflegtes Verhältnis zum Historiker und Moralisten Plutarch. Mit diesem Besitz erleben sie ihre Geschichte und leben sie ihre Geschichte, darin identifizieren sie sich mit ihr. In diesem Besitz besteht aber auch die Summe ihrer Bildung und ihr Heil. Daraus zitieren ist nicht etwas Unverbindliches, wie das Vorzeigen alten Familiensilbers, vielmehr Bekenntnis zu einer verpflichtenden Tradition, Aktualisierung eines gleichbleibenden Ethos und erneuter Anlauf zum Weiterbau an einer gültigen Welt. Um auf unseren Vergleich zurückzukommen: die

Spolien werden funktionsgerecht und damit zugleich ästhetisch überzeugend eingeordnet. Man bedient sich ihrer nicht, weil sie frei verfügbar in der Gegend herumliegen, sondern weil sie, auch noch als Spolien, überzeugen.

Damit ist es aber auch schon ausgesprochen: es geht hier nicht um rein konservierende Denkmalspflege; es geht vielmehr um Neubau und Weiterbau. Der Dekadente, auch der dekadente Byzantiner, mag nicht kreativ sein. Was bedeutet schon Kreativität? Ist sie mehr als eine Hyperbel, wo doch noch niemand etwas aus dem Nichts geschaffen hat? Wie immer — jedenfalls verstehen sich die Dekadenten aufs Spiel, insbesonder auf das Spiel der Variation mit all den Spielelementen, die sie geerbt haben. Variation ist ja schließlich das Grundelement all dessen, was man mißbräuchlich menschliche Kreativität nennt. Dieses Spiel besteht für den Byzantiner im Vergnügen, eine Pointe in allen Farben schillern zu lassen und sie so bis zur Neige auszukosten; in der Lust, jeden Satz in eine rhythmisch wohl überlegte Kadenz ausschwingen zu lassen, hier leise an Homer zu erinnern und dort an Platon, ohne das Zitat garzukochen, weil man die Imagination des Hörers oder Lesers nicht gängeln will und ihr darüberhinaus immer noch etwas zutraut.

In diesem Spiel ist aber ohne Zweifel auch System, und das eigentlich bestimmende Spielelement, womit am liebsten hantiert wird, ist — so mein Eindruck — die Metapher, — Metapher allerdings nicht oberflächlich verstanden als abgekürzter Vergleich — der Held, ein Löwe —, aber auch nicht im allerengsten Sinne, wie der Begriff in der Lehre von der Redekunst seinen Platz hat, sondern begriffen als »Tropus«, als »Transfer« in jeder Richtung. Es geht um jene semantischen Übertragungen, durch welche an Stelle eines im natürlichen Satz- und Sinnzusammenhang stehenden Wortes ein anderer Begriff gesetzt wird, der die ontologischen Grenzen aufhebt. Metapher etwa im Sinne Georg Christoph Lichtenbergs, der gesagt hat: Jede Metapher ist klüger als ihr Verfasser, und im Sinne Johann Georg Hamanns, für den jede Metapher ein kleines Mythus ist: eine Welt, in welcher der Rang materieller Gesetzmäßigkeit in der wahrgenommenen Wirklichkeit keinen sehr bedeutenden Platz beanspruchen kann und »die Kraft, in nicht-materiellen Zusammenhängen zu leben« noch ungebrochen ist. Das Bild, das für etwas steht, hat noch nichts vom verblassten Stilmittel, sondern steht noch im alten ontologischen Bezug. Es ist jenes Feld der Gleichsetzung, wo Wein eben Blut ist, weil es sonst kein Abendmahl gäbe; wo das Einhorn notwendig vorausgesetzt werden muß, weil anders die aggressive Gefährlichkeit sowohl wie die essentielle Gefährdetheit einer jungfräulichen

Welt Gedankenspiel bliebe. Im »Physiologus«, jenem spätantiken Buch, das hintergründige Kunde vom »Logos« aller Naturerscheinungen versprach, in der spätantiken Mythendeutung und nicht zuletzt in der typologischen Exegese der Bibel fand der Byzantiner, vor allem, wenn er zum Meisterwerk der großen Rede ansetzte, die Möglichkeit, einen Kosmos aufzubauen, ein Welttheater zu inszenieren, in dem nichts, was jemals Wert war, verloren ging. Jeder Heros der Gegenwart hat sozusagen sein Totem; die alten Götter im Hintergrund scheinen zu schlafen, aber immer wieder flackert für einen Augenblick ihr Leben auf und, wenn auch nur schemenhaft, bekommt die Natur dadurch eine eigenartige mythische Zwielichtigkeit. Der große Name der Antike feiert Urständ im Helden der Gegenwart, ohne sich mit ihm zu identifizieren, aber ihn wie ein »Daimonion« begnadend, herausfordernd, ja wohl auch bedrohend; antike Fabelwesen treffen sich mit Heiligen des Alten Bundes, und die Heiligen des Neuen Bundes nehmen sie bei der Hand und führen sie in ein neues, letztes Sion, das nur Byzanz heißen kann.

Ein elitäres Glasperlenspiel, wie es wohl Hermann Hesse vorschwebte, als er Byzanz unter den Ahnen seines Spiels nannte. Und wie Hesses Spiel ist es voller Irrlichter, fragwürdig immer wieder und seiner selbst nicht ganz sicher. So versteht es sich, daß der Klassizist nur wenig damit anzufangen weiß: Hier wird zu viel verschoben, arrangiert und transponiert! Die Klassik, jene Klassik wenigstens, die uns von den Klassizisten verpasst wird — (um echte Klassik zu schonen) — lebt von strengen und harten Regeln. Ihre Grammatik hasst den Anakoluth und hasst die Ausnahmen; sie erlaubt kein Allotria und kein Bäumchenwechseln. Das Spielfeld, auf dem sich die Dekadenz tummelt, kann sie nur verachten und es liegt ihr nichts an der unleugbaren scheuen und nostalgischen Bewunderung der Décadents. Wer um Liebe zu Byzanz wirbt und damit das Privileg genießt, ohnedies nicht ernst genommen zu werden, darf es offen aussprechen: Es hat den Anschein, als hätten die Klassiker ihr eigenes Werk vollendet objektiviert, so daß es mit ihnen selbst kaum noch etwas zu tun hat, immunisiert gegen jede Art von Decouvrierung und, arrogant, nur noch Bewunderung fordernd. Die Klassiker brauchen niemand mehr — es ist schon angedeutet worden — und sie sind sich ihrer selbst sicher. Gerade dies aber sind die Dekadenten nicht: Unsicherheit ist eines ihrer wesentlichen Charakteristika. Der Klassiker steht da und kann nicht anders. Der Dekadente kann leider immer auch anders und ist kaum festzulegen. Dies im besonderen ist es, muß es sein, was man ihm immer wieder zum Vorwurf machen wird: Eine gefährliche, jedenfalls unsolide, wenn nicht unlautere Wendigkeit in allen Stilformen

und erst recht in allen Charakterrollen, eine Schwäche für Prunk und Plüsch auf der einen Seite und — im selben Atemzug sozusagen — für den blutleeren, sentimental-dürren Pinselstrich auf der anderen Seite: stilistische Unfängigkeit also und Charakterschwäche obendrein. Muß es das bedeuten? Kann diese Wendigkeit nicht einfach die, wenn auch noch so vorläufige, Abkehr von einer Einstellung bedeuten, die ihren eigenen subjektiven Typ bedenklos zum Maß aller Dinge erklärt? Diese Abkehr bedeutet, oder kann bedeuten, ein sich Öffnen für alle Undeutlichkeiten und Vieldeutigkeiten einer Welt, die klassischer Eindeutigkeit immer mißtraut hat, weil ihr Eindeutigheit zu abstrakt ist. Stilistische Unsicherheiten, ja scheinbare Verwilderung sind die Begleiterscheinungen, die in Kauf zu nehmen sind. Die Unsicherheit ist kaum etwas anderes als die logische Folge aus der dauernden Inkohärenz der Herausforderungen, denen sich der Dekadente täglich zu stellen hat — fleurs du bien, fleurs du mal! Verwilderung aber kann mit jenem Brachliegen zu tun haben, das noch keinen Boden geschadet hat. Manchmal sieht dies alles aus wie munteres Spiel, dessen der Klassiker nicht fähig ist, weil er dem Leichtsinn mißtraut — einem Leichtsinn, der aber nahe verwandt ist mit anmutiger Melancholie und ironischer Gefaßtheit, die in die Nähe der Bankrotterklärung rücken kann, zum Eingeständnis der Unfähigkeit, mit der großen Form noch zurechtzukommen, und zum Zweifel zugleich, ob diese große Form denn überhaupt noch angebracht ist. Fast immer verrät dieses Spiel den Willen zum Leben und zum Überleben: nicht immer den Mut dazu, wohl aber den Willen zum Mut, die Ärmlichkeit der Umwelt durchzustehen, mit Würde und nicht ohne Anmut, ja nicht einmal abgeneigt, den Abschied mit einem letzten Sonnenstrahl der Klassik zu vergolden, so wie es Paul Verlaine angedeutet hat:

> ... des acrostiches indolents
> d'un style d'or où la langueur du soleil danse.

Den Preis, den der Dekadente für diesen Abschied in Würde zu zahlen hat, will er sich von niemand vorschreiben lassen, weder von der Klassik noch von den Klassizisten.

Die sogenannte Klassik, wie wir sie hier verstehen, sieht über all dies hinweg und blickt dafür heroisch in die Zukunft. Aber sie täuscht sich; sie hat keine Zukunft, denn sie will sich mit Geschichte nicht abfinden, vielmehr ihr entrinnen. Dekadenz aber ist Geschichte par excellence. Und weil sie Geschichte ist, hat sie Zukunft. Sie hat Anrecht auf unsere Beachtung und Pflege, weil ihre Zukunft unsere Zukunft ist. Sie hat ein Anrecht darauf auch um der Klassiker der Zukunft willen, die es

ohne den fragewürdigen Nährboden und Dünger der vorausgegangenen Dekadenz gar nicht gäbe.

Ein wenig Sympathie für das Phänomen byzantinischer Dekadenz, wenigstens dann, wenn sie von betroffener Seite so einschmeichelnd wie möglich dargestellt wird — viel ist dies nicht! Aber vielleicht gibt es Byzanz gegenüber so etwas wie betroffene Liebe aus einem schlechten Gewissen heraus. Schlagen wir, um dies zu verdeutlichen, das Alte Testament auf und zwar das Buch Leviticus im 16. Kapitel:

Und Gott sprach zu Moses: Sage deinem Bruder Aaron: Wenn er die Entsühnung des Heiligtums beendet hat, soll er einen lebendigen Bock herbeibringen lassen. Und Aaron soll seine beiden Hände auf dem Kopf des Bockes legen und über ihm alle Sünden der Israeliten, alle ihre Frevel und alle ihre Fehler bekennen. Nachdem er sie so auf den Kopf des Bockes geladen hat, soll er ihn durch einen Mann, der bereitsteht, in die Wüste jagen lassen. Und der Bock soll all ihre Sünden mit sich in die Wüste tragen.

Seitdem gibt es den Sündenbock. Das Ritual der alten Israeliten gehört längst der Vergangenheit an, am Sündenbock selbst aber hängt inbrünstig selbst die modernste Gesellschaft, — in die Wüste muß er nach wie vor! Nur wird kaum beachtet, was sich grundsätzlich geändert hat: Der jüdische Hohepriester hatte zuerst seine und seines Volkes Sünden, seine und seines Volkes Frevel und Fehler öffentlich zu bekennen, bevor sie dem unschuldigen Bock aufgebürdet wurden und er in die Wüste gejagt werden konnte. Heute ist der Bock selbst der Sünder; es sind pure Unschuldslämmer, die ihm nicht etwa ihre sondern seine angeblichen Sünden (die in Wirklichkeit eben doch ihre sind!) aufs Haupt laden. Dies sollte nicht übersehen werden. Man kennt die Sündenböcke: da sind die Juden und Zigeuner, hier die Studenten, dort die Professoren, hier die Sowjets und dort die Amerikaner. Und da sind eben die Byzantiner, und dies schon seit Jahrhunderten.

Wie war es doch zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge? Das Kreuz auf der Schulter, mit Ablässen gesegnet und das Schwert in der Hand zog man im Namen der Erlösers aus, um den Ungläubigen jenes Land abzunehmen, in dem Christus gelebt hatte und gestorben war. Die Pervertierung der religiösen Idee, die damit verbunden war, wird noch klarer, wenn man die Teilnehmer mustert. Gewiss sind viele ausgezogen aus religiöser, wenn auch falsch verstandener Inbrunst oder aus verzeihlicher Naivität; bei nicht wenigen aber trat sehr rasch purer Fanatismus in Erscheinung und eine wahre Begeisterung an Morden und Blut. Und je länger desto zahlreicher wurden die beutegierigen Bankrotteure der westlichen Feu-

dalgesellschaft, die ihr politisches Versagen kaschieren oder ihren wirtschaftlichen Zusammenbruch heilen wollten, um von jenen Ärmsten ganz zu schweigen, die von ihren Damen gezwungen wurden, zu Hause endlich das Feld zu räumen.

Man zog aus, angeblich weil Gott es so wollte, und offenbar waren die meisten, wenigstens anfänglich, davon überzeugt, angesichts ihrer schimmernden Wehr würden die Gottlosen rasch zu Kreuze kriechen und selbstverständlich ihre ganze Habe, das Heilige Land, am besten auch Syrien und Ägypten mit inbegriffen, und was es sonst noch zu finden gab, den allerchristlichsten Rittern aushändigen. Die Enttäuschung ließ nicht lange auf sich warten. Die Muslimen krochen nicht zu Kreuze, jedenfalls nicht auf die Dauer. Am Ende waren ihnen die Kreuzfahrer nicht gewachsen: immer wieder mußten sie mit blutigen Köpfen den Rückzug antreten, und schließlich kamen sie, was schlimmer war als blutige Köpfe, mit leeren Händen nach Hause zurück. Die Kreuzfahrer, jedenfalls ihre Führer, mußten wissen, warum es so kam: es war zu einem bedeutenden Teil ihre eigene Schuld, bestehend in einer sträflichen Unterschätzung des Gegners. Die byzantinischen Kaiser, allen voran Kaiser Alexios I. Kommenos, erfahren im Umgang mit dem Islam und durchaus bereit, mit den Kreuzfahrern trotz ihrer schlechten Manieren zusammenzuarbeiten, warnten immer und immer wieder. Alexios I. beschwor die ungeordneten Haufen des Eremiten Petrus, die Ankunft des regulären Kreuzfahrerheeres abzuwarten. Es half nichts und die Katastrophe ließ nicht auf sich warten. Jetzt wurde die Suche nach einem Sündenbock dringlich. Man konnte zu Hause nicht zugeben, daß man kläglich versagt hatte, weil man geglaubt hatte, alles besser zu wissen. Man konnte in der Folgezeit auch nicht von den Treueiden sprechen, die man Byzanz geschworen hatte, nur um sie umgehend zu brechen. Der Sündenbock mußte überzeugend wirken, und wer wäre überzeugender gewesen als eben die Byzantiner, ihr Kaiser und ihr Reich! Es war die »perfidia Graecorum«, die Treulosigkeit und Perfidie dieser Graeculi, von denen man schließlich gar nichts anderes erwarten konnte, bekannten sie sich doch nicht einmal zum richtigen Glauben! Die antibyzantinische Propaganda wurde ganz bewußt und sehr gekonnt in die Wege geleitet und in ganz Westeuropa eingeschärft. Päpste und Könige, Kardinäle und Bischöfe, Mönche und Chronisten beteten den Kreuzfahrern dieses Schlagwort von der perfidia Graecorum nach, und manch historisierender Schwarmgeist will das Amen zu diesem Gebet auch heute noch nicht finden.

Und wie stand es um das Verhältnis der orthodoxen byzantinischen Reichskirche zur Papstkirche des Mittelalters? Ohne Zweifel hat der christliche Osten Rom immer einen hohen Rang im Verbund gleichberechtigter Einzelkirchen zuerkannt. Der Ehrenprimat wurde nie in Zweifel gezogen, auch wenn dabei der politische Rang der alten Reichshauptstadt gewiss seine Rolle spielte. Der Osten war auch immer bereit, im Glauben der römischen Kirche eine hohe Norm zu sehen, auch wenn er darüber nie vergass, woher denn Rom die philosophische Infrastruktur seines Dogmas bezogen hatte, und nicht übersehen konnte, daß die römische Interpretation dieser Infrastruktur nicht immer die glücklichste war. Darüber aber fühlte sich der Osten noch lange nicht verpflichtet, auf sein eigenes Denken zu verzichten und, wie ein englischer Biograph John Henry Newmans, jeden Morgen auf eine römische Lehrentscheidung zu warten. Warum denn auch? Natürlich war Petrus der »Koryphaios«, das Haupt der Apostel. Aber war der Papst denn ohne weiteres der Nachfolger des Petrus als Koryphaios? Petrus also sozusagen der erste Papst? Für dieses Argument hatte Byzanz verhältnismäßig wenig übrig, wo doch Rom selbst ursprünglich seine Bischofsliste auch nicht mit Petrus begonnen hatte, sondern erst mit Linus. Doch gerade der Umstand, daß die beiden Kirchen für lange Jahre ohne sonderlichen Kontakt nebeneinander her lebten, kam Rom zustatten: ungestört durch Byzanz konnte es ein Suprematiedenken entwickeln, das dem Osten fremd bleiben mußte. Die frischbekehrten Völkerschaften des Westens, gestern noch Barbaren, und auch nach der Taufe ohne kirchenrechtliche Kenntnisse und vor allem ohne kirchenpolitische Erfahrung, die bald die Mehrheit im päpstlichen Juridiktionsbezirk bildeten: — diesen konnte die päpstliche Suprematie unschwer mundgerecht, ja gelegentlich sogar attraktiv gemacht werden. Und wo weltliche Herren nicht ohne weiteres mitziehen wollten, halfen Kaiser- und Königskronen nach, die Rom nicht ungern vergab oder wenigstens in Aussicht stellte. Was Wunder, wenn sich im Westen die Überzeugung festigte, alle Formen dieser Suprematie seien göttlichen Rechts und darum auch für die Kirchen des Ostens bindend. Aber es gab für Byzanz keinen Grund, sich solchen Neologismen anzuschließen, noch dazu, da das theologische Beiwerk, das der Westen mitlieferte, zum Teil gefälscht, jedenfalls aber zu dürftig war, als daß es auf die Byzantiner sonderlich Eindruck gemacht hätte. Doch Rom hatte vom Lotos gefälschten Kirchenrechts schon zu viel gegessen und war nicht mehr willens einzulenken. Als dann ein unbedarfter und unbeherrschter byzantinischer Patriarch in der Auseinandersetzung um die Grenzen seiner

Jurisdiktion in Süditalien rituelle Differenzen hochzupielen versuchte, holte Rom zum großen Schlag aus: Kirchenrechtliche Auffassungen taten es nicht mehr, es mußte Häresie sein. Und am besten legte man dem Sündenbock Byzanz sämtliche Häresien aufs Haupt, die sich namhaft machen ließen. So wurden im Jahre der Gnade 1054 die Spitzen der byzantinischen Kirche in den Bann getan und zusammen mit den »Valesianern, Arianern, Donatisten, Nikolaiten, Severianern, Pneumatomachen, Manichäern, Naziräern und allen übrigen Häretikern« — es gab also offenbar noch mehr! — »dem Teufel und seinen Engeln überantwortet«. Noch fast 900 Jahre später versuchte ein westlicher Theologe nachzuweisen, inwiefern die Identifizierung der Byzantiner mit diesen neun Gruppen von Häretikern gerechtfertigt war. Selbst die dümmsten Theologumena partizipieren am zähen Leben der Theologia perennis!

Einmal in die Wüste geschickt, so sieht es fast aus, sollte Byzanz auch in der Wüste bleiben, wenn es schon nicht bereit war, sich bedingungslos zu unterwerfen. Eine gewisse Aussicht auf Erfolg hatte ein Kompromiss, das die Anerkennung des römischen Primats vorsah, verstanden als eine letzte kirchenrechtliche Berufungsinstanz, aber unter voller Wahrung des rituellen und disziplinären Eigenlebens der östlichen Kirche. Aber so schwer es auch den Byzantinern fiel, sich zu einer solchen Anerkennung des Primats durchzuringen, noch schwerer fiel es den Römern, auf die Einführung der westlichen Disziplin im Osten zu verzichten. Wie hatte doch Papst Innozenz III. nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1204 seinen »Reformkurs« salbungsvoll biblisch garniert: »Translato ergo imperio necessarium, ut ritus sacerdotii transferatur, quatenus Ephraim reversus ad Judam in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis expurgato fermento veteri epuletur«. Immerhin: 1274 hatte sich Kaiser Michael VIII. Palaiologos mit dem großen und verständnisvollen Papst Gregor X. über ein für beide Teile ehrenhaftes Arrangement geeinigt und es kam zur Union von Lyon. Diese Union erfaßte zunächst den Kaiser und den bedeutendsten Teil der Hierarchie; schrittweise sollte die ganze byzantinische Kirche miteinbezogen werden. Diese Pläne waren durchaus nicht unrealistisch. Aber Papst Gregor starb allzu früh im Jahre 1276. Seine Nachfolger vermochten und wollten zum Teil auch gar nicht, was er vermocht und gewollt hatte, nämlich den König von Neapel, Karl von Anjou, im Zaum zu halten, der nur ein Ziel kannte: den Kampf gegen Michael VIII. und die Wiedereroberung Konstantinopels. Finanziert konnte ein solcher Kampf nur werden, wenn man gegen Byzanz den Kreuzzug predigte. Doch wie sollte man dies rechtfertigen, solange Byzanz mit der römischen Kirche uniert

war? Es blieb nur der Weg, diese Union bei erster Gelegenheit und koste es, was es wolle, zu sprengen. Aber Byzanz bot durchaus keine solche Gelegenheit. So kündigte man eben römischerseits ohne Grund auf — eines der schamlosesten Kapitel der spätmittelalterlichen Papstgeschichte. Zunächst wurde der Druck der Anjous auf die Päpste immer stärker, so daß diese Päpste immer neue Forderungen an Byzanz richteten. Der dortige Patriarch, Johannes Bekkos, mußte sozusagen jeden zweiten Tag neue Loyalitätserklärungen gegenüber dem päpstlichen Stuhl abgeben. Aber er gab sie tatsächlich ab! Kaiser Michael aber hielt trotz allen Drucks an der Union und an ihrer Durchsetzung beim byzantinischen Klerus fest. So sah sich schließlich der französische Papst Martin IV. bemüßigt, ohne jeden besonderen Anlaß und von sich aus Kaiser Michael Palaiologos als Förderer der Häresie und des Schismas in den Kirchenbann zu tun, in Wirklichkeit aus dem einzigen Grund, weil er nicht in die unheilige Allianz zwischen Papsttum und Anjous paßte. Nach acht kümmerlichen Jahren der Rückkehr wurde der byzantinische Sündenbock wieder in die Wüste geschickt. Rom hatte noch dazu die unverdient billige Genugtunung, daß Michaels VIII. Sohn Andronikos II. nun von sich aus die Union aufkündigte.

Doch damit ist des Sündenbocks noch kein Ende, noch lange nicht! Denn selbstverständlich haben auch die Klassizisten Byzanz in die Wüste geschickt, beladen mit dem Crimen laesae majestatis gegenüber der Klassik, obwohl sich die byzantinischen Gelehrten doch höchst klassisch gebärdeten und sich auf ihr Attisch weiß Gott was zugute taten. Aber abgesehen davon, daß sie uns nicht einmal ein »apo« mit Akkusativ ersparten, — was verstanden sie schon von Klassik? Was haben sie nicht im Laufe der Jahrhunderte an klassischer Literatur verrotten lassen, so daß wir, gäbe es nicht die Papyrusfunde, auf die kümmerlichen Reste angewiesen wären, die sie gerade noch gelten ließen. Und haben sie die Teilbereiche, mit denen sie sich noch befaßten, nicht derartig rhetorisiert und damit zur Schablone herabgewürdigt, daß darüber die intimen Valeurs der alten Literatur für Jahrhunderte verschüttet wurden und es Generationen beflissener klassischer Philologen bedurfte, bis diese Wissenschaft zu der ihr angemessenen edlen Einfalt zurückfand? Was Wunder, wenn diese Byzantiner sogar ihren Slang des 12. Jahrhunderts für literaturfähig erachteten und damit schließlich die Verantwortung dafür tragen, daß die Griechen von heute eine Art »böotischen« Kauderwelsch sprechen und sogar schreiben und sich darauf noch etwas zugute tun. Vielleicht, so vermuten selbst heute noch manche »klassisch« Gebildeten, kommen Wörter wie »nero« oder »psomi« eben doch aus

dem Türkischen! Schon vor einigen Generationen hatte man die junge Byzantinistik gewarnt: die reine Liebe zum Altertum und die pädagogische Kraft müßten verkümmern, wenn sich der Philologe auf die Abwege der neugriechischen Sprache begebe. Ein klassisches Seminar könne sich einen solchen Fehltritt keinesfalls leisten.

Eine Perfidie besonderer Art ist es, wenn man Byzanz mit dem Vorwurf des »Byzantinismus« belastet und so in die Wüste schickt. Die Würdelosigkeit jener Schicht, die auf Geist und Wahrheit eingeschworen bleiben sollte, gibt es in jedem Kulturkreis. Diese Würdelosigkeit ist in Byzanz um kein Deut größer als etwa im Frankreich des »grand siècle« oder im wilhelminischen Deutschland. Aber die Technik, diese Würdelosigkeit zum universalen Kennzeichen von Byzanz allein zu machen, es mit dieser Würdelosigkeit zu identifizieren und damit die Würdelosigkeit der eigenen Geschichte zu verfremden, sie als etwas aus der eigentlichen Würde der eigenen Geschichte auf unerklärliche Weise Herausfallendes zu bagatellisieren — dies ist die Heuchelei, welche sich mit Vorzug jene Historiker ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken erlauben, die alles daransetzen, als nationale Historiker zu gelten, denen der geringste Anflug von Nestbeschmutzung fernliegt.

Es soll kein Mißverständnis geben. Werbung um Sympathie für Sündenböcke besagt nicht, daß die Sündenböcke an und für sich nichts anderes als Unschuldslämmer sind. Auch die Byzantiner waren es nicht. Sie haben der Unvernunft, den Ränken und Eidbrüchen der Kreuzfahrer je länger desto nachdrücklicher ihre eigene, nicht gerade zimperliche Politik entgegengesetzt, auch wenn sie es nie zur Perfidie eines Bohemund von Tarent gebracht haben. Und natürlich gab es auch in Byzanz verbissene Hierarchen, die auf die Dauer grundsätzlich jedes, auch das bestgemeinte römische Angebot ablehnten, ohne die Frage nach ehrlich oder nicht überhaupt noch zu stellen. Aber sie haben nie den Stil umgedreht und etwa die westliche Kirche offiziell mit dem Bann belegt. Keine byzantinische Synode hat nachweislich je einen Papst mit dem Anathem verflucht. Das viel zitierte Vorgehen des Patriarchen Photios gegen Papst Nikolaus I. ist völlig ungeklärt, trotz aller Bemühungen Hergenröthers hier und Dvorniks dort. Daß Papst Honorius 681 als Ketzer verdammt wurde, ging nicht auf Konto der Byzantiner, sondern auf Konto einer ökumenischen Synode unter der Beteiligung päpstlicher Legaten. Verurteilt wurde Honorius zusammen mit dem byzantinischen Patriarchen Sergios, weil er von einem einzigen Willen in Christus gesprochen hatte, statt zwischen göttlichem und menschlichem Willen zu unterscheiden. Es ist verräterisch, daß in dem Augenblick, als die Diskussion um die

päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit um die Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts besonders heftig geführt wurde, die Frage nach der Häresie des Papstes Honorius die eigentliche Crux darstellte. Man tat, was man konnte, um damit fertig zu werden. Schließlich einigten sich die »benpensanti« darauf, daß Honorius die dogmatische Frage, um die es damals ging, kaum verstanden habe, dafür aber sich voreilig für eine Formulierung des Patriarchen Sergios habe gewinnen lassen. Man könne Honorius ruhig aus der Wüste zurückholen und rehabilitieren; der Infallibilität sei kein Tort geschehen. Großzügig sah man darüber weg, daß die Formel von dem einen Willen tatsächlich die Formel des Papstes und nicht die des Patriarchen war. Der Patriarch aber, der die Formel des Papstes aufgenommen hatte, verblieb in der Wüste. Die largesse d'esprit der Kirchenhistoriker zog einen tölpelhaften Papst einem häretischen vor — und die Dogmatik war salviert.

Es sei wiederholt: Der nachisraelitische Sündenbock ist in den Augen derer, die ihn in die Wüste schicken, der wahre Sünder, nicht sie selbst. Daher rührt es, daß es so schwer ist, Sündenböcke zu rehabilitieren. Manchmal freilich übernimmt die Geschichte selbst diese Rehabilitation oder zeigt wenigstens klar, welches Unheil mit diesem »Sühneritus« angerichtet worden ist. Noch einmal zurück zu den Kreuzzügen, die ja noch kein Ende gefunden haben. Die äußerst vorsichtige und zumeist sehr kluge Haltung der byzantinischen Kaiser gegenüber den Kräften des Islam nahm Rücksicht auf Gemeinsamkeiten, von denen die ungebildeten Kreuzfahrer keine Ahnung hatten und über die sie sich mit rockerhafter Rücksichtlosigkeit hinwegsetzten. Der Islam, besonders der Islam arabischer Prägung, war längst in die alte mediterrane Kulturkoine hineingewachsen, die das weite Feld zwischen Konstantinopel und Cordova, Kairo und Damaskus, Bagdad und Palermo umfaßte. Natürlich gab es immer wieder den Krieg und die sogenannte Erbfeindschaft und die ebenso laute wie harmlos-nichtssagende gegenseitige Beschimpfung im Stile agonaler Grobschlächtigkeit. Aber immer wieder fand man sich zusammen und im Grunde verstand man sich auch. Die islamischen Kalifen übernahmen durch Vermittlung hochgebildeter Syrer nicht selten mehr von antik-griechischer Bildung als den Byzantinern selbst noch bekannt war. Die chevalereske Einstellung der Grenzkämpfer auf beiden Seiten der Euphratfront schuf immer wieder ein Klima der Verständigungsbereitschaft und des Willens zum Frieden. Keine der beiden Seiten suchte den Tod um der heroischen Haltung selbst willen. Arabische Besucher in Konstantinopel fanden dort ihre Moschee vor, und mit Billigung der Kalifen arbeiteten byzantinische

Architekten an der Restauration der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem. Von all dem ist nach den Kreuzzügen nichts mehr vorhanden. Die Atmosphäre war vergiftet und blieb vergiftet bis heute. Man hatte Byzanz aus seiner Mittlerrolle verdrängt und trägt nun selbst den Schaden.

Manchmal wirkt die Rechtfertigung durch die nachfolgende Geschichte fast wie gezielte Ironie. Die Geschichte des Protokolls gibt dafür ein hübsches Beispiel ab. Im Jahre 1379 entschloß sich der byzantinische Kaiser Joannes V. Palaiologos für sich persönlich — seine Kirche versagte ihm die Gefolgschaft — das katholische Glaubensbekenntnis abzulegen. Zu diesem Zwecke lud ihn der Papst nach Rom ein. Hier aber mußte er sich so tief demütigen wie noch kein byzantinischer Kaiser. In seiner Erwartung thronte der Papst vor dem Hauptportal von St. Peter. Der Kaiser kam und näherte sich dem Papst mit dreimaligem Kniefall. Dann durfte er die Füße des Papstes küssen, schließlich seine Knie und dann den Mund. Jetzt geruhte der Papst sich zu erheben. Er nahm den Kaiser bei der Hand und stimmte das triumphale Tedeum an. Fast genau 60 Jahre später ritt der Enkelsohn dieses Kaiser, Kaiser Joannes VIII. Palaiologos, hoch zu Roß, geleitet vom Marchese von Ferrara und dessen Söhnen sowie von allen in Ferrara anwesenden Kardinälen in die Stadt ein. Der Papst, der bereits das ökumenische Konzil, das später nach Florenz transferiert wurde, eröffnet hatte, erwartete ihn im vollen Ornat vor seinem Palast. In dem Augenblick, als der Kaiser vom Pferde stieg, erhob sich auch der Papst von seinem Sitz. Beide umarmten sich, unterhielten sich eine Zeitlang und zogen sich dann in ihre Gemächer zurück. Kein Kniefall, kein Fußkuß und kein Kniekuß. Noch aber erwartete man in Ferrara auch den byzantinischen Patriarchen. Er würde abzuleisten haben, was dem Kaiser erspart geblieben war, d.h. dem Papst Fuß und Knie zu küssen. Doch Patriarch Joseph, ein alter und etwas eigensinniger Herr, dachte gar nicht daran. Die Lateiner und ihre Unterhändler argumentierten, daß sich auch die Kardinäle, ja sogar Kaiser Sigismund zu diesem Fußkuß bequemten. Doch Joseph erklärte, lieber verlasse er sein Schiff erst gar nicht und kehre er nach Venedig zurück. Jetzt gab der Papst nach: Er und Joseph begrüßten sich stehend und küßten sich auf die Wange. Allerdings — dies war die kleine Rache, die dem Papst gerade noch verblieb — erfolgte das ganze Zeremoniell nicht in der breiten Öffentlichkeit, sondern in den päpstlichen Privatgemächern.

Was war zwischen 1379 und 1438 vorgefallen? Nichts anderes, als daß die christliche Welt der europäischen Mitte und des Westens, aus der sich seit dem 8. Jahrhundert die treueste Obödienz des Papstes rekrutiert hatte, nicht mehr geneigt war, sämtliche päpstlichen An-

sprüche gelten zu lassen und im Zeichen des Konziliarismus der Kirche eine neue Verfassung verschreiben wollte. Die Päpste, Martin V. von allem und Eugen IV., mußten mit allen Mitteln versuchen, ein Gegengewicht gegen diese Rebellen für sich zu gewinnen, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß dafür nur die irrgläubigen Griechen in Frage kamen. Es ist die Zeit des Reformkonzils von Pisa (1409), das den letzten Griechen zum Papst wählte. Zum Gegenpapst, werden die Eigeweihten sagen: aber es war der Westen, der ihn wählte, und wer weiß mit voller Sicherheit zu sagen, wer damals legitimer Papst war? Es ist ferner die Zeit des Konzils von Konstanz (1414-1418), das mit dem Schisma dreier Päpste durch die Wahl Martins V. ein Ende machte. Daß diese Wahl so rasch erfolgte, war nicht zulezt den griechischen Abgesandten des byzantinischen Kaisers zu verdanken, die auf einen Papst als Verhandlungspartner drängten und nicht auf einen Haufen zerstrittener Konzilsväter. Und Martin V. hat den Griechen diese Hilfe nie vergessen. Es ist eben die Zeit von Ferrara und Florenz, jenem Konzil, auf dem die Union mit den Griechen schließlich zu einem Abschluß gebracht wurde. Papst Eugen IV. bewies bei den Verhandlungen dabei den Griechen ein erstaunliches und im Grunde unerhörtes Entgegenkommen; gewiss nicht, weil der katholische Glaube jetzt anders ausgesehen hätte als vordem, sondern weil der Papst nichts dringender nötig hatte als eine Verstärkung seiner Hausmacht, um sich gegenüber den aufsässigen Vätern des Konzils von Basel durchsetzen zu können. Dazu waren selbst die Griechen gut genug. Sie durften aus der Wüste zurück und der Papst ersetzte ihnen sogar die Reisespesen. Doch der Erfolg blieb aus: es dauert nur noch ein paar Jahre und der Türke legt endgültig seine Hand auf Konstantinopel und das ökumenische Patriarchat. Im Westen aber kommen Luther und Melanchthon, die Résistence aus dem Norden. Sie sind es, die jetzt das griechische Argument von der reinen Apostolizität der orthodoxen Kirche gegen Rom ausspielen. Und was dieses Argument in den Händen der Byzantiner selbst nie vermocht hat, das vermag es jetzt, da die Päpste selbst für den Westen zu stark gereizt haben, in den Händen der Reformer: die alte Papstkirche bricht für immer auseinander. Daß dieses besondere Argument von der Reinheit der Orthodoxie, nachdem es einmal seinen Dienst getan hatte, bald wieder fallen gelassen wurde, hat andere Gründe, die hier nicht zur Debatte stehen.

Was aber hat, um dieses Kapitel weiter zu verfolgen, das Verdikt der Klassizisten über die byzantinische Literaturpflege im Endeffekt erreicht? Kaum mehr als daß die sprachlich-literarische Entwicklung

Griechenlands um Jahrzehnte zurückgeworfen wurde. Was den Klassizisten im Westen ohne weiteres einging, daß nämlich zwischen Cicero auf der einen und Racine auf der anderen Seite ein Gregor von Tours mit seiner grotesk-charmanten Latinität einen legitimen Platz beanspruchen kann, das schien ihnen im Osten aus unerfindlich törichten Gründen illegitim, wo doch kein Grund genannt werden kann, warum die Entwicklung der Gräzität zwischen Homer und Platon legitimer sein sollte als zwischen Platon und dem Philosophen Plethon im 15. Jahrhundert. Kavafis, Seferis und Kazantzakis rehabilitieren die armen Poeten des byzantinischen 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts ebenso, wie Racine den Gregor von Tours rehabilitierte. Noch dazu müssen sich die Klassizisten jetzt sagen lassen, daß ihre großen Vorbilder, die alexandrinischen Philologen, durch die Schaffung eines Kanons des Lesenswerten ein gerüttelt Maß an Schuld auf sich luden, daß so viel antike Literatur in Vergessenheit geriet. Und sie müssen sehen, daß schon die griechische Literatur des späten Hellenismus mit jener Rhetorisierung und Schablonisierung einsetzt, längst bevor Byzanz auf den Plan trat. Sündenböcke verstehen sich aufs Überleben, und manchmal schlagen sie den Hohenpriestern der bienséance ihr Schnippchen!

Trotz allem: Es geht hier keineswegs um eine Sympathiewerbung durch dick und dünn, um ein Plädoyer für blinde Voreingenommenheit. Byzanz versteht es nicht schlecht, seine Anwälte in Verlegenheit zu bringen, ja vor den Kopf zu stoßen. Man denke nur an den ungeheuren Bildungsdünkel, der selbst angesichts der frühmittelalterlichen Barbarei im Umfeld des Reiches befremdlich bleibt. Sich selber halten diese Byzantiner alles zugute, während die übrige Welt ihrer Ansicht nach aus Barbaren und Banausen, Matrosen und Krämern besteht. Was außerhalb der Reichsgrenzen vor sich geht, wird mit Verachtung bestraft oder überhaupt nicht wahrgenommen. Nicht weniger unerfreulich ein steriler Formalismus über weite Strecken der byzantinischen Theologie; das leere Geklapper tausendmal wiederholter und nie neu durchdachter alter Formeln, die Sucht, aus Theologie nichts anderes mehr zu machen als gedankenlose Polemik, und alles zu verketzern, was nur den geringsten Ansatz intellektueller Neugierde verrät. Und wie könnte die allzu häufigen, unerfreulichen Exzesse rednischer Lobhudelei gegenüber den Machthabern Sympathie erwecken?

Vielleicht hilft es weiter, wenn man feststellt, daß diese und ähnlich befremdliche Attituden Einbrüche erleiden, — Einbrüche teilweise voller Selbstironie oder auch getragen von der Erkenntnis, wie brüchig die eigenen Ansprüche doch eigentlich sind. Vielleicht auch hilft da oder

dort ein Lächeln weiter. Was die Lobhudeleien angeht: es gab auch Byzantiner, die sich nicht dazu herbeiließen. Joannes Mauropus ist als Beispiel zu nennen, der allem Anschein nach eine Chronik unvollendet in seiner Schublade beließ. Sie war so weit gediehen, daß der nächste Abschnitt sich mit der Zeitgeschichte, d.h. mit noch lebenden Zeitgenossen hätte befassen müssen. Und schon meldeten sich diese zu Wort und verlangten, im besten Licht dargestellt zu werden. Mauropus verweigerte sich diesen Zumutungen, — der Verzicht eines Unbegüterten, der sich finanziell gewiss zu seinen Ungunsten auswirkte. Im übrigen begleitet die rednerischen Lobhudeleien das nicht zu übersehende Lächeln der Auguren. Der Philosoph, Historiker und Höfling Michael Psellos mochte im 11. Jahrhundert noch so oft den Kaiser als »roi soleil« anreden und preisen, — ein Satiriker des 12. Jahrhunderts versetzt ihn in die Unterwelt, wo er von den erlauchten Weisen der Antike als »Sophist aus Byzanz« verächtlich behandelt wird und man ihm seine Lobhudelei höhnisch unter die Nase reibt. Im allgemeinen gaben es ja die Lobredner Ludwigs XIV. oder die deutschen Schulmeister und Vereinsvorsteher der wilhelminischen Ära kaum billiger als die Byzantiner. Dafür hatte die byzantinische höfische Rhetorik ein grausiges Korrektiv, das, man ist fast versucht zu sagen: versöhnlich stimmt. Diese ausgreifende und ausschweifende Rhetorik vereinnahmt den Kaiser, bis er ihr wehrlos ausgeliefert ist. Sie tabusiert den Fürsten in einer Weise, die ihn zugleich auf höchst ambivalente Weise »anathematisiert«. Von ca. 90 Kaisern, die derart hymnisch zelebriert werden, wurde fast ebenso zeremoniell mindestens ein Drittel gestürzt und die Hälfte davon mit Inbrunst und Begeisterung hingemordet. Und die Rhetoren von gestern genossen das Schauspiel. Als Kaiser Romanos IV. Diogenes im Jahre 1071, von den Seldjuken geschlagen und von seinen Widersachern in Byzanz geblendet, den Tod erwartete, unterfing sich der genannte Höfling und Redner Psellos, gewiss am Unglück des Kaisers nicht unbeteiligt, diesem Kaiser einen rednerischen Erguß in Briefform zukommen zu lassen, worin er ihm Glück wünschte, daß er jetzt, des natürlichen Augenlichts beraubt, das überirdische und göttliche Licht nur umso klarer zu sehen begnadet sei. Hier kann weder das Grand siècle noch die wilhelminische Ära mithalten. In dem Augenblick, wo man aufhörte, die Kaiser zu blenden und hinzuschlachten, begann man auch mit ihrem Gottesgnadentum weniger glimpflich umzugehen. Kaum ein byzantinischer Redner verwechselt seine Ergüsse vor dem Thron mit Staatsrecht und Staatslehre, und gegen Ende des Reiches geht man so weit, das byzantinische

Staatsgebilde, wie jedes andere, als Ergebnis eines »contrat social« zu verstehen.

Was den Stolz der Byzantiner auf ihren kulturellen Besitz, was ihren Bildungsdünkel und ihre Abschirmung gegen Einflüsse von außen angeht, so verdichten sich diese Haltungen in ihrem besonderen Reichsbewußtsein, das ihnen eine metaphysik unterbaute Sonderstellung als auserwältes Volk sichert. Im Reichsgedanken, sichtbar dargestellt durch des Autokrators sakrosankte Majestät, findet sich auch der einfachste Byzantiner über den Alltag hinausgehoben, weil er »dazugehört«. Hier fühlt er sich gehoben und geborgen, und dies gerade dann, wenn er bewußt das Auge gegenüber der nicht-byzantinischen Außenwelt verschließt und deren Lockungen erst gar nicht an sich herankommen läßt. Daraus erklärt es sich wohl, daß selbst im späten Mittelalter die Zahl der byzantinischen Nonkonformisten, jener also, für welche diese wohnliche Geborgenheit in der eigenen Gesellschaft Selbsttäuschung bedeutet, verhältnismäßig gering geblieben zu sein scheint, gemessen an den Flutwellen des Nonkonformismus im westlichen ausgehenden Mittelalter. Aber auch in Byzanz fehlten sie nicht. Bei einer so stark von der dogmatischen Finesse der Theologen bestimmten — oder doch angeblich bestimmten — Gesellschaft, kann jede kleine Abweichung vom Katechismus als Nonkonformismus gedeutet werden. Gesellschaftlicher Nonkonformismus aber unter theologischer Verkleidung war gefährlicher. Dazu aber zählte alles, was von offizieller byzantinischer Seite seit dem 11. Jahrhundert als Bogomilismus bezeichnet oder un die Nähe des Bogomilismus gerückt wird: eine Haltung, die mit der Amtskirche nichts mehr im Sinne hat, einen erstarrten Ritualismus ablehnt und Herrschaft als solche in Zweifel zieht. Die große byzantinische Geschichtsschreibung nimmt sich in der Regel nur des höfischen Lebens in der Hauptstadt an. Umso bezeichnender, daß gerade für das 12. Jahrhundert in dieser Historiographie immer wieder die Rede davon geht, wie dieser »Bogomilismus«, selbst in den höchsten Gesellschaftsschichten Anklang finden konnte.

Auf rein theologischem Boden nimmt der Nonkonformismus gelegentlich die Auseinandersetzung mit der Orthodoxie mit verborgener Ironie und mit Humor auf. Auf dem Konzil von 553 verfiel der bedeutendste Lehrer des geistlichen Lebens der frühbyzantinischen Kirche, der Mönch Euagrios Pontikos, der das grandiose System des großen Origenes für den Gebrauch der Mönche zubereitet hatte, eben wegen dieser Affinität zu diesem längst verdächtig gewordenen Origenes dem kirchlichen Bann, er und seine Schriften. Fortan gab es in der

Kirche für ihn keinen Platz mehr. Oder doch? Viele Mönche mochten Euagrios nicht missen; sie hielten ihm die Treue, weil gerade sein System jenen Solipsismus förderte, der den byzantinischen Mönchen immer noch mehr lag, als ein mediocres koinobitisches Leben. Also erschienen um die Wende zum achten Jahrhundert, übersetzt durch Mönche des palästinensischen Klosters Mar Saba, 70 mystische Abhandlungen aus der Feder eines nestorianischen Bischofs der syrischen Kirche, Isaak von Ninive, den die Übersetzer kurzerhand zu einem orthodoxen heiligen Bischof machten. Der Inhalt dieser Abhandlungen ist zum großen Teil reiner Euagrios, und wo Euagrios persönlich zitiert wird, strichen die Übersetzer den Namen und ersetzten ihn durch Gregorios von Nyssa und andere anerkannte orthodoxe Lehrer. Euagrios lebt trotz des Verdikts von 553. Ähnlich erging es einem syrischen Bischof von Mopsueste namens Theodoros (†428). Obwohl seine Theologie durch die ökumenische Synode in Chalkedon im Jahre 451 gerechtfertigt worden war, hielt ihn Kaiser Justinian I. für einen unverbesserlichen Nestorianer und so erwirkte er 553 auch seine und seiner Schriften Verurteilung. Doch Theodoros war ein Bibelerklärer von hohen Graden, der beste wahrscheinlich, den die byzantinische Kirche jemals hatte. Also konnte auch die spätere Exegese nicht auf ihn verzichten, und so überlebte unter falschem Namen oder anonym auch Theodoros den Bann von 553 in den Kommentarwerken der späteren Zeit. Dieser Theodoros hatte das besondere Mißfallen des alexandrinischen Patriarchen Kyrillos erregt, jenes christlichen Pharao, der neben seiner keine andere Meinung duldete, aber von der späteren byzantinischen Kirche als unfehlbare Säule der Orthodoxie gefeiert wurde. Wenn der schon erwähnte Joannes Mauropus in einem Epigramm einmal klagt: »Muß es denn sein, daß Kyrillos, dieser Dogmatiker, immer recht behält?« so verrät dies gewiss keinen extremen Nonkonformismus; für einen Mann des byzantinischen Establishments ist es immerhin etwas. Spätere Byzantiner gingen einen bedeutenden Schritt weiter. Der bekannte klassische Philologe Maximos Planudes, seines Zeichens Abt eines byzantinischen Klosters, wehrt sich in seinen Briefen entschieden dagegen, in dogmatische Erörterungen mit einbezogen zu werden. Er will von dieser Art Theologie überhaupt nichts wissen. Es ist derselbe Planudes, mit dem eine neue Epoche der byzantinischen Geistesgeschichte insofern beginnt, als er die hohen Mauern, hinter denen sich Byzanz verschanzt hat, niederreißt und in breitem Strom westliche Literatur in Übersetzungen aus dem Lateinischen bereitstellt. Hier verrät sich kein Dünkel mehr, sondern eine neue Aufgeschlossenheit. Leider wissen wir nicht, wie Planudes zu seiner

Auswahl kam. Jedenfalls hatte er einen glücklichen Griff. Er übersetzt De trinitate von Augustin, eines der Grundwerke westlicher Theologie, aber auch Boethius' Trost der Philosophie, der für die westliche Welt des Mittelalters wahrscheinlich noch wichtiger war als De Trinitate. Aber er greift auch nach dem Somnium Scipionis, nach Ovids Metamorphosen und Heroiden. Wahrscheinlich ist er auch der Übersetzer von Ovids Ars amatoria, den Amores und den Remedia amoris. Geistige Enge, prüde Voreingenommenheit oder dergleichen lagen Planudes jedenfalls nicht. Andererseits wissen wir kaum etwas über die Wirkung dieser neuen Literatur. Dies ist anders ein halbes Jahrhundert später, als Demetrios Kydones eine neue Welle von Übersetzungen aus dem Lateinischen einleitete. Kydones provozierte seine orthodoxen Zeitgnossen ganz bewußt mit der lateinischen Hochscholastik. Zu seinen Übersetzungen gehört in erster Linie Thomas von Aquin, aber auch Anselm von Canterbury, Petrus Hispanus und Gilbert de la Porée. Die Provokation wurde als solche wahrgenommen und brachte Bewegung in das geistige Leben einer Schicht von Intellektuellen, die ohne sie sich weiter im Kreis bewegt hätten. Auf dem gesamten Feld des literarischen Schaffens der Byzantiner der Spätzeit macht sich ein neuer Impetus des Wissenwollens, ein neuer Eroberungstrieb bemerkbar, der kaum hätte entstehen können, ginge nicht nebenher ein gewisses Ungenügen an der eigenen literarischen Überlieferung aus der antiken Profanliteratur und aus der Patristik, d.h. ein schwindendes Vertrauen in den bisherigen Anspruch, das Monopol der Bildung zu besitzen. Vielleicht hat dies niemand besser zum Ausdruck gebracht als der große konservative Staatsmann des beginnenden 14. Jahrhunderts, Theodoros Metochites. Er stellt sich ohne Zögern die Frage, ob denn die Welt der klassischen Literatur nicht einfach alles verschweige, was es an bedeutenden Leistungen außerhalb Griechenlands gebe und damit eine byzantinische Selbstgenügsamkeit hervorgebracht habe, die sich fernab der Wirklichkeit bewege; vor allem aber, ob diese klassische Literatur derart sei, daß ein Mensch der modernen Zeit des Metochites damit zurecht kommen könne und Nutzen daraus zu ziehen vermöge. Er antwortete mit einem klaren Nein, wenigstens für seine eigene Person, den Staatskanzler eines sterbenden Reiches, der von Platons und Aristoteles' Staatslehren für seine eigene Politik profitieren wollte und nichts als politische Utopien zu entdecken vermochte. Was aber den Lebenswert der vorausgegangenen byzantinischen Theologie betrifft, so ist er viel zu vorsichtig als daß er sich kritisch darüber äußern würde. Dafür macht er bei seiner essayistischen Behandlung aller wichtigen Lebensfragen einen weiten Bogen um die Aussagen der

Theologie und kommt darauf nur zu sprechen, wenn es kein Ausweichen mehr gibt. Dann aber sieht es aus, als bequeme er sich zu einem letzten Sacrificium intellectus, für das er jede Spur rationaler Verantwortung ablehnt. Und wenn er in der echten Art des Klassizisten kulturelles Vergleichsmaterial einführen will, dann hält er sich an die antiken Darstellungen der Lebensweise der »Skythen«, wobei sich rasch feststellen läßt, daß die Skythen selbst sein Interesse kaum beanspruchen, umsomehr aber, was sich aus ihrer Lebensart gegen Byzanz ausspielen läßt. Bei diesen Skythen gebe es natürlich genug des Barbarischen, aber sie bildeten ein Reich, das nie unterjocht wurde und nie eine Tyrannis zu erleiden hatte. Vor allem aber gebe es bei ihnen kein leeres Wortgezänke, keine spitzfindigen Rechtsverdrehungen und keine dogmatischen Haarspalterein; nicht das Marktgeschrei unfähiger Redner und nichts von jenem »Kampf gegen das schlichte Leben«, der bei den Griechen üblich sei.

Das Ende des byzantinischen Selbstbewußtsein deutet sich an! Aber dieses Ende verspricht auch, zögernd vielleicht, einen Neubeginn, der diesem Reich freilich nicht mehr gegönnt war, weil die türkische Eroberung allem ein Ende machte.

Man mag betroffen sein und schlechtes Gewissen haben gegenüber einem Sündenbock, man mag Verständnis aufbringen für die fatale Ausgangslage einer Kultur von Spätgeborenen und Nachfahren, man mag der Dekadenz ihren Charme abgewinnen — ob die alles ausreicht, um von Liebe zu Byzanz zu sprechen? Schließlich gehört zu einer solchen Liebe gewiss auch Mut — und es sollte nicht der Mut der Verzweiflung sein.

München

At the Crossroads of Classicism and Byzantinism: Leopolitan Architectural Achievements ca. A.D. 1600

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Meetings of Eastern and Western cultural traditions always constitute a fascinating subject for historical consideration. It may be hoped therefore that this essay, which concerns one rather little known chapter in the history of artistic relations between the Eastern and Western spheres of European culture, will interest the eminent scholar and friend in whose honour the present publication is intended.

The West Ukrainian town of Lviv, called Leopolis in Latin, Lwów in Polish, Lemberg in German, can be considered an outstanding artistic center both for its monuments and for the complex religious, ethnic, and cultural background characteristic of the town's history from the fourteenth century to the first partition of Poland in 1772 — the time it belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom.[1] Ukrainian and Polish, Jewish and German, Greek, Armenian and Italian people lived there together for centuries, contributing to the prosperity and cultural achievements of the town. The variety of religious confessions brought with it a multiplicity of churches, the Orthodox ones — the so-called Armenian and Wallachian ones — adding an Eastern touch to the artistic

[1] The most important literature concerning the Renaissance and Mannerism in Lviv is the following: W. Łoziński, *Sztuka lwowska w XVI i XVII wieku: Architektura i rzeźba* (Lviv, 1898); J. Piotrowski, *Lemberg und Umgebung: Handbuch für Kunstliebhaber und Reisende* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1916); B. Janusz, ed., *Lwów dawny i dzisiejszy: Kultura, dzieje, sztuka, nauka* (Lviv, 1928); T. Mańkowski, "Sztuka i artyści w czasach renesansu," in *Lwów i Ziemia Czerwieńska*, by K. Maleczyński, F. Pohorecki, T. Mańkowski, M. Tyrowicz (Lviv, [1938]); S. V. Bezsonov, *Arxitektura zapadnoj Ukrainy* (Moscow, 1946); M. Gębarowicz, *Studia nad dziejami kultury artystycznej późnego renesansu w Polsce* (Toruń, 1962); A. Laščuk and I. Derkač, *L'viv: Putivnyk* (Lviv, 1963); M. Gębarowicz, *Szkice z historii sztuki XVII wieku* (Toruń, 1966); V. A. Ovsijčuk, *Arxitekturni pam"jatky L'vova* (Lviv, 1969); T. Mańkowski, *Dawny Lwów, jego sztuka i kultura artystyczna* (London, 1974); H. Ostrovskij, *L'vov*, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1975). Some important information of a general character about architecture resulting from Polish patronage is to be found in A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1980) (Dzieje sztuki polskiej, 4: Sztuka polska XVII wieku, 1).

image of the town, which was, moreover, enriched by frequent contacts, both commercial and military, with the Islamic orient.[2]

The stylistic situation around 1600 in Lviv was especially complicated, because what we have described as the Western element, represented by the artistic preferences of Polish patrons, was not uniform, but varied. It resulted from the merging of several trends and stylistic tendencies imported from elsewhere and arriving in different stages of their development, as well as their representation by artists of varied quality and talent.[3]

Closely linked with the background of Polish centres, artistic development in Lviv in the late sixteenth century was based on fundamentally Italian ideas coming from the main centre of the huge Jagellonian state, namely, Cracow. But whereas in the capital they were promoted by the king and his entourage and were executed by Florentine artists working in a fairly pure Tuscan Renaissance idiom, in Lviv Italianism came transformed quite often by Netherlandish (e.g., Hendrik Horst), German (e.g., Jan Scholz) or local Polish craftsmen. Moreover, the Italians themselves usually came not from Tuscany, but from Northern border areas and Swiss provinces bordering on Italy (e.g., Ambrosius Simonis from Val Tellina in Engadin, who in Lviv was known as Ambroży Przychylny).[4]

In the present note I should like to concentrate on three architectural works in which the interpenetration of East and West is realized in various ways, contributing to the unique character of art in Lviv.

My first example is the famous chapel of the Boim family, situated in the immediate proximity of the Catholic cathedral and once on the grounds of its churchyard (fig. 1).[5] The Boims came to Lviv from Hungary. It is not clear what their national origin was, but they became polonized and belonged to the Catholic community. The chapel was founded by an important representative of the family, the *consul* of the

[2] In my book, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland* (Oxford, 1976), I made only a short mention of the two architectural monuments described here. The present essay may therefore be considered an addendum to that survey.

[3] I have attempted to present these trends in the last chapter of my book quoted in the preceding footnote, pp. 73-88.

[4] About the stonecutters, masons, builders, and architects working in Lviv, see M. Kowalczuk, *Cech budowniczych we Lwowie za czasów polskich do roku 1772* (Lviv, 1927).

[5] T. Mańkowski, "Kaplica Boimów we Lwowie," *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, 8 (1946): 308-316; Gębarowicz, *Studia*, pp. 246-254; Gębarowicz, *Szkice*, pp. 26-65; N. Rudol'f and N. Lecynja, *Kaplycja Bojimiv* (Lviv, 1972); B.H. Voznyc'kyj, *Kaplycja Bojimiv u L'vovi* (Lviv, 1979) (also in other languages in the same volume).

town council, George (Jerzy) Boim, who, as a member of the Lviv upper classes, enjoyed an outstanding position. The chapel was first built between 1609 and 1611 and was immediately transformed, still before its consecration, which took place in the spring (probably June) of 1615, i.e., between 1612 and 1615.

The central plan of the Boim chapel resembles that of several other centrally planned chapels, so popular in Poland between the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century.[6] The decoration of the Boim chapel is, however, quite unlike those Italian built works. Indeed, it is unlike anything else, being a unique work. The chapel is smothered with decoration, both outside, on the façade, and inside, to the extent of causing dizziness to the observer, although the artistic quality of the execution is fairly mediocre and the transformation of the first version of the decoration was sometimes very clumsily executed.

Professor Mieczysław Gębarowicz, in his study of the chapel, has indicated that the present aspect of the façade decoration is the result of the transformation of an originally much more sober and restrained composition.[7] At first the pairs of pilasters which constitute the frame of the architectural composition were probably visible above the strongly protruding cornice and the decoration of the upper zone consisted only of the portal-like structure with a relief in the centre, located between two, probably circular, windows. At ground floor level the entrance door was flanked by two double windows, one on each side, and the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul in the narrow end bays, while above the niches, in which the figures stand, and above the windows and the door is placed a row of eight medallions with reliefs representing prophets. In the second stage of the work — possibly caused by the wish of Jerzy Boim to outdo other families, such as the Kampians[8] — the original program (in which saints and prophets predominated and probably only one narrative relief, that representing the Descent from the Cross in the arch above the door, was included) was supplemented in the upper zone by several further narrative reliefs and decorative structures, sometimes added so clumsily that they appear as if they were

[6] J. Z. Łoziński, "Die zentralen Grabkapellen in Polen," in *Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art, Budapest 1969*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 1972), pp. 667-676; idem, *Grobowe kaplice kopułowe w Polsce: 1520-1620* (Warsaw, 1973).

[7] Gębarowicz, *Szkice*, pp. 10-34ff. Ostrovskij, *L'vov* p. 32, dates the second stage of the sculptural decoration of the façade to 1621; he does not give his reasons. Gębarowicz's dating seems to be better founded. On the other hand, it is surprising that the decoration was changed so soon after it had been made.

[8] Gębarowicz, *Szkice*, p. 39f.

pasted on. Above the lateral narrow bays were placed obelisks, while above the windows were inserted fields for reliefs framed in strapwork ornaments. Above them, against the background of the original entablature and against the pilasters, other narrative groups are to be seen. They represent successive stages of the Passion, with the Bearing of the Cross, the Flagellation, the Ecce Homo scene and the Nailing to the Cross. Above the entablature of the small arch in the centre of the upper zone, God the Father is visible.

Whatever the detailed history of that decoration may have been — and it must have been done, in any case, in a time span of no more than six years[9] — it forms a precious screen that distinguishes the front wall and seems unrelated to the architectural structure, the latter scarcely emerging from behind the decoration. The screen in question unites the profusion of angels' and lions' heads, of obelisks and strap- and fretwork ornaments, with the abundance of naive narrative. The ornamental elements are clearly of Netherlandish origin, while the historical reliefs recall to some extent the narrative sculpture of Southern and Central Poland, but seem to go back to graphic models of either German or Netherlandish origin. The sculptor Jan (or Hanusz) Scholz, to whom the second stage of the work is attributed with some probability, came from Königsberg in Eastern Prussia.[10] It may be that other sculptors of Northern origin collaborated with him, since the amount of sculpture done in a very short time certainly required the participation of several masters. Although naive and sometimes awkward, the narrative reliefs show the use of a lively vernacular idiom, which also contributes to the intensity that characterizes the style of the façade. The result recalls the Eastern idea of the iconostasis, but one that is placed outside, so to speak, in front of the chapel.

A similar influence of the iconostasis form has been discerned as regards the huge and precious altar inside, which intrudes into the zone of the coffered dome.[11] The dome itself (which in Poland tends to be abstract in its rigid divisions and decoration) here turns into a display of sculpture. Its coffers include effigies of prophets and saints, ornaments

[9] If we accept the dating by Gębarowicz (*Studia*, p. 260). If, however, the dating of 1621 is accepted for the transformation of the façade, the two stages of the work would have been separated by ten years.

[10] Gębarowicz, *Szkice*, pp. 47ff.

[11] Gębarowicz, *Szkice*, pp. 56-58; Ostrovskij, *L'vov*, p. 34; Voznyc'kyj, *Kaplycja Bojimiv*, p. 5.

and images of Christ and the angels, each rectangular frame becoming a field decorated with reliefs.

Thus the Boim chapel is unique in its combination of a rich variety of stylistic trends, while artistic quality is hardly satisfactory in detail. It is nevertheless an amazing product of the coexistence of several tendencies in the art of its time, with the obvious impact of the local, Eastern idea of the iconostasis wall, which transformed the Western system of orders into a precious and charming screen.

The two basic ingredients of the Boim chapel, the Italian and the Netherlandish, appear in pure juxtaposition in that monumental and excellent work of Leopolitan architecture, the Bernardine friars church.[12] The church was erected between about 1600 and 1630, although by 1611 mass was celebrated in it. Its general conception is ascribed to a monk called Bernard Avellides, but the architects were first Paolo Dominici Romano, who died in 1618, and later Ambroży Przychylny (Ambrosius Simonis, also called Nutclauss, from Engadin), who worked there from 1619 on. A contemporary chronicler, Bart. Zimorowicz, tells us that Paolo Romano ceased to direct the construction by 1613. It seems, however, that there may have been other participants in the building of the church, in view of the combination of two rather different trends. This time we do not encounter any Eastern ingredient, as in the two other monuments which form our main concern here. The elements combined here are a noble and restrained Doric and the decorative strapwork ornamentation of Netherlandish or German origin (fig. 2).[13]

The façade is composed as a simple juxtaposition of a broader lower part corresponding to the three space units of the nave and aisles, and a narrower upper part corresponding to the central nave, the two being separated by a strongly accentuated cornice. The upper part is crowned by a Doric frieze whose metopes are filled with small diamond-shaped pyramids. All this is executed in a dark stone and has a distinguished, pure quality that recalls works of Venetian Classicism, a style that had been brought to that region by the Italian architect Bernardo Morando, who a little earlier (1587 to about 1600) was erecting the Collegiate church in the newly founded and not far distant Polish town of Zamość.[14] The

[12] Łoziński, *Sztuka lwowska*, pp. 47-66; N. Golichowski, *Kościół O.O. Bernardynów we Lwowie* (Lviv, 1911); T. Mańkowski, "Kościół bernardynów we Lwowie," *Dawna Sztuka* 1 (1938): 305-312; Gębarowicz, *Studia*, pp. 236-246; Ostrovskij, *L'vov* pp. 104-107.
[13] This Netherlandish-German ingredient used to be attributed to Andrzej Bemer; see T. Mańkowski, "Kósciół bernardynów," 1938, pp. 305f.; Gębarowicz, *Studia*, pp. 236ff.
[14] A. Miłobędzki, *Zarys dziejów architektury w Polsce*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 152-153.

Doric friezes of the Collegiate were removed in the early nineteenth century, but their influence on Lviv Classicism, as well as on the Collegiate (now parish) church at Žovkva, constructed between 1606 and 1618, seems to have been considerable.[15] In that last church the metopes of the friezes are decorated with heroic reliefs, representing knights on horseback and eagles, which is understandable in view of the fact that the founder of the church was Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski, one of the prominent military leaders of the Polish kingdom (fig. 3).[16]

At some stage of its construction, the Classical façade of the Bernardine friars church was supplemented with a gable and triangular screens uniting the upper narrow part with the broad one below. These gables bring in a completely different note. They derive from a trend that was very popular in the Eastern parts of Poland, in Kazimierz, Radzyń, and Zamość, and whose origins are to be sought in the Netherlandish and Germanic countries. It was the same trend that contributed to the creation of excellent Late Manneristic buildings at Gdańsk (the Armory by Anthonis van Opbergen, built in 1602-1605).[17] Although very different from the main body — so purely Italian — of the Bernardine church, the decorative scrolls and the gable fit almost unexpectedly well, which they also do in the rear of the church, where they decorate the gable above the wall enclosing the nave from the rear, above the very low choir, so low indeed that its disproportion to the nave was stressed already at the time of construction.[18] We know that the architect attempted to improve the proportions, but still the choir remains very low. The picturesque fancifulness of the strapwork enlivens the severity of the Doric frieze and of the Tuscan pilasters contributing to the variety and richness of the building. Nevertheless it remains purely Western in its component elements.

[15] See J. Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata w Zamościu* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 185-188.

[16] Good reproductions appear in Ju. P. Nel'hos'kyj, "Skulptura ta rizblennja druhoji pol. XVI-peršoji pol. XVII stolittja," in *Mystectvo XIV-peršoji polovyny XVII stolittja* (Kiev, 1967), p. 135, fig. 86 (Istorija ukrajins'koho mystectva, 2); also in J. Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 187, fig. 146. Gębarowicz (*Studia*, pp. 212-216) attributes the friezes at Žovkva to Ambroży Przychylny.

[17] As stated in fn. 13, this part of the work is attributed to Andrzej Bemer. In my book, cited in fn. 2, I have given information and literature on this trend. See also: E. Forssman, *Säule und Ornament: Studien zum Problem des Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbüchern und Vorlageblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stockholm, 1956); E. Unnerbäck, *Welsche Giebel* (Stockholm, 1971); and H. R. Hitchcock, *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1978).

[18] Łoziński, *Sztuka lwowska*, pp. 59 and 65, who quotes from early seventeenth-century sources.

The third work of architecture in Lviv which I propose now to present as the last in our short survey is once again different. I have in mind the Dormition church (fig. 4), begun earlier than both buildings discussed before, namely, in 1571, but finished as late as the Bernardine church, in 1629.[19] The Dormition church is the last one erected on the same site, the preceding one (built by Petrus Italus from 1547 to 1560) having been burnt in 1571, and the one preceding that in 1527. This church, like the former one, was built with the help of contributions from the Moldavian princes Paul, Jeremy, and Simon Mohyla, which caused it to be called the "Wallachian Church," but also with the contributions of other patrons, the main one being the Stauropegial Brotherhood of Lviv. Hence the Wallachian church is the result of local patronage by the Ukrainian religious brotherhood and by Moldavian hospodars. One would therefore be inclined to expect a building expressive of the Eastern character of the patronage. What we find instead is one of the most sober, restrained and, despite some Manneristic features, Classical works that have ever been built within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The visitor obtains such an impression when approaching the church from the outside, as its simple shape in dark limestone arises before him in the narrow old street. The side elevations are enclosed between the socle zone and the protruding cornice and are articulated by a series of Tuscan pilasters supporting a Doric entablature. Blind arches with windows are situated between the pilasters. In the entablature's frieze triglyphs alternate with metopes, in which reliefs of religious subjects are placed, their character and quality introducing a strongly Eastern element; sometimes they seem to be small icons transposed into stone sculpture.[20]

The volume of the church is articulated into three elements: the main space of the nave, three bays long, having very narrow aisles; a rather

[19] I. Šaranevyč, "Istoričeskij očerk' o Stavropigijskoj cerkvy Uspenija Pr. Bogorodyci vo L'vove," in *Jubilejnoe izdanie v pamjat' 300 letnjogo osnovanija l'vovskogo Stavropigijskogo bratstva*, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1886), pp. 1-20; Łoziński, *Sztuka lwowska*, pp. 51-57; J. Sas Zubrzycki, "Cerkiew Uśpienia Bogarodzicy, czyli tzw. Cerkiew Wołoska we Lwowie," *Architekt*, 1900-1901, no. 8, pp. 121-125; 1907, no. 7, p. 207, and no. 11, pp. 58-59; A. Barvins'kyj, "Stavropihyjs'ka cerkva Uspenija Pr. Bohorodyci u L'vovi i zaxody kolo obnovy i prykrasy," in *Zbirnyk l'vivskoji Stavropyhiji*, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1921), pp. 1-54; W. Sas Zaloziecki, "Die Walachische Kirche in Lemberg, ein Denkmal Osteuropäischer Renaissance-Architektur," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 12-13 (1949): 90-116; Gębarowicz, *Studia*, pp. 216-220; Ostrovskij, *L'vov*, pp. 45-57.

[20] See the good illustrations in Nel'hos'kyj, "Skulptura ta rizblennja," p. 134, figs. 84 and 85.

small entrance unit, with the women's space on the upper floor; and the broad apse, the diameter of which is almost equal to the width of the church's body. Each of those units has a dome above its centre, the two lower ones without a drum, while the central one above the nave is raised on a drum, is coffered inside and, like the others, has a lantern (fig. 5). The outside view, when seen from some distance, presents a succession of three domes above the structure.

The main body of the church, rigorously organized as it is by the orders — not very correct ones, to be sure — has a strongly Italian, even Roman flavour. Small refinements give it an almost Mannerist character: the lower part of the architrave is composed of stones which are shorter than needed to fill out the length of the bays; they leave empty spaces of 15 to 20 cm between them. As a result there are dark openings of square shape above the keystones of the niche arches and on either side, next to the capitals of the pilasters. Above the capitals the frieze forms a projection and the triglyphs are framed by acanthus leaves. All this testifies to invention and originality on the part of the architect, who composed freely with material chosen from the treasury of the Western Classical tradition.

When we stand in the narrow street we are faced with a work of Italianate Classicism imbued with an almost Counter-Reformation flavour. When, however, we move away, the domes emerge above the Classical body and transform the building into something like a Renaissance version of the traditional Ukrainian three-domed Orthodox church.[21] A splendid tower constructed on the commission of Konstantine Korniakt, a Greek merchant from Crete, by the Paduan architect Pietro da Barbona (1572-78), with elegant Italian proportions, introduces another Renaissance element recalling so many *campaniles* of the Italian peninsula (fig. 6).[22]

It seems that the Wallachian church has a similar position in the history of Ukrainian art patronage as do the churches erected on the Kremlin hill by Aristotle Fioravanti, Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana, and Pietro Antonio Solari at the end of the fifteenth and in the first years of sixteenth century with regard to Muscovite patronage.[23] It was an

[21] See Ju. P. Nel'hos'kyj, "Arxitektura druhoji polovyny XVI-peršoji polovyny XVII stolittja," in *Mystectvo XIV-peršoji polovyny XVII stolittja* (Kiev, 1967), p. 90 (Istorija ukrajins'koho mystectva, 2).

[22] Łoziński, *Sztuka lwowska*, pp. 51-57.

[23] See, generally: M. Gukovskij, "Il Rinascimento italiano e la Russia," in V. Branca, ed., *Rinascimento europeo e rinascimento veneziano* (Venice, 1967), pp. 121-136; V. N. Lazarev, "Le opere di Pietro Antonio Solari in Russia ed i rapporti artistici italo-russi

attempt to adopt Western forms to the Orthodox ecclesiastic architectural tradition. In Lviv such an attempt had already been undertaken earlier — in the church which preceded the actual church of the Dormition and was destroyed by fire, as also in the small reliquary-like Chapel of the Three Saints (fig. 7), built between 1530 and 1591 by the Italian master Peter Krasowski, rebuilt after the fire of 1671 and decorated with orientalizing flat ornamentation in the domes (fig. 8) and in the portal frame (fig. 9). That chapel looks like a charming reduction of the great church.[24] Its transformation in the late seventeenth century stressed the decorative tendencies of oriental origin more than the Western, Italianate style. As in Moscow so also in Lviv the temporary meeting of East and West in religious architecture did not inaugurate a new tradition.

After many decades another monument of the East-West connection in church architecture was erected in Lviv; this was the Cathedral of St. George (St. Jurij), conceived by the architect Bernard Merderer-Merettini (1744-1763) in imaginative rococo forms.[25] But in this case the Western models were symbolic of a specific religious content, since the church was built for the Greek-Catholic Uniate church after the acceptance of the Union of Brest in the Lviv diocese in 1700 (fig. 10). As had happened earlier, the meeting of East and West resulted once again in a most interesting artistic achievement which represented widespread phenomena in the eastern provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian state.[26]

If in the period about 1600 Western elements resulted from a free choice to adopt dignified Italianate forms and, perhaps, from the wish to impress the Polish population by the monumental and perfect use of an artistic language current in Poland, in the mid-eighteenth century the Western form of the Cathedral of St. George was an outcome of subordination to the dominant position of the Catholic and Western elements, as already evidenced by the final and long-postponed acceptance of the Union in the Lviv diocese.

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nel tardo Quattrocento," in *Arte e Artisti dei Laghi Lombardi*, vol. 1 (Como, 1959), pp. 423-440.

[24] See the literature cited in fn. 19.

[25] Z. Hornung, *Problem rokoka w architekturze sakralnej XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1972).

[26] J. Kowalczyk, "Latynizacja i okcydentalizacja architektury grecko-katolickiej w XVIII wieku," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 42 (1980): 347-362, with references to older literature. The other two Orthodox dioceses, that of Peremyšl' and that of Luck, accepted the Union in 1692 and 1702, respectively.

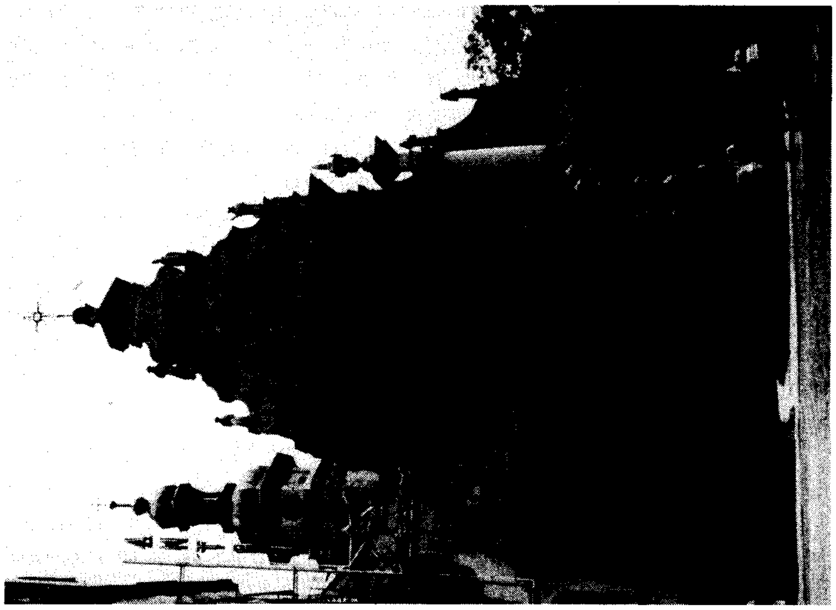


Fig. 2

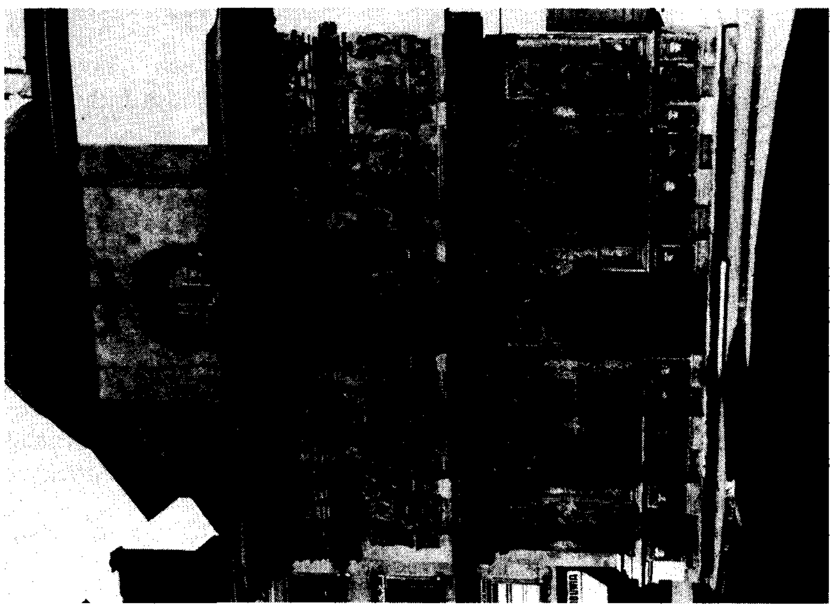


Fig. 1

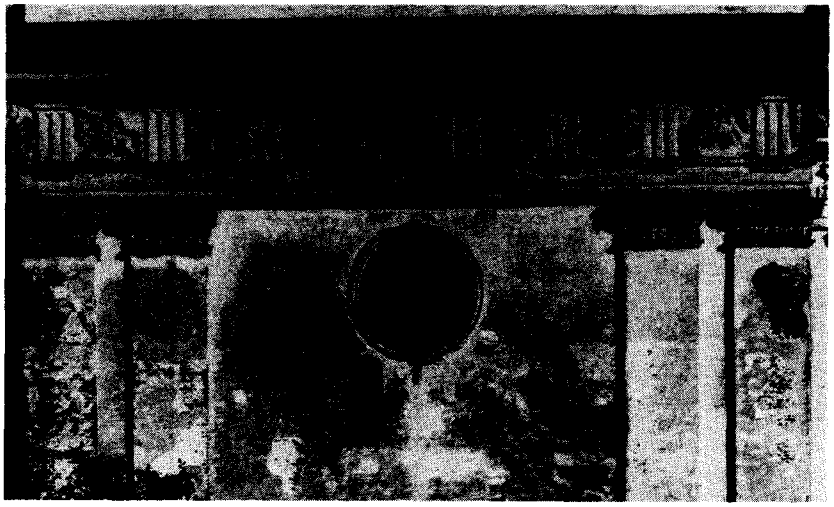


Fig. 3

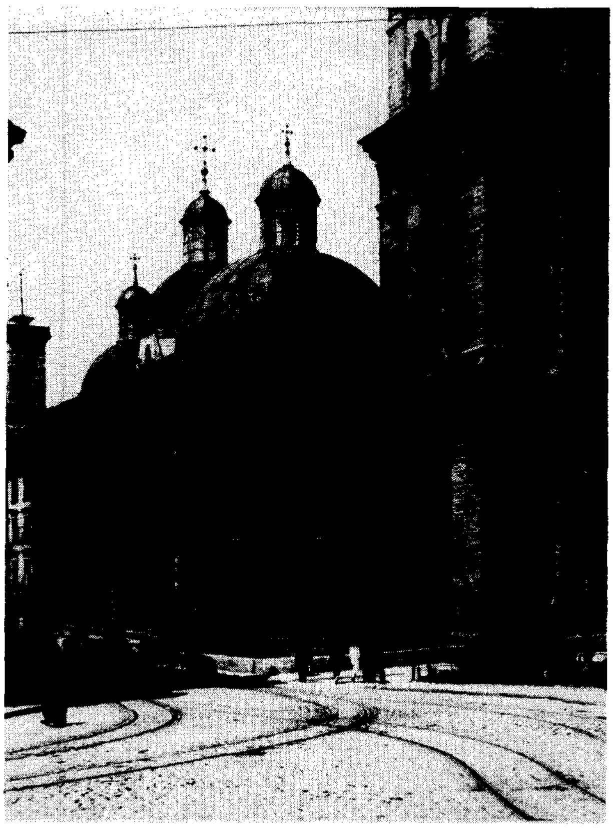


Fig. 4

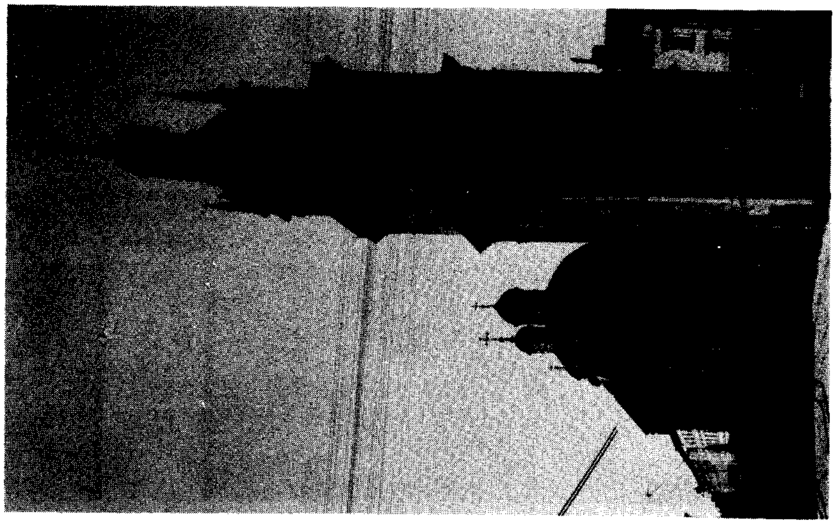


Fig. 6

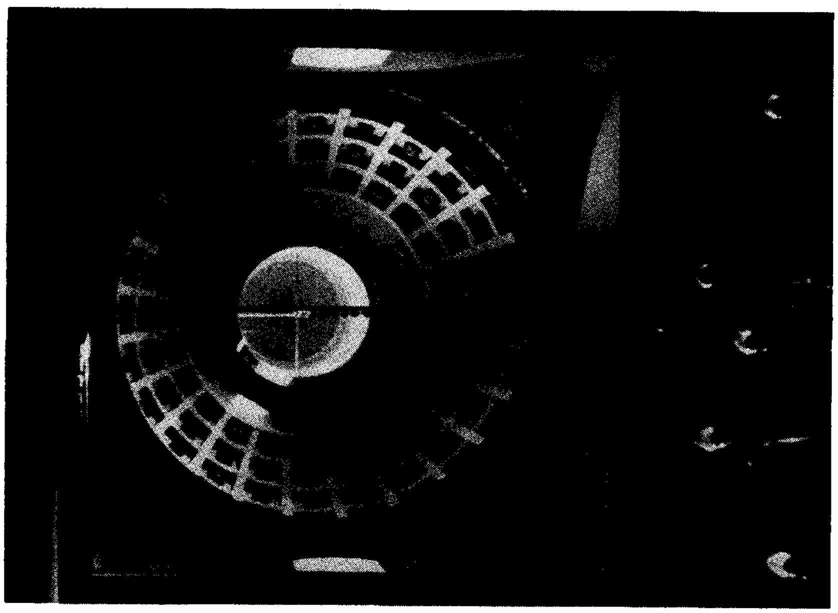


Fig. 5

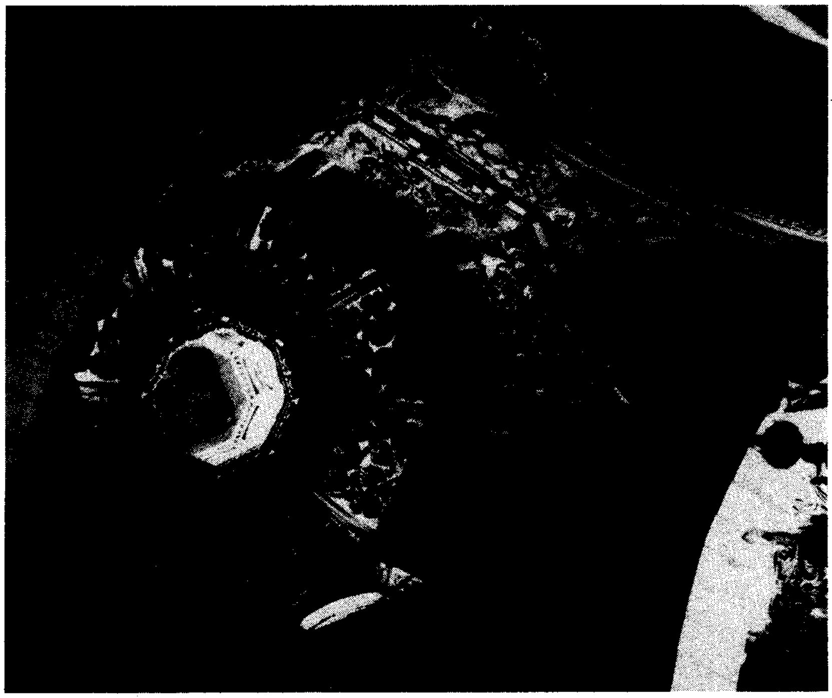


Fig. 8



Fig. 7

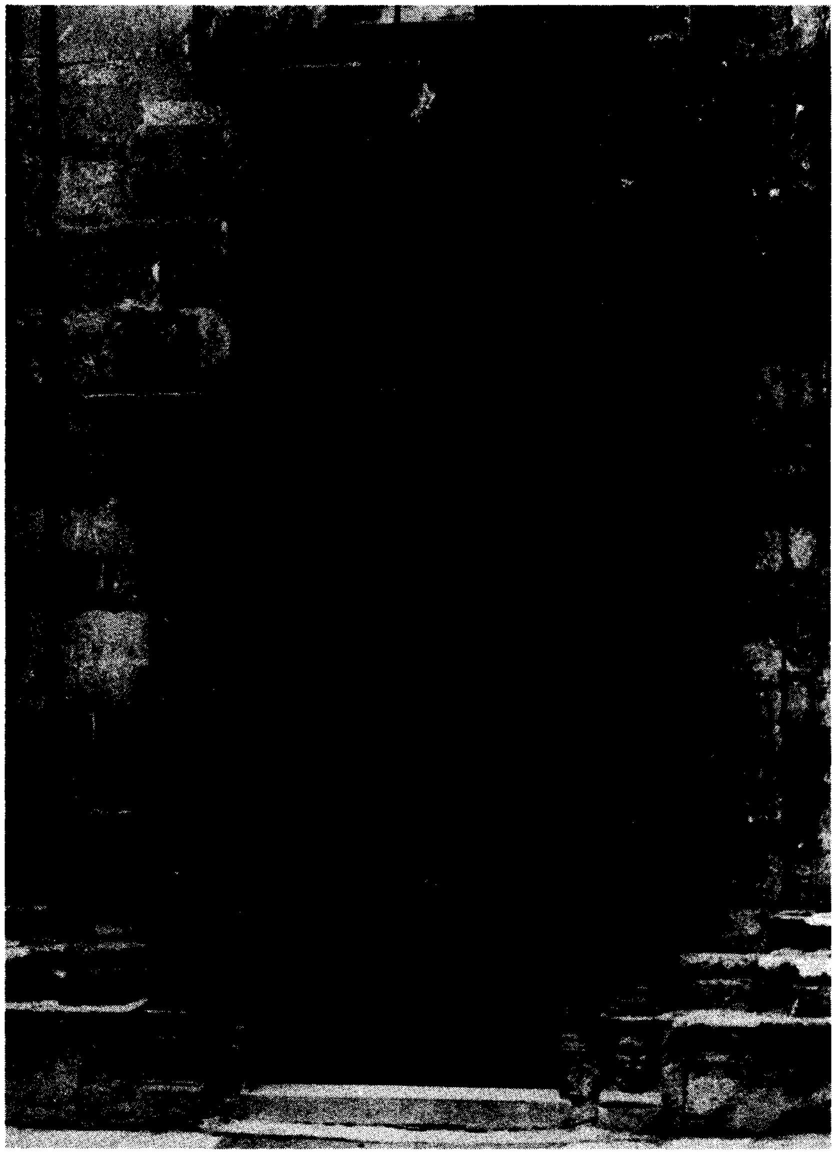


Fig. 9



Fig. 10

A Sixth-Century Silver Plate in the British Museum

SUSAN BOYD

A little-known silver dish in the British Museum,[1] decorated with marine imagery and Nilotic subjects, testifies to the continuing popularity of pagan and mythological themes as the decoration of secular silver plate in the early Byzantine period (figs. 1, 3, and 7). Although small in size (diam. 12.7 cm.) and modest in quality, this dish probably represents more accurately than other more luxurious examples the quality of table service in use by a moderately wealthy household in a provincial center of the empire. Because it forms part of a closely related group of rather small, shallow dishes, all having central medallions decorated in relief with animals, mythological or marine subjects, it seems worthwhile to investigate its ornamentation more fully.

Shallow in profile, the plate stands on a low ring foot which appears to have been part of the original blank from which the bowl was formed by hammering.[2] Its decoration consists of a central medallion executed in repoussé, with a chubby Eros riding a sea monster which he is about to strike with a trident held in his right hand (figs. 1 and 3). The figure is shown in a kind of twisting pose, his hips and legs in profile, his back and

[1] British Museum, inv. no. 1969,12-3,1 (Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities). Diam. 12.7 cm. Diam. ring foot, 5.3 cm. Wt. 163.40 gr. The dish was acquired in 1894 and is said to have come from Asia Minor. It has no hallmarks. See H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the British Museum* (London, 1921), no. 77, fig. 25, pl. VIII; A.O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain* (Glasgow, 1923), p. 47; L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* (hereafter *Byz. Ant.*) (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), pp. 79-80; S. Boyd and G. Vikan, *Questions of Authenticity among the Arts of Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1981), p. 13, no. 4, fig. a.

[2] This information was provided by M.J. Hughes of the British Museum Research Laboratory, who also analyzed the composition of the silver by means of X-ray fluorescence. The results indicate that its composition is consistent with other Byzantine silver plate of the sixth and seventh centuries:

Bowl: silver 95.6 %, copper 3.3 %, gold 0.56 %, zinc 0.1 %

Foot: silver 95.7 %, copper 3.1 %, gold 0.58 %, zinc 0.1 %

For comparative analyses of Byzantine silver, see M. Hughes and J. Hall, "X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis of Late Roman and Sassanian Silver Plate," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 6 (1979): 321-344.

shoulders turned to the viewer exposing both wings, which are placed high on his shoulders; his head is turned slightly three-quarters toward the viewer. His short, tightly curled locks of hair, which form a thick cap over his head, and the features of his face are strongly defined if not very naturalistically delineated. The contours of the figure, as well as details, are additionally engraved. His head is rather large in proportion to his body, while the figure as a whole is too large in proportion to the sea monster. This sea monster, or *ketos*, is of a type common to early Byzantine art, and nearly identical examples are found on silver from the fourth to the seventh century.[3] It has a wolf's head with a long snout, beard, and long ears, an undulating neck, and a sea serpent's body; its tail terminates in a foliate trefoil. The sea monster's scaly body is rendered in a stylized fashion by means of circles and overall stippling. There are no fish in the sea nor any indication of water.

A small silver dish in the Benaki Museum, Athens, is closely related in size, decoration, and iconography (figs. 2 and 4).[4] The position of the Eros astride the sea monster, his thrusting gesture with the trident, and the placement of the *ketos* within the roundel, with its upturned head, undulating neck, and foliate tail, are so similar as to suggest a common source for the motif which was evidently very popular in the late Roman world.[5] The figure on the Benaki plate is, however, rather different in style: he is more carefully and naturalistically rendered, better proportioned, and more convincingly mounted on the sea monster, the furry body and scaly tail of which are clearly differentiated. Small fish swim in the sea and waves are suggested by a series of short curving lines.

[3] For fourth-century examples see, *inter alia*, K. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London, 1981), pl. 5, below (Projecta casket, lid); K.S. Painter, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (London, 1977), pl. 3 (Great Dish, inner frieze). For examples from the sixth and seventh centuries, respectively, see Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pl. 34 (reverse of Maenad and Serpent dish), and pl. 19 (Nereid ewer); *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad* (hereafter *Frühbyz. Silbergefässe*) (Berlin, 1978), cat. no. 14, col. pl. 13, figs. 32-33 (Maenad and Serpent), and doc. no. 21, col. pl. 17, figs. 94-99 (Nereid ewer).

[4] Benaki Museum, no. 11147. Diam. 13 cm. Wt. 190 gr. S. Pelekanides, "Argyra Pinakia tou Mouseiou Benaki," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (hereafter *Arch. Eph.*), 1942-44 (1948), pp. 37ff., esp. p. 39f., no. 2, and p. 59, fig. 2; G.L. Brett, "Formal Ornament on Late Roman and Early Byzantine Silver," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 15 (n.s. 2) (1939): 36-37, no. 20, pl. VIII; *Byzantine Art an European Art* (Athens, 1964), no. 483. The relationship of these two plates has been previously noted by Pelekanides (ibid., p. 59).

[5] A sea monster (ridden by a Nereid) on the seventh-century ewer in Leningrad is identically arranged within a circular format: E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (hereafter BSS) (Washington, D.C., 1961), no. 75, and fn. 3 above.

Surrounding the medallion, as on the British Museum plate, is an acanthus ornament, but it is treated here as a continuous frieze of palmettes, with rounded rather than spiky lobes, each joined to the next by the small side of the leaf.

An identical acanthus frieze is found on two other plates in the Benaki from the same find. This small treasure, consisting of six dishes with central medallions, was found in Egypt and presumably made there.[6] Five of the six plates are decorated with Erotes accompanied either by sea monsters or dolphins, although only the one described above is iconographically related. The small size of five of the plates should also be noted (12.5-13 cm.) for it is a feature common to the group of embossed plates under discussion.

In addition to the Benaki plates, three other plates are related to the London dish on the basis of the frieze of acanthus palmettes: two with mythological scenes are in Dumbarton Oaks;[7] the third, which is the only one to bear silver stamps (indicating a date of A.D. 527-565), is that from Sludka, with a grazing horse, which is now in Leningrad.[8] The particular type of acanthus frieze engraved on these six plates was evidently widely used on Byzantine silver of the sixth century, although the motif goes back at least as early as the end of the fourth century.[9]

[6] Pelekanides, *Arch. Eph.*, pp. 37ff., figs. 1 and 3-6. Pelekanides gives no findspot for the plates, stating only that they were bought in two separate lots in Alexandria and Cairo (p. 60). More precise indications are given by W. F. Volbach ("Silber- und Elfenbeinarbeiten vom Ende des 4. bis zum Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts," *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie des Frühmittelalters* [Akten zum VII. Internationalen Kongress für Frühmittelalterforschung, 1958] [Graz-Köln, 1962], p. 31), who identifies the provenance as "Bubastis, in the region of Port Said" and implies that all the plates formed a single treasure. He goes on to say that one of the Benaki plates (ibid., pl. VI, 12; Pelekanides, *Arch. Eph.*, no. 5, fig. 5) has stamps which date it to the reign of Justinian. This statement directly contradicts Pelekanides, who notes specifically (p. 50) that none of the silver plates has stamps. Regrettably, time did not permit the resolution of these conflicting statements prior to publication, but the fact that none of the Benaki plates has been included in Dodd's corpus of stamped silver (see fn. 5, above) or her supplements (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers* [hereafter *DOP*] 18 [1966]: 239ff. and 22 [1968]: 143ff.) suggests that Volbach was misinformed.

[7] M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (hereafter *DOC*), vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1962), pp. 7-9, no. 7, pls. VIII-IX.

[8] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pp. 115-120, pl. 30; *Frühbyz. Silbergefässe*, doc. no. 7, figs 51-53.

[9] For example, on a fragment of a silver dish from Hammersdorf, dated by Matzulewitsch to the end of the fourth century (*Byz. Ant.*, p. 118, fig. 31). The form of this ornament most commonly found in early fourth-century silver is a quatrefoil composed of four large acanthus leaves alternating with four smaller ones, such as that found among the silver of the Coleraine, Traprain, and Esquiline Treasures. The quatrefoil acanthus motif continues,

But the curvelinear pattern of the continuous frieze is not especially comparable to the individual leaves depicted on the London dish. There is, however, in the Virginia Museum, Richmond, a plate with a remarkably similar ornament of eight individual acanthus leaves placed around the central medallion (fig. 5).[10] Both the axial disposition of the leaves and their form — each has five lobes, the tips terminating with an elegant flourish, a strongly defined central stalk, and clear veining of the lobes — relate this plate to that in London despite the obvious differences in quality and style. The imprecise, sketchy drawing of the London acanthus, which is engraved in a rapid schematic style, differs fundamentally from the precise, elegant forms of the Richmond plate. Nevertheless, the similarity of these two decorations indicates the existence of two very different traditions for such acanthus ornament. The provenance of the Richmond plate is not known although there is some evidence in the museum's files to indicate it may have been found in Italy. The plate has no control stamps but has been dated to the sixth century.

While the decoration of the London plate, as described, fits comfortably within this group of closely related silver dishes, there are two features that set it apart. First, it belongs to a select group of plates dating to the early Byzantine period that are ornamented on two sides, relief on the interior and engraved decoration on the exterior (fig. 7). It is difficult to know whether the rarity of similarly decorated plates is due to the whim of survival or whether they were never a common type of object. There are, however, three well-known examples, all probably dating to the sixth century and coincidentally all in the Hermitage: the famous Shepherd plate from Klimova, decorated on the reverse with a series of acanthus scrolls issuing from urns, and dated by hallmarks to the reign of Justinian;[11] the plate with the Judgment of Athena, decorated with a two-tiered acanthus scroll issuing from urns, populated by leaves, birds,

however, into the sixth century and is found on a stamped silver dish in Moscow dated 527-565 (Dodd, *BSS*, no. 6; Matzulewitsch, ibid., p. 117, figs. 29-30). The continuous frieze of open palmettes is more characteristic of the sixth century. For a discussion of both types of ornament, see Brett, "Formal Ornament," pp. 33-41.

[10] Virginia Museum, inv. no. 66.30.1. Diam. 21 cm. M. C. Ross, "Luxuries of the Eastern Empire," *Arts in Virginia* 8, no. 1-2 (1967-68): 62, fig. 10; J. Folda and J. Schnorrenberg, *A Medieval Treasury from Southeastern Collections* (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971), no. 4.

[11] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pp. 31-32, 112-113, pl. 32; *Frühbyz. Silbergefässe*, cat. no. 7, col. pl. 6, figs. 13-15.

and ducks (fig. 6);[12] and the plate with a Maenad feeding a serpent, decorated with the head of Oceanus (?) and pairs of confronted sea monsters.[13] There is, in addition, a small plate with a Maenad in Geneva, dated by stamps to late in the reign of Justinian, which has a foliate rinceau engraved on its exterior.[14] That two of the plates have hallmarks indicating they were made in Constantinople suggests that the revival of this kind of decorative schema may be associated with workshops in that city.

Further distinguishing our dish is the choice of a Nilotic landscape as the decoration of the exterior (fig. 7). Sketchily engraved in a rapid, schematic style are a selection of elements typical of a marshy Nile river scene: a pygmy poling a Nile boat through the water; a scaly crocodile with open jaws; an ibis pecking the ground; and a snake, coiled and ready to strike, facing a seated dog. The animals and the boatman are interspersed with a wide variety of "lotus" plants in leaf, bud, flower, or pod.[15] Except for the illusion of rippling waves beneath the boat there is no indication of a watery background to this river scene.

The group of the serpent confronting the dog is particularly interesting for it appears to be derived from the image of the fight between the cobra and the mongoose, known from animal illustrations in early scientific treatises such as Nicander's *Theriaca* or Eutecnius's paraphrase of the *Theriaca*. Although no illustrated examples of these ancient writings have survived from antiquity, the image has has been preserved in middle Byzantine manuscript copies.[16] During the Roman period, as the popularity of the image increased, it evidently entered the repertory of motifs included in Nilotic landscapes, for it appears at an early date in

[12] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pp. 54-58, fig. 6; *Frühbyz. Silbergefässe*, cat. no. 12, col. pl. 11, fig. 30.

[13] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pp. 58ff., pls. 33-34; *Frühbyz. Silbergefässe*, cat. no. 14, col. pl. 13, figs 32-33; *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. K. Weitzmann (New York, 1979), no. 202.

[14] Ortiz Collection. Diam. 13.7 cm. Wt. 337 gr. *Age of Spirituality*, no. 128.

[15] The plant depicted here, in its various forms, is actually an Egyptian water lily, known as the *Nelumbian Nelumbo*, which is often confused by late antique artists with the true lotus. Both plants, however, belong to the same family. On the identification and differentiation of these Nilotic plants, see S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, Africa Italiana, 2 (Rome and Milan, 1926), p. 119f. and fn. 11; L. Ibrahim, R. Scranton, and R. Brill, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth*, vol. 2: *The Panels of Opus Sectile in Glass* (Corinth, 1976), pp. 32-34.

[16] For example, New York, Morgan Library, cod. M 652, f. 345 (Z. Kádár, *Survival of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* [Budapest 1978], p. 46f., pl. 34a), and Rome, Vat. cod. Chis. 53 (F. VII, 159), f. 227v (ibid., pl. 50). For other representations of the theme in Hellenistic art, see ibid., p. 46.

the famous mosaic from Palestrina.[17] Its survival on sixth-century silver is not, however, an isolated phenomenon. An extremely distant reflection of the image may be identified on the rim of the well-known early sixth-century patera in the Hermitage, decorated with Nilotic scenes (fig. 9).[18] It is dated by its stamps A.D. 491-518. Here all understanding of the original format and context of the image has been lost, and the serpent simply slithers on the ground in front of a feline. Such a radical transformation is probably due to the gradual standardization and stereotyping of the motifs used in Nilotic landscapes with the consequent misunderstanding of the subject in later works.

The similarity of many features of the decoration of the Leningrad patera to that of the London plate has previously been observed.[19] Both objects are executed in repoussé rather than worked from the front; both have a central medallion framed by a *kymation* and inner beaded border; the disposition of the urns and rosettes engraved on the field of the patera is comparable to the placement of the acanthus leaves on the London dish; and the individual elements of the Nilotic scene on the rim, with crocodiles, fish, snakes, ducks, and lotus plants, find specific parallels among the Nilotic motifs of the London dish.

The persistence and widespread popularity of such Nilotic scenes as well as individual motifs, and their existence on Late Antique and early Byzantine works in different materials, have been frequently observed.[20] The taste for Nilotica became especially prevalent in the second century A.D. following Hadrian's visits to Egypt and continued well into the early Byzantine period. Among the more interesting examples from the viewpoint of the intermingling of pagan and Christian themes are the riverbank scenes that are clearly derived from Nilotic landscapes which were incorporated into the decoration of Christian churches of the

[17] G. Gullini, *I mosaici di Palestrina* (Rome, 1956), pls. I and XIV,b. All but one of the Nilotic images depicted on the London dish are found on this mosaic: ibid., pls. XV (boatman poling; varieties of "lotus" flowers) and XXVII,1 (crocodile).

[18] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pp. 75-79, figs. 9-11, pl. 16; *Frühbyz. Silbergefässe*, cat. no. 6, col. pl. 5, figs. 10-12. The image in question is just below the handle of the patera. Another snake is depicted elsewhere on the rim.

[19] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pp. 79-80.

[20] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pp. 64-65, 77; R. Pfister, "Nil, Nilomètres et l'orientalisation du paysage hellénistique," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 7 (1931-32): 121ff.; A. Hermann, "Der Nil und die Christen," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 2 (1959): 56ff. See also the thorough study of the recently discovered glass *opus sectile* panels depicting Nilotic and marine scenes from Kenchreai (Ibrahim, Scranton, Brill, *Kenchreai*, 2: 1-163).

fourth and fifth centuries.[21] While the role of Egypt in general, and of Alexandria in particular, was crucial in the development and dissemination of Nilotic imagery in its earlier phases, it is clear that by the fourth and fifth centuries objects with Egyptianizing motifs were made in workshops all over the Mediterranean world and no direct connection with an Egyptian locale need be assumed. That Nilotic elements had become irrelevant as a means of localizing workshops is documented by the popularity of these themes on sixth-century silver made in Constantinople, such as the Leningrad patera (fig. 9) and a now-lost silver dish with the personification of Euthenia.[22] At the same time, the London dish indicates that a similar interest in these themes existed in provincial workshops in Asia Minor.

While the Asia Minor provenance of the London dish is not conclusive evidence that it was made there, it seems a reasonable assumption given the lack of any compelling stylistic similarity to either the Leningrad patera, a Constantinopolitan work, or the Benaki plate, an Egyptian work. A similar *kymation* and beaded border is found on a silver bowl from Asia Minor in Dumbarton Oaks,[23] which is otherwise stylistically unrelated, but this decorative motif had such a long life and widespread distribution — it occurs on works from the third to the seventh century made in Constantinople, Egypt, Italy and Asia Minor — that it is not a reliable criteria for localization.

Firmer evidence may be adduced with regard to its date. Matzulewitsch believed the London dish to be slightly earlier than the Hermitage patera (A.D. 491-518) to which he compared it.[24] However, there are a number of reasons that tend to suggest a date late, rather than early, in the sixth century. In the discussion of the leaf ornament

[21] For example, Sta. Costanza, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and St. John of the Lateran in Rome, and the Church of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha in Palestine. On the subject in general, see C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1953), pp. 41f., 142f., and Hermann, "Der Nil," p. 64f. On the lost mosaics in Sta. Costanza, see especially H. Stern, "Les mosaiques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," *DOP* 12 (1958): 159ff.; on the Tabgha mosaic, see. A. M. Schneider, *Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes* (London, 1937), pp. 56-64, 78.

[22] Dodd, *BSS*, no. 26. Note also that on the Sludka plate (ibid., no. 7, and fn. 8 above) with Justinianic hallmarks, there are lotus blossoms interspersed among the acanthus palmettes in which are nestled ducks, a motif that occurs also on the central medallion of the Leningrad patera. Many other stamped silver objects decorated simply with fishing scenes could be cited, but the *comparanda* has been restricted here to those items with specifically Nilotic details such as lotus flowers, crocodiles, pygmies, etc.

[23] Ross, *DOC*, 1: 5-6, no. 6, pls. VI-VII.

[24] *Byz. Ant.*, p. 79, fn. 4.

engraved on the front of the plate, it was seen to be similar in type to that on the Richmond plate (fig. 5), except that the latter was more clearly defined and far more precisely drawn. The Richmond ornament, in turn, finds several close parallels among dated materials, for example, on an ivory diptych of Philoxenus (A.D. 525),[25] on the rim of the paten of Paternus (before A.D. 518),[26] and on certain of the sculptures from the Church of St. Polyeuctus in Istanbul, datable between A.D. 524-527.[27] Each of these exhibits a precisely formed five-lobed leaf with well-defined interior veining and a serrated, almost spiky, contour. Thus, on the basis of the leaf form, the Richmond plate would seem to date no later than the first quarter of the sixth century.

An intermediate stage in the treatment of the leaf may be seen on the Judgment of Athena plate in Leningrad, where a very similar leaf form is found within the rinceau engraved on the back (fig. 6). Although the design is badly worn, it is clear that the crisp precision of the early sixth-century forms has been replaced by a looser, less tightly drawn leaf that has closer affinities to that on the London plate than that in Richmond. The drawing of the leaf on the London plate seems to reflect a more advanced stage in the dissolution of the original precise form and it therefore should probably be dated somewhat later than the Leningrad plate.

The decorative treatment of the tight, round curly locks of Eros's hair is another feature that finds parallels among sixth-century silver. The hair and beard of Ajax and Odysseus on the Leningrad plate just mentioned is remarkably similar, as is the curly hair, arranged in a thick cap-like form, on the two angels flanking a cross on a plate in the Hermitage.[28] Both are dated on stylistic grounds to the sixth century. An even more persuasive comparison can be made with the figure of an orant saint on an oil phial from the Hama Treasure in Baltimore (fig. 8).[29] Not only is the tightly curled, cap-like head of hair analogous, so also is the chunky figure style, and the way in which the head is placed directly on the shoulders, the neck being eliminated.

Firm evidence for dating the phial to the second half of the sixth century has been proposed by Erica Dodd, who argued that the

[25] W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1976), no. 30, pl. 15.

[26] Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.*, pl. 27; Dodd, *BSS*, no. 2.

[27] R. Harrison and N. Firatlı, "Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: Second and Third Preliminary Reports," *DOP* 20 (1966): 222f., figs. 6, 7, and 15.

[28] *Frühbyz. Silbergefässe*, cat. no. 12, col. pl. 12, fig. 31.

[29] E. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern, 1973), pp. 18f., 54, figs. 11 and 13; *Age of Spirituality*, no. 536.

Heliodorus and Akakios in whose *memory* the phial was dedicated (thus they were deceased) are the same as the brothers with these names mentioned on the Chalice of St. Anne in Jerusalem, where, however, they are still living.[30] Since the chalice is dated by its stamps to after ca. A.D. 550,[31] the phial must date some time later. In the absence of other dated comparative material, the phial provides the strongest evidence for dating the London dish to the second half of the sixth century.

Finally, the marked resemblance of our dish to that in the Benaki surely implies some chronological relationship even though the style of the latter is more careful and detailed, as well as more naturalistic in its depiction of the sea environment. The dating of the Benaki plates is fairly general, to the middle or second half of the sixth century. In view of the absence of similar naturalistic details on the London dish, the lack of differentiation between the furry foreparts and scaly tail of the sea monster, and the overall stylization of its body, a date relatively later than the Benaki plates seems likely. Therefore, I would propose a date toward the end of the sixth century for the London dish.

In conclusion, some mention should be made of a little dish in New York that is often mentioned in connection with that in London because it is virtually identical: embossed on the front with an Eros riding a sea monster, and engraved on the back with a Nilotic landscape that includes precisely the same elements.[32] However, a recent study of the New York dish[33] demonstrated that it is actually a direct copy of that in the British Museum, based in all likelihood on the photograph and drawing published in 1921 by Walters in his *Catalogue of Silver Plate*. The art historical conclusions concerning the dish were strongly supported by its technical analysis, which showed an abnormally low gold content.[34] Thus, although the London dish forms part of quite a large group of small, closely related plates, the New York dish should be excluded from future consideration.

Dumbarton Oaks

30 Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, p. 18, fn. 41.

31 Dodd, *BSS*, no. 18.

32 Ross, *DOC*, 1: 8; *Art in Ancient Italy*, André Emmerich Gallery (New York, 1970), no. 98.

33 Boyd and Vikan, *Questions of Authenticity*, no. 4, fig. 4.

34 The composition of the silver was analysed by neutron activation analysis by Dr. Peter Meyers, research chemist of the Conservation Laboratory, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Brookhaven Laboratories, Long Island. Trace element examination was not undertaken.

bowl:	silver 95.7 %, copper 4.3 %, gold 0.038 %
reverse, center:	silver 96.4 %, copper 3.6 %, gold 0.047 %



Fig. 1. London, British Museum. Dish with Eros riding a Sea Monster.



Fig. 2. Athens, Benaki Museum. Dish with Eros riding a Sea Monster.



Fig. 3. London, British Museum. Central medallion.



Fig. 4. Athens, Benaki Museum. Central medallion.



Fig. 5. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art. Plate with Ducks drinking from an Urn.

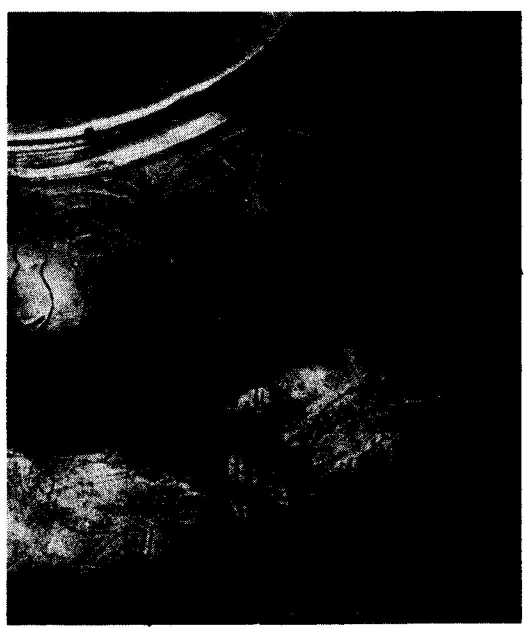


Fig. 6. Leningrad, Hermitage. Detail of back of plate with Maenad and Serpent.



Fig. 7. London, British Museum. Reverse of Dish.



Fig. 8. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.
Oil Phial from Hama Treasure.

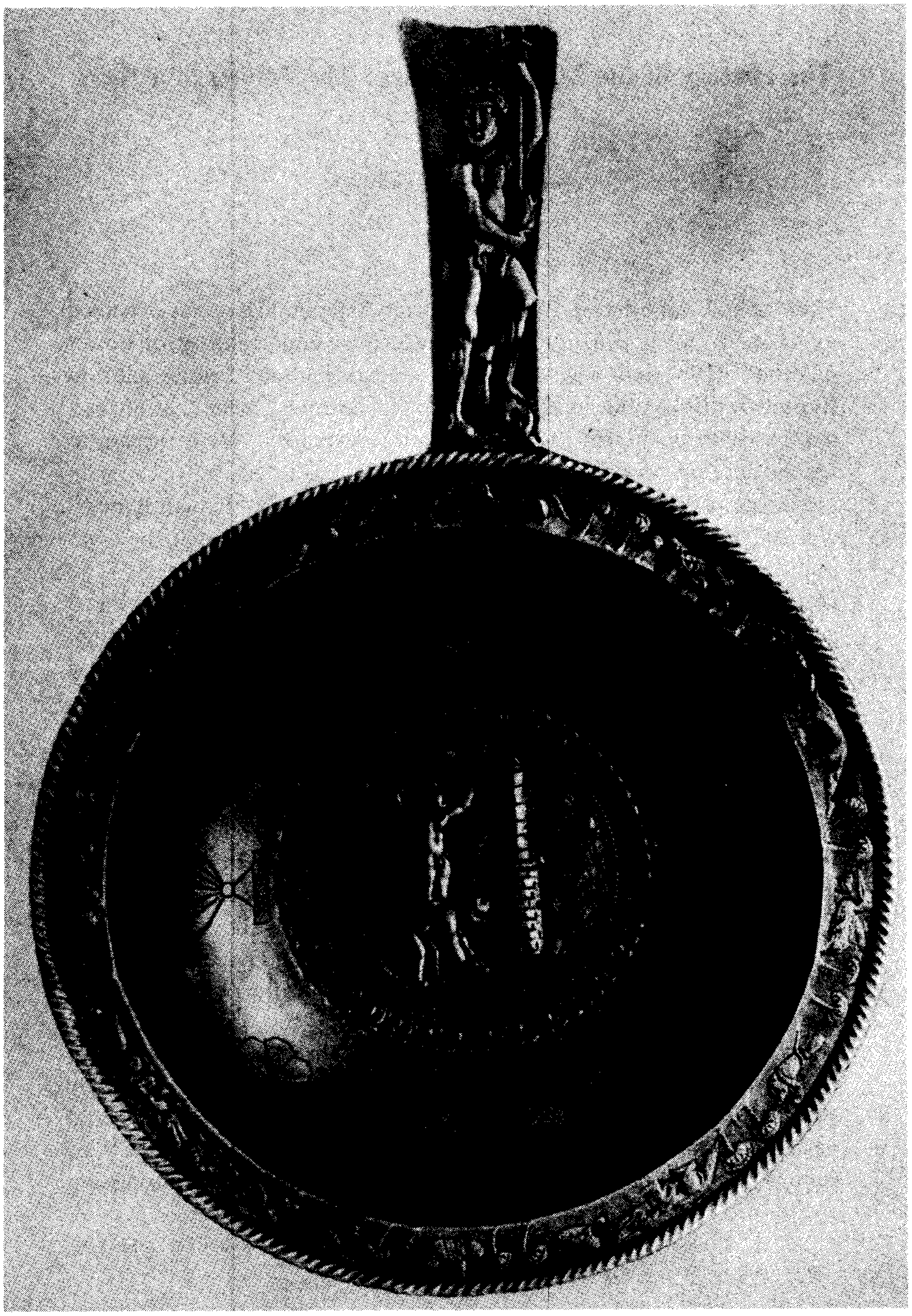


Fig. 9. Leningrad, Hermitage. Patera with Nilotic Scenes.

The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story

AVERIL CAMERON

There is no doubt that in Byzantine society religion had so far extended its domain that it constituted the single most important set of power relations. How and why that situation came about belongs not to Byzantine history, but to the history of late antiquity, where, as always, it is easier to document the change than to explain it. Nevertheless, to see the development over time of a single religious token, as we can with the image of Edessa, an image of Christ "not made by human hands," will help us to see both where the shifts take place and what the crisis points are. For the thought-world of the Byzantines was not, as is so commonly supposed, entirely static and self-contained : it, too, developed and changed over time, even if the development took the form, as it often did, of a defensive reaffirmation in stronger and more all-embracing terms of the attitudes already adopted. Probably the hardest problem confronting the modern Byzantinist is to understand, with the full degree of seriousness which it deserves, the centrality of religion in the Byzantine world-order, to see how it functioned, and to avoid an anachronistic separation between "purely religious" elements in a given situation and "underlying" or even "real" social or economic factors. In the case of the image of Edessa, and almost uniquely here, we are able to see over time how embedded religion was in Byzantine society and, above all, how the "telling" of the image was progressively extended and developed as new situations arose. It is a long story, but one which can be very suggestive for the problem outlined above.

It very soon becomes clear, for instance, that the Mandylion of Edessa, the miraculous portrait of Christ on a cloth known and loved by generations of Slavs through countless copies in Slavic churches [1] and venerated by Russian soldiers as recently as during the First World War, cannot be traced back either as a miraculous image or as an impression

[1] See A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon: Le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe, Seminarium Kondakovianum* (Prague, 1931).

on cloth, as distinct from a painted picture, beyond the sixth century. The universal understanding of later writers that this image of Christ was somehow miraculously created simply does not occur in the earliest literary sources. This understanding itself goes back to the moment when icons had assumed a special and contemporary significance, and the detailed stories of its origin follow naturally upon that understanding. We can best see how the notion of a picture of Christ at Edessa gathered round itself greater and greater symbolic value by surveying the texts in order, beginning with the earliest.[2] The fullest, not surprisingly, is the latest, namely, the *Narratio de Imagine Edessena*, composed to commemorate the arrival of the image in Constantinople in A.D. 944; but we can only approach the *Narratio* after a full consideration of what went before.[3]

The earliest reference, in fact, to a picture of Christ at Edessa (modern Urfa in Turkey) occurs in a Syriac work known as the *Doctrina Addai*, which in its present form seems to date from about A.D. 400.[4] Eusebius had told the story of King Abgar's letter to Jesus and Jesus' reply in the *Church History*, around 300,[5] claiming to have derived it from city records in Edessa, but not mentioning any picture. While some have claimed that he might have omitted such a reference because of his own distaste for religious images,[6] it seems likelier that the motif of the picture entered the complex of the Abgar legend only later, since the

[2] For an earlier chronological survey, see the excellent paper by S. Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931): 238-52; Averil Cameron, "The Sceptic and the Shroud," Inaugural Lecture, King's College, London (1980) (= *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* [London, 1981], chap. V), where the subject is treated obliquely. I am glad to have the chance of developing this more straightforwardly. For Edessa in general, J. B. Segal's *Edessa: The "Blessed City"* (Oxford, 1970), though impressionistic in parts, is still very useful.

[3] Thus it is quite wrong to make it primary, as does Ian Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin* (New York and London, 1978) (= *The Turin Shroud* [Harmondsworth, 1979]), e.g., chap. 15. The notion that the Mandylion of Edessa and the Shroud now at Turin are one and the same thing is quite impossible (see fn. 2 above). The *Narratio* is to be found at *PG* 113: 425ff.

[4] Ed. and trans. G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle* (London, 1876). A full treatment of the early texts will be found in E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 120ff.; see now also H. J. W. Drijvers, "Edessa," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin), 9 (1981): 277-88.

[5] *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.13. For the latest view on the date of Eusebius's *Church History*, see T. D. Barnes, "The Editions of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980): 191-201, who has Eusebius beginning it in the mid 290s.

[6] Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 241f. For a valiant attempt to argue against this general attitude in Eusebius, see Sister C. Murray, "Art and the Early Church," *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977): 303-345.

pilgrim Aetheria, who visited Edessa in about A.D. 380, saw no picture, but merely the letter of Jesus.[7] No doubt the *Doctrina Addai* derives from the same set of material known to Eusebius, but that the picture was an element added to the story at a late stage also seems likely because two sixth- or seventh-century papyri which appear to preserve variants of the whole complex earlier than and distinct from that of the *Doctrina* are equally without mention of a picture.[8] We must now ask, therefore, what the story of the picture in the *Doctrina* amounts to and why it should have entered an otherwise self-contained complex of myth at precisely this stage.

A close look at the *Doctrina* reveals that already there has been some conflation of personages. Abgar sent to Jesus among other envoys one Hannan (Greek Ananias), described as the keeper of the archives, who is said to have written down for the king everything he saw Jesus doing and all that he heard him say. The next stage is the sending of a letter, again via Hannan, to whom Jesus also dictated his reply. We then learn that Hannan was the king's painter, and that he painted a picture of Christ for Abgar. But the conversion of Abgar is not achieved here (as it is in later texts) by the sight of the picture: the conversion of Edessa is apparently laid upon Thomas after the ascension of Christ, and Thomas in turn sends Addai (Greek Thaddaeus), who is at the centre of this text. It is Addai who cures Abgar of his disease, and it is through Addai that Abgar becomes a Christian. Clearly this text is concerned with the apostolic origins of the church of Edessa, that is, with affirming its authority.[9] Here the picture is of minimum importance. Yet there are already several different elements uneasily coexisting: the letter, the picture, Hannan, Addai, Thomas. There was already an established connection between Thomas and Edessa, and the pilgrim Aetheria came to see Thomas's shrine.[10] The *Doctrina*, however, promotes the claim that Addai brought Christianity to Edessa, with a rather crude attempt to harmonize this story with the existing ones about the letter and with the Thomas connection. By the sixth or seventh century, as the Greek

[7] *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, 19, ed. H. Petré, in *Sources chrétiennes* 21 (1948): 162-71.

[8] R. Peppermüller, "Griechische Papyrusfragmente der Doctrina Addai," *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (1971): 289-301.

[9] It is likely, in fact, that Christianity came to Edessa in the second century.

[10] For Thomas and Edessa, see Drijvers, "Edessa," pp. 282f.; A.F.J. Klijn, *Edessa, de Stad van de Apostel Thomas* (Baarn, 1962). The *Acts of Thomas* are of the third century and have been thought to have originated in Edessa; already, however, Thomas is presented as the apostle of Parthia and India.

Acts of Thaddaeus (Addai) show,[11] the emphasis has changed; though Addai is still the nominal hero of the *Acts*, the agent of Abgar's conversion is the picture, which is now a miraculous picture on cloth; furthermore, the cure takes place even before Addai arrives at Edessa. Thomas can now be discarded altogether, because now everyone knows that what really mattered in this complex was the image of Christ. Further, Hannan's role has had to be modified: he could not have painted the picture if it was a miraculous image. So we read that indeed he was unable to do so, whereupon Christ took a cloth, asked for water with which to wet his face, and then impressed his image on the cloth. From now on, this or a version of it becomes the standard explanation for the origin of the image.[12] By comparison, the reference to a picture in the *Doctrina Addai* is unemphatic and low-key; the thrust of the text is clearly concentrated elsewhere. Thus the entry of the picture into the tradition is likely to be for unspectacular reasons.[13] While the letter was venerated not only in Edessa but over a wide area, it probably had its critics:[14] an extra proof would be welcome to the Edessan church authorities, and would by this time be likely to take pictorial form. An authentic picture of Jesus would be more immediate and persuasive evidence of the unimpeachable origins of Edessan Orthodox Christianity than even a supposed letter, which after all was only dictated. The transfer from letter to picture—or, rather, the juxtaposition of letter and picture—is part of the move towards the codification of the religious discourse. By telling about the religious tokens, and by increasing its complexity, the subject's potential is increased. Thus the "addition" of the picture is not an unfortunate accretion to be swept away by the historian,[15] but a deliberate move in the Christianization process needing full appreciation. And the recording of this move in literary texts (and, we must suppose, spoken intercourse, too) is a crucial part of the process. The move necessitated an actual picture, and called forth explanations of the picture's origins; but at the same time the explanations gave the picture (and later the miraculous image) its real power in society.

[11] See below, fn. 32.

[12] For example, St. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* IV.16; *De imaginibus* I.27.

[13] Rather than as a counterpart to pictures of Mani (Drijvers, "Edessa," p. 280).

[14] It was officially declared apocryphal in 494 (E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum*, vol. 8 [Leipzig, 1912]). Procopius seems to reflect some doubt—see below and fn. 24.

[15] Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 239: "a parasitic growth to the story which in a few centuries entirely covered it." But the story was not a "given" at a particular point in time, but a growing and changing phenomenon.

These explanations were not slow in forthcoming, once the further idea of icons not made by human hands had spread. For a time, the simple notion of Hannan's painting was sufficient. But by the late sixth century the first of the icons "not made by human hands" had appeared in the Syriac-speaking milieu to which Edessa belonged.[16] Chief among them was the Camuliana icon, first attested in Syria in 558 and taken to Constantinople by 574.[17] The official hierarchy, therefore, recognized the potential of these powerful religious tokens; the Camuliana Christ-icon was paraded round the battlefield and on the walls of Constantinople, and both events were fully recorded.[18] Thus the icon acquired a multifaceted role, both in private devotion and as a symbol of unity. It was only to be expected that the image at Edessa should also serve to fulfil these new functions. Perhaps the only too human painting by Hannan (or what passed for such) had been lost. At any rate, we hear for the first time at the end of the sixth century of just such a miraculous image at Edessa, "found" in the city gate by the bishop just at the time of the greatest Persian threat to the city, in A.D. 544.[19] The problems surrounding the date of the first appearance of the real icon (to which I shall return) are of less interest in themselves than the setting in which the "finding" was located in the later texts. For Edessa in A.D. 544 was deeply divided; not only were there some who looked for ways of avoiding the fate that had befallen Antioch in 540 by making a rapprochement with Chosroes, but the church was at odds internally. Jacob Bar'adai had very recently been made Monophysite bishop of Edessa—in name only, it is true, yet with a rapidly growing constituency.[20] The Orthodox needed a counterweight to his magnetic pull, just as they needed an explanation for why Edessa was actually spared, if at high cost. We shall see the rival religious groups wrangling over possession of the image in the seventh century; and a similar context, together with the tension of extreme danger from the Persian army, was the stage for the image's "finding."

Evagrius, writing at the end of the sixth century, had no doubt that Edessa had been saved by the miraculous image. Yet Procopius, who

[16] See E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 8 (1954): 85-150.

[17] See Averil Cameron, "Images of Authority: Elites, Icons, and Cultural Change in late sixth-century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 84 (1979): 18ff.

[18] A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), pp. 31ff.

[19] Evagrius, *HE* IV.27.

[20] E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle*, CSCO Subsidia, 2 (Louvain, 1951); W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 283ff.

wrote much nearer to the time of the actual events and had a detailed knowledge of Edessa, did not even mention it.[21] It has been thought that the "rational historian like Eusebius" would have left it out.[22] But Procopius was no more rational than Evagrius. He did not leave out the miracle which saved Apamea from Chosroes on the same occasion, nor the efforts of Bishop Megas of Beroea, nor the sign sent from God before the sack of Antioch.[23] Furthermore, he knew of the letter of Jesus at Edessa and was clearly intrigued by it; his "rationalist" doubts about the authenticity of its addendum promising that Edessa would never be captured did not prevent him from concluding that the letter and its addition served a useful social purpose for the Edessenes.[24] It is very hard to believe that Procopius would have left the image out of his account, had he known of it. Much simpler to suppose that the miraculous image was "found" only after the event, and that its immediate function was to justify a course of action taken by a certain sector of the Edessenes. Evagrius, whose bias was deeply Orthodox, very naturally emphasized the "miracle" which saved the town from the Persians, for it was an Orthodox miracle, and the image was housed in the newly rebuilt Orthodox cathedral. Procopius, on the other hand, did not mention it, not merely because he did not know it, but because it did not yet exist. He was, indeed, writing very soon after 544, certainly before 550.[25] Thus the image was born during the tense questioning which would have followed Edessa's costly escape from Chosroes. By comparison, when Evagrius wrote, in the 590s, such icons in Byzantine-Persian warfare had become almost a commonplace,[26] and the connection of Edessa's escape with a miraculous icon would have been fitting.

Another, less easily dated text bears on this question of date: a hymn in Syriac celebrating the rebuilt Orthodox cathedral at Edessa, which mentions the image.[27] We have a *terminus post quem* for the church, and thus for the image, of A.D. 553, when Amazonius became bishop.[28]

[21] *BP* II.26-27 (and cf. 12.6-13.11).

[22] Runciman, "Some Remarks" (fn. 4), p. 244.

[23] Apamea: *BP* II.11. 14-30; ibid., 6.17f.; Antioch: ibid., 10.1.

[24] *BP* II.12.30.

[25] Books 1 to 7 of the *Wars* were finished in 550 (B. Rubin, *Prokopios von Kaisareia* [Stuttgart, 1954], pp. 80-81).

[26] Cameron, "Images of Authority," p. 23.

[27] A. Grabar, "La témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edesse au VI^e siècle et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien," *Cahiers archéologique* 2 (1947): 41ff.; translation: C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), pp. 57ff.

[28] According to Jacob of Edessa, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, CSCO Script. Syri III. iv (Paris, 1905), p. 243.

There are problems about the interpretation of the reference to the image, and it is oddly unemphasized for something that was to become so celebrated so soon.[29] Yet the hymn does refer clearly enough to an image not made by human hands, at a time very soon after the Persian attack, though later than Procopius's *Persian Wars*. By contrast, the author of the Syriac *Chronicle of Edessa*, written soon after 544, already used the theme of divine intervention in the escape of Edessa from Chosroes, but with no mention of a miraculous image.[30] All this points to an emergence, by some means or other, of a miraculous image at Edessa in the middle of the sixth century. The discourse had thickened, yet at its heart was a physical object, which we must now consider.

For there seems to have been a change in the object — or, if not that, then a change in the way in which the object was seen. From now on, the texts refer to a miraculous impression on *cloth*. Paint was not enough; the image must have been transferred by Christ himself as he pressed a napkin to his moistened face: an alternative has it bedewed with sweat during the agony in the garden.[31] This development is the product both of an increasingly persistent call for the most immediate memorials of Christ — for whom there was, after all, nothing to equal the Virgin's robe and girdle at Constantinople or her house at Ephesus — and of the growing complexity of the discourse about the image. More and more detail was being added about the origins of the image, and an account of its exact miraculous coming-into-being was now a prerequisite for a satisfactory understanding. Thus the Greek *Acts of Thaddaeus*[32] know the image as an impression on a cloth, as we have seen. Hannan is on his way down to second-rank, but has retained a place in the story. The image, however, is central, even over the part played by Thaddaeus himself. As yet, though, we do not find the embroidery that Hannan was prevented from painting Christ's picture by the radiance of the divine presence, or the conflation of the Hannan and Thaddaeus stories that make Thaddaeus-Addai the bearer of the image to Edessa. The total story grows only gradually. Another text seems to point to the notion of a cloth already in the seventh century, namely, the odd passage in the

29 See Cameron, "The Sceptic and the Shroud," pp. 9-10.

30 Ed. I. Guidi, CSCO Script. Syri III.xiv.1 (Paris, 1903), trans., p. 11.

31 *Narratio*, *PG* 113:432D f.

32 R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 273-78.

Chronicle of John of Nikiu, a distorted text written in Greek but surviving only in Ethiopic, where a Jew of Alexandria called Aubaruns is said to have possessed the *mandil* and towel with which Christ girded himself when he washed the feet of the disciples; these objects are said to have passed to the church of the Tabenniosites in Alexandria in the early sixth century (patriarchate of Timothy, 517-35).[33] Surely this is a garbled version of the Abgar legend, and it links Abgar with a cloth. It also seems to show that the term *mandylion* (meaning "small cloth, kerchief, napkin") was beginning to be applied to the image on the cloth, or rather to the cloth itself, almost as soon as the idea of a cloth took hold. The Arabic *mandil*, later also applied to the image, is obviously a Greek loan-word,[34] and means much the same as the Greek (in turn derived from the Latin *mantelium* or *mantele*). Another important element has entered the complex: the image of Edessa is to be thought of as an impression on a small cloth, the sort that a man might use to wipe his face, and this is how it is glossed in the later Greek writers.[35]

A natural question is what was the image of Edessa actually like. Was there at some stage an actual substitution of a piece of cloth for a painted icon? Or did the image always look much as any other ancient icon might have looked, even if the local people told themselves that it was on a piece of cloth? The tenth-century *Narratio* tells of its having been nailed onto a board, and fixed in a gold frame.[36] Probably it was indistinguishable from any other precious Christ-icon; what changed was the discourse, not the object. That, at any rate, is what is suggested by references to painted copies being made well enough to be mistaken for the original.[37] The language for the description of works of art is notoriously elusive and ambiguous. The word *eikon*, for instance, continued to be commonly used for the image by writers who were convinced that it was an impression on a cloth, while the language of painting could be applied to it with an equal freedom. Most telling, however, is probably the account by Michael the Syrian of copies made from the image in the early Arab period; the artist carefully used dim colours so that the copy would look old, which suggests to me (for we

[33] R.H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic text* (London, 1916), pp. 144-45.

[34] See below on Eutychius, fn. 48.

[35] E.g., by *cheiromaktron* (*Narratio*, *PG* 113:429D) or *soundarion* (e.g., Germanus of Constantinople; see fn. 41 below).

[36] *PG* 113:437A.

[37] Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* XI.16, trans. J.-B. Chabot, II.iii (Paris, 1904), pp. 475ff.

are also told that this copy fooled people into accepting it as the original) that the image never actually looked like a cloth at all. For this reason, we must conclude that the artist of the Sinai icon of Abgar and the Mandylion, in which the depiction is of a free-flowing cloth, was using his imagination;[38] the reality must have looked quite different.

The early Arab period in Edessa, and the years immediately preceding it, were in fact crucial in the development of stories about the image. Just as the miraculous image had been "found" in a context of tension and division, so now it became a talisman fought over by Monophysites and Orthodox. The reign of Maurice (582-602) saw severe struggles between the two groups, during which four hundred Monophysite monks were said to have been killed. Later, however, the Monophysites (or "Jacobites") gained the upper hand, and had gained control of the cathedral of Edessa under Heraclius, since that emperor had handed it back to the Orthodox.[39] It was at this point that a copy was made by the Jacobites and (so the story goes) passed off to the Orthodox as the genuine article.[40] In the last years of Byzantine rule in Edessa, the image's political potential, which had been there from the beginning, was greatly intensified, and, we must suppose, the detailed story of its origins as a face-cloth was worked out, giving it an even greater claim to authoritative and immediate contact with Christ. Certainly by the early eighth century the image had achieved a wider fame, though Edessa itself was cut off from the Byzantine world by Arab rule. Two factors worked to increase its prestige and indeed to preserve it — the Iconoclastic controversy and the control of Edessa by the Arabs. The former called forth a yet more developed codification of the meaning of icons, in which the image of Edessa now held a central place; the latter protected the image from the destruction which was the lot of most of the great icons in the Byzantine world, while allowing its reputation to grow unhindered, for the Arabs made no attempt to weaken or destroy the church in Syria. A heightening of the political role of the image, therefore, was followed by a set of circumstances which peculiarly favoured its rise to become the major surviving early icon during the Iconoclastic period.

In this process, a crucial factor was the amount of attention given to it in contemporary iconophile writings, even though as a miraculous

[38] See K. Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos," *Cahiers archéologiques* 11 (1960): 163-84.

[39] Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X.23, XI.3; see R. Devréesse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1945), p. 293.

[40] See fn. 36.

image not made by human hands it was strictly irrelevant in the technical arguments about the circumscribability of Christ. Nevertheless, iconophiles appealed to the prestige and tradition surrounding the image and to its authority as, they believed, contemporary witness to the appearance of Christ. Germanus, the patriarch of Constantinople deposed in 730 by Leo III for his support of icons, cited the example of the image of Edessa in a speech made before the emperor.[41] Above all, St. John Damascene, the greatest defender and apologist of icons in the eighth century, who himself wrote under Moslem rule, more than once used the same example, clearly drawing on the Greek *Acts of Thaddaeus*.[42] These passages in the works of Germanus and John Damascene became famous; the patriarch Nicephorus, himself deposed by the Iconoclast emperor Leo V in 815, repeated Germanus's arguments about the Edessan image almost *verbatim*.[43] And so, through Iconoclasm and the debates to which it gave rise, the image of Edessa was transformed from a local possession fought over by local groups into a major religious token in the Christian east as a whole. The iconophile writers of the eighth and ninth centuries brought it out into the full glare of publicity and made the image the centre of a far wider debate than had touched it in Edessa itself.

We can still, however, capture a glimpse of the local honour paid to the image in the eighth and ninth centuries from the work of Theodore Abū Qurrah, bishop of Ḥarrān in the late eighth to ninth century, who wrote a treatise on images in Arabic in which the preeminence of the image of Edessa is clear.[44] For Theodore, the most notable of all images is that "in our city" (i.e., Edessa). To bring that home to any who did not appreciate how sanctified the image was, he resorted to some strange examples: supposing, he said, that there was a picture of someone's father on the door of the church and everyone spat on it as they went in — how would the son feel?[45] Or — and here we see the kind of

[41] Quoted by George Monachus, *Chron.*, p. 740 de Boor, and cf. p. 321.16f.

[42] See fn. 12.

[43] *PG* 100:461A, with 260.

[44] Theodori Abu Ḳurra, *De Cultu Imaginum*, ed. J. Arendzen (Bonn, 1897), chap. 23, pp. 46-47; translation: G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra* (Paderborn, 1910), pp. 328-30. A happy meeting with Dr. Sydney Griffith, who is preparing a new edition of Theodore's work, drew my attention to its importance, as to that of Eutychius (see below).

[45] Theodore, chap. 23. As Dr. Griffith points out, Theodore's immediate concern was a pastoral one, to defend images in general, and especially the image of Edessa from critics near at home who were evidently protesting at the honours paid to it.

argument that was offered by the opponents of images—suppose there was a king whose mother had committed adultery, and that a painter had painted a picture of her in the act and then showed it all round the city—would not the king grow furiously angry and tear the painter limb from limb? It would be no kind of defence, Theodore continued, for the wretched painter to cry "I've done nothing to your mother; it's only paint." It was obvious, then, that the attention paid to an image, good or bad, was attention paid to the person represented. Honouring the image of Christ at Edessa with processions and feast days was the same as honouring Christ,[46] and conversely, insults to the image were insults to Christ. So Theodore spoke of the homage paid to the image in Edessa just after 800.[47] Clearly, iconoclastic arguments had reached Edessa, probably from Moslem as well as Byzantine quarters, and provoked in men like Theodore an intensified devotion to images and a detailed defence. The image's holiness had been taken for granted in its early days; now an iconophile dialogue had to be elaborated. It is harder, however, to know whether to press Theodore's language— again the language of colours and paint—or the implication that the image was placed on the very door of the church. Perhaps neither should be taken literally. But in view of the next Arabic allusion to the image, this is an important point.

We come next, in fact, to the *Book of the Demonstration* of Eutychius, the tenth-century patriarch of Alexandria.[48] In this work Eutychius tells of the "signs" which God sent to prove the truth of Christianity (as Jesus himself is said in the Quʿrān to be a sign); they include the holy places, relics, the oil of the chrism, and the Eucharist. But the only relic actually mentioned is the image of Edessa. Eutychius says: "the most wonderful of His relics which Christ has bequeathed to us is a napkin in the Church of ar-Ruhā [i.e., Edessa] in the region of Jezireh. With this Christ wiped His face and there was fixed on it a clear image, not made by painting or drawing or engraving and not changing."[49] The *terminus ante* for this passage is 944, when the image went to Constantinople. But note that Eutychius not only uses the term *mandil*, the Arabic equivalent of *mandylion*, but also expressly denies that the image was a painted icon—denying it the very word (*as-surāh*) which Theodore had un-

[46] Theodore, chap. 23.
[47] He was bishop in Ḥarrān from 800 to 812.
[48] P. Cachia and W. Watt, *Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of the Demonstration*, CSCO, 192 (Louvain, 1960), p. 384.
[49] Cachia and Watt, *Eutychius*, p. 384.

hesitatingly applied to it. This alone is indicative of how unwise it is to press exact terminology in specific passages. More importantly, though, Eutychius's reference tells us of the centrality of the image, standing alone as a direct token of Christ, and with a preeminence far beyond anything known in its earlier history. It is matched, for Eutychius, only by the coffin and shroud of the Virgin, which had been taken to Constantinople and which "proved" her Assumption. No such relic of Christ existed to rival the claim of the Edessan image, and certainly no such physical token as could be claimed for the Virgin.[50]

Given this multiplication of attention paid to the image, the Byzantine government was bound to want it removed from the obscurity of Edessa to a proper home in Constantinople. But that did not happen until 944, in the context of renewed Byzantine-Arab warfare. And now the Byzantines were in the stance vis-à-vis Edessa that Chosroes had been in in the sixth century: Edessa was an enemy city which the Byzantines wanted to capture. The sources, not unnaturally, claim that the trading of the image for 200 Moslem prisoners was reluctantly agreed to by the caliph and that the people of Edessa resisted surrendering the image with force. More probably they bought their safety this way as they had paid Chosroes to leave them alone in 544.[51] On both occasions the reasons for Edessa's escape were disguised in miraculous stories. Again we hear of copies of the image, and the attempt to pass one off as the genuine article.[52] One such was in a Nestorian church in Edessa; another, kept with the image itself, was associated with the cure of a daughter of Chosroes I during the sixth-century invasion. When the image went to Constantinople it was accompanied by a copy on a tile, subsequently kept with it in the Pharos chapel. This tile, too, had to be given a miraculous origin. The *Narratio*'s author knows it as having originated when Hannan-Ananias was taking the original cloth back to Edessa: he hid it for safety in a heap of tiles, but there was a fire, for which he was unjustly blamed. He was saved from the charge when his accusers discovered the

[50] It is striking that no author of this period mentions a surviving burial cloth or shroud of Christ which might have had equal claims with the Mandylion, or indeed with the Virgin's relics. Eutychius is a case in point; more noteworthy, perhaps, is the fact that Photius, for all that his homilies of Holy Saturday dwelt on the events of the burial of Christ, never suggests any such surviving shroud — nor do the remaining Byzantine homilists, for whom Holy Saturday was naturally a standard theme.

[51] So A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (Oxford, 1973), p. 319; *Narratio*, *PG* 113:444f.; Georg. Mon. Cont., pp. 918-19; Leo Gramm., pp. 325-26; Theoph. Cont., p. 432; ps. Symeon, pp. 748-49.

[52] See Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 249.

cloth itself and a tile beside it with the imprint transferred onto it. From that time both relics were preserved together at Edessa.[53] Much of the *Narratio* recording the transfer to Constantinople in 944 is concerned with the details of the journey and the wonders on the way, and with the liturgical reception of the image in the city. For the first time we encounter the notion of the image being placed with the letter in a casket, from which it was removed by the emperors.[54] It was certainly also fixed on a wooden backing and framed in gold with an inscription (all attributed to Abgar himself).[55] But the *Narratio* also preserves an alternative version of its origin — "a different story,"[56] in which Hannan has no part and in which Christ used the cloth to wipe his face during the agony in the garden, after which he gave it to Thomas, telling him to give it to Abgar through Thaddaeus-Addai after the Ascension. We recognise here in a more precise organisation the same conflation observable in the *Acts of Thaddaeus*. Curiously, the *Narratio* claims to be an *archaiologia*, an "archeology" of the image. And it is interested in proof: the story of the "finding" of the image in the sixth century (all connection with the picture in the *Doctrina Addai* has been lost) is adorned not only with the name of Evagrius, who recorded it in his *Church History*, but also with those of three patriarchs who had written a letter to the emperor Theophilus in support of images, citing the image of Edessa and the story of its finding.[57] In a sense, the *Narratio* marks the end of this story; the discourse about the image has been fully developed, and the image itself has come home to be placed beside the crown of thorns, the lance, and the tunic of Christ, where it can be quietly taken for granted until disturbed by the arrival of the Crusaders. It was seen in the Pharos chapel and reported shortly before 1204, when it was listed by Robert of Clari.[58] But during these years there was no need for further elaboration of its story; that had been done in the context of Edessa, and brought

[53] *PG* 113:432Af.
[54] *PG* 113:449B.
[55] *PG* 113:437Af.
[56] *PG* 113:432Df.
[57] *PG* 113:441A.
[58] 1200-1201: Anthony of Novgorod, ed. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), pp. 97-98; Nicolaus Mesarites, in A. Heisenberg, *Nikolaos Mesarites, Die Paläst-revolution des Johannes Comnenos* (Würzburg, 1907), pp. 29ff.; 1204: Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), chap. 83. The relation of chapters 82 and 83 to chap. 92 on Blachernae is complex, but not relevant to the present discussion. However, the discussion in A. Nada Patrone, ed., *Roberto di Clari, La Conquista di Costantinopoli (1198-1216)* (Geneva, 1972), pp. 18ff., is entirely confused and should be avoided.

to a conclusion in the *Narratio*, itself as much a formal celebration of the image as the ceremonies it describes with which the image was received in the capital — a progress by boat round the city from Blachernae to the Golden Gate, then another through the city to the Augusteum, St. Sophia and the imperial palace, where it was placed on the throne in the Chrysotriklinos before being finally deposited with the letter in the Pharos chapel.[59] As for the appearance of the image by then, we may guess that it was faint and dim: Constantine Porphyrogenitus was miraculously aided to see in it what was indistinguishable to his brothers-in-law and rivals.[60] So the same story shows that the image had not lost its political potential. Its removal to Constantinople boosted the claim to the throne of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; on the way, to use the phrase of Steven Runciman, the image itself "declared its political opinions"[61] by inspiring a man possessed by demons to cry out that the kingdom belonged to Constantine. The kudos for Constantine was as great as that won by Heraclius with the recovery of the True Cross, and the event was publicised in art and ceremonial. But there was no more "telling" to be done.

When the Crusaders entered Constantinople in 1204, the image was still in its place in the Pharos chapel. But from that time on its history is dark. Most probably it was the *toella* which passed with most of the other Pharos relics in 1247 from Baldwin II to Louis of France.[62] Subsequently its history goes undocumented. The Sainte Chapelle, where the Eastern relics were placed, was sacked in the French Revolution, and with this, one supposes, the image of Edessa disappears. If it was not transferred to France, its history is equally silent. No one speaks for the image of Edessa after 1204, only the copies in Western or Slav churches which preserved its memory, out of context, for many centuries.[63] The original had lost its point and never attained in the West the commanding position it had enjoyed in the East.

The image of Edessa belongs to the years of the ascendency of images. Its history, therefore, despite the early signs in the *Doctrina Addai*, is properly compact. Protected from official Byzantine Iconoclasm by its

59 *PG* 113:449B-452D.
60 Theophanes Cont., p. 432 Bonn.
61 Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 249.
62 So Runciman, "Some Remarks," pp. 251-52. For the text, see de Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1878), pp. 134-35.
63 For the former: Runciman, "Some Remarks," p. 251; for the latter: Grabar, *La Sainte Face*.

remote situation in Arab Syria, it was uniquely able to ride the storm and reemerge with an unrivalled claim to antiquity. Through all of this we can see its place at the centre of social and political consciousness, and we can see the growing detail and exactitude with which the story of the image was told, together with the steady reinforcement of its authority by a closer and closer tracking down of its bodily contact with the physical being of Jesus. Indeed, the affirmation of body imagery, which also took the form of emphasis on objects that had been in bodily contact with holy personages or holy places, was an important aspect of the establishment of early Christianity.[64] Icons "not made by human hands" naturally played a special part in this development. Thus the image of Edessa is both a sign of the authorities' wish for control and a prime example of the way religious tokens could, in this society, become tension points in a network, both synchronic and diachronic, of shifting power relations. The image of Edessa may not help very much with the why, since, as we have seen, its story really begins only when the preeminence of such tokens in the social organisation of the Byzantine world has already been established. But it is an illuminating example of the how, which is perhaps where historians should stop. Why Orthodox Christianity became for Byzantine society the touchstone of all else has to be explained in relation to the Christianisation of late antiquity, and then especially with reference to the sixth and seventh centuries. But this was when the story of the Edessan image was just beginning. I offer the "telling" of this image in admiration to Ihor Ševčenko, who has done so much by his detailed and exact scholarship to open up the ensuing centuries, when, for very good reasons, the reputation of the image of Edessa was at its most potent.

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[64] As can be seen, I owe much to M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction* (Eng. trans.; London, 1978) (here pp. 65, 126ff.).

Some Observations on the Evolution of Byzantine Studies in America since the 1930s

PETER CHARANIS

Although the American Historical Association was founded in 1884, it is not until 1911 that any mention of Byzantium appears in its records. In that year Charles Diehl,[1] speaking at the association's annual meeting, read a paper on the development of Byzantine studies in France. Five years later, again at the annual meeting of the association, the Belgian scholar Paul van den Ven[2] spoke on the subject: "When did the Byzantine Empire and Civilization come into being?" At the meeting in 1925, A.A. Vasiliev gave a paper on Byzantine studies in Russia, and at the 1927 meeting A.E.R. Boak spoke on Byzantine imperialism.[3] The papers were given in sessions on ancient history, and the speakers were all foreign educated. By 1931, the situation had changed appreciably: the annual meeting included a session devoted to Byzantium, at which three papers were read.[4] No longer could one say, as had the association's secretary in 1925 in connection with Vasiliev's paper, that "The history of the Eastern Empire is a field almost untouched hitherto in all the proceedings of the Association."[5]

In the meantime, a journal devoted to medieval studies had appeared in the United States. The first volume of *Speculum*, the journal of the Medieval Academy of America, came out in 1926. Although its emphasis was on Western Europe, it occasionally offered items dealing with Byzantium. In the twenty volumes published by 1945, there appeared a total of fifteen articles and sixteen book reviews with Byzantine subjects. In the next eighteen volumes (up to 1980), the articles and short notes

[1] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911* (Washington, D.C., 1913), pp. 27ff.
[2] *Annual Report ... for the Year 1916* (Washington, D.C., 1919), p. 46.
[3] *Annual Report ... for the Year 1927* (Washington, D.C., 1929), p. 38.
[4] *Annual Report ... for the Year 1931* (Washington, D.C., 1932), p. 31. (*Proceedings*, vol. 1).
[5] *Annual Report ... for the Year 1925* (Washington, D.C., 1929), p. 39.

together numbered seventeen, and the book reviews totaled one hundred and nineteen.

Articles on Byzantium published in the *American Historical Review* during the same period, 1931-1980, numbered eight, and book reviews, one hundred and sixty-six. The increase in the number of relevant articles and book reviews which began in 1946 is an important index of the progress of Byzantine studies. Other journals which occasionally published items relating to Byzantium were the *Harvard Theological Review*, *Church History*, the *American Journal of Philology*, the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Hesperia*, the *Slavic and East European Review*, and *Traditio*.

Three journals devoted wholly or in part to Byzantine subjects made their appearance. One of them, *Byzantina Metabyzantina*, ceased to appear following the publication, in 1946, of its first volume. *Neo Hellenika* published only two volumes before the death of its editor and founder, George G. Arnakis, in 1976: in 1978, a third volume was published posthumously, and a memorial volume is now in preparation. *Byzantine Studies*, whose first volume appeared in 1974, continues to be published.

The evolution of ideas underlying the development of Byzantine studies in America began rather early. Already in 1933 the philosopher N. P. Whitehead wrote:

> The distinction separating the Byzantines and the Mahometans from the Romans is that the Romans were themselves deriving the civilization which they spread. In their hands it assumed a frozen form. Thought halted and literature copied. The Byzantines and the Mahometans were themselves the civilization. Thus their culture retained its intrinsic energies, sustained by physical and spiritual adventure. They traded with the Far East: they expanded westward; they codified law; they developed new forms of art; they developed theologies; they transformed mathematics; they developed medicine. ... Finally the Near East as the center of civilization was destroyed by the Tartars and the Turks.[6]

However, no development of any consequence took place until 1940. It was then that the Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection was founded.

Dumbarton Oaks was conveyed to Harvard University by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss with the stipulation that it serve as a center of scholarly activity in Byzantine and Medieval Humanities. That beautiful and spacious house, with its gardens, superb library, collection of objects of art (primarily Byzantine, Hellenistic and Late classical) and collection

[6] N. A. Whitehead, *Adventure of Ideas* (New York, 1933), p. 104.

of coins is today one of the important research centers of Byzantine studies in the world.

As Dumbarton Oaks was being established, Byzantine studies was developing in other ways. The war brought to America numerous scholars, including the Hellenist Henri Grégoire. Grégoire had been a specialist on Euripides, but he also became involved in the history of Byzantium. I myself had gone to Brussels in 1936 and stayed there two years to study in his seminar. It was there that I first met Ihor Ševčenko and later helped facilitate his coming to this country. In America, Grégoire edited three volumes of *Byzantion* (which was temporarily transferred to the United States), sponsored the new review *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* (which unfortunately soon failed), and composed in modern Greek a series of articles for a Greek newspaper (published in New York) on the Byzantine epic *Digenes Akritas*, which was later published in book form.[7]

It is with Dumbarton Oaks that the evolution of Byzantine studies in the postwar years must be primarily associated. An exception is Rutgers University, where a number of Byzantinists have been trained. At Dumbarton Oaks I myself was affected by two scholars. The first was Grégoire and the other was Cyril Mango. Mango, who was born in Istanbul, came to Dumbarton Oaks to translate the sermons of Photius. There I was particularly impressed by Mango's remarkable knowledge of Greek. In my work, which consisted primarily in examining certain Greek sources, I often ran into difficulties which Mango helped me to solve; indeed, I do not remember him ever having failed me. I subsequently came to deplore a marked anti-Greek bias which I thought would affect adversely his work as Byzantinist. I was therefore pleasantly surprised by his *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*. As I wrote in my review of the book, I was struck by its statement of facts and, I may now add, by its brilliance of interpretation. Mango is now residing in England, but his scholarly achievements, no doubt among the highest in the world, are still associated with the United States and Dumbarton Oaks.[8]

Indeed all prominent Byzantinists are today or have been in the past associated with Dumbarton Oaks. Among Byzantine historians deserving special mention, Angelike Laiou[9] is particularly known for

[7] Henri Grégoire Ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας (New York, 1942).

[8] My remarks on Mango are summarized in my review of *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*, to appear in *Balkan Studies*.

[9] Angelike Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); idem, *The Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977).

her work on the relations between East and West, her study of Byzantine agrarian society and her current investigations into the Venetian and Genoese archives for information relating to Byzantium. Nicholas Oikonomides has excelled in the study of documents, those relating to rank in Byzantine society as well as monastic documents, and documents relating to Greek and Latin businessmen of the thirteenth to fifteenth century.[10] Speros Vryonis has published a number of studies, notably *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the 11th Century Through the 15th.* He has also done some work in archaeology, primarily in connection with the Slavic invasions of the Peloponnesus.[11] These three are masterful scholars, distinguished by their comprehensive and penetrating grasp of the sources. Milton Anastos, who is now retired from active teaching, has devoted his life to Byzantine studies in this country. Three scholars generally not referred to as Byzantinists have made important contributions to Byzantine studies: Kenneth Setton has made some solid offerings, particularly on matters relating to Greece; Nina G. Garsoian has studied the Paulicians and other subjects, some of which relate to Byzantium; W.E. Kaegi writes on Byzantium and other subjects primarily administrative in nature and which refer to the seventh century or later. I have refrained from discussing Ihor Ševčenko's work in this paper, since the entire volume is dedicated to him.

In March 1972, I made the following statement about Byzantium: "For the world at large Byzantium constitutes a significant chapter of the general history of mankind. For the Slav, it was the agent which introduced him to civilization. But for the Greek, it was something more, something special. It was, and to an extent continues to be, his very life. In it he finds the origin of many of his traditions and the preservation of many others whose origins go back to antiquity. He finds also the institutions, notably the monastery and the church, which enabled him to retain his identity throughout centuries of enslavement and which in time served as the sources of inspiration for his resurgence into a free and vital

[10] Nicholas Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972): idem, *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VII-XV siècles)* (London, 1976).

[11] Speros Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe* (London, 1967); idem, *Byzantium. Its International History and Relations with the Muslim World: Collected Studies* (London, 1970); idem, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the 11th Century through the 15th* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971).

people. Thus neither the Greek, nor the Slav, nor the world at large can forget Byzantium. It has taken some time for American scholarship to grasp this point but it has now grasped it fully."[12]

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[12] *Ceremony: For Conferring an Honorary Doctorate of the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki upon Professor P. Charanis*, 1972, pp. 34f.

Theodore Metochites's Poem to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos

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Among our projects in collaboration with the scholar to whom the present volume is dedicated is the edition and translation of all the remaining unedited *Poems* of the statesman-scholar Theodore Metochites (1270-1332); the Third and Fourth *Poems* have already appeared.[1] For our offering here, we have chosen the Twelfth *Poem*, which Metochites addressed to his old friend, the church historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (ob. ca. 1335).[2] The contents of this *Poem*, in which Metochites assesses his own scholarly achievements, seemed to us most appropriate for the present occasion.

The Twelfth *Poem*, Metochites tells us in the opening lines (1-4), is to be read by Nikephoros along with the earlier Eleventh *Poem*, addressed to Nikephoros's brother Theodore.[3] Both *Poems* were certainly written in the late 1320s, not long before Metochites's fall from power in 1328. In *Poem* Eleven, Metochites begins by accusing Theodore of having abandoned him in the dire straits in which he now finds himself (the civil war between the two Andronikoi; ll. 1-56). As in many of the *Poems*, Metochites here deplores the fickleness of fortune in the world (ll. 57-116); he expresses his regret of the course he followed in his life (ll. 117-160): it were better to have avoided a political life and the resultant ruin (ll. 161-229); he ought to have devoted himself wholly to

[1] I. Ševčenko et al., "Two Poems by Theodore Metochites," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981): 1-46; see the Introduction, especially fns. 1 and 2, for the other *Poems* and bibliography.

[2] About Xanthopoulos, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinische Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 705-707.

[3] About Theodore Xanthopoulos, see R. Guilland, *Nicéphore Grégoras, Correspondence* (Paris, 1927), p. 263. For a summary of the Eleventh *Poem*, see idem, "Les Poésies inédites de Théodore Métochite," *Byzantion* 3 (1926): 294-95. The Eleventh is the next *Poem* we shall edit.

learning, as Theodore has done (ll. 230-285). Metochites had said much the same thing in his Third *Poem* to Gregory of Bulgaria, but the tone here is more urgent and the terms less vague.[4]

Poem Twelve opens in the same vein: Metochites praises Nikephoros's and Theodore's total devotion to the *vita contemplativa*; but he bemoans their abandonment of him in his present plight, though Nikephoros seems not to have been so heartless as Theodore (ll. 1-23). Metochites speaks of Nikephoros's love for him on account of his intellectual endeavours. If we believe Metochites, Xanthopoulos's affection roused him to such displays of adulation as to be embarrassing even to Metochites — a rare thing indeed (ll. 26-27). But Metochites pretends to understand Xanthopoulos's zealous feelings: it was a great marvel — Xanthopoulos had said it — that in spite of all Metochites's material well-being as a successful statesman, he had never slackened in his toilsome devotion to scholarship. Moreover, now that Metochites's political ruin was imminent, it was only in scholarship that he could find peace of mind (ll. 78-166). It is about the products of his scholarship, the compositions which Xanthopoulos praised so highly, that Metochites now wishes to speak (ll. 167-190).

Metochites had discussed his own compositions in *Poem* Four, addressed to Nikephoros Gregoras, and, in the case of his scientific works, in *Poem* Ten.[5] But the present remarks are made with Xanthopoulos in mind. Metochites begins by mentioning his Tenth and Eleventh *Orations*, the first entitled *Ethikos* or *Concerning Culture*, the second, a Praise of Constantinople, entitled *Byzantios*.[6] It seems that these works, the one a veritable manifesto, the other a splendid masterpiece of Palaeologan antiquarianism, had pleased Xanthopoulos particularly (ll. 191-219). Next, no doubt because he knew of Xanthopoulos's careful study of the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus, Metochites speaks of his own *Praise* of Gregory (the Sixth *Oration*; ll. 220-222).[7] Passing over the rest of

[4] See Ševčenko, "Two Poems," pp. 14-27.

[5] For *Poem* Four, see Ševčenko, "Two Poems," pp. 28-45. For a summary of *Poem* Ten, see Guilland, "Les Poésies," pp. 288-294.

[6] For a summary of the contents of the *Ethikos*, see H. Hunger, "Der Ἠθικός des Theodoros Metochites," in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ θ' Διεθνοῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Θεσσαλονίκη 12-19 Ἀπριλίου 1953), vol. 3 (*Hellenika*, 9) (Athens, 1958), pp. 141-158. Professor Ševčenko is presently preparing an edition of this Oration. About the *Byzantios*, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1978), pp. 173-74, with bibliography in fn. 15.

[7] About this Oration, see I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (= Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Subsidia, 3) (1962), pp. 137, 138, fn. 1, 177, and 188, fn. 1.

his prose compositions, Metochites next turns to his *Poems*—the first eleven?—which he, like Gregory of Nazianzus whose hexametres "To Himself" were one of his models, wrote to assuage his grief (ll. 225-233). Xanthopoulos, too, was a poet, and one of no common achievement. What he really thought of Metochites's monstrous hexametres one can only imagine.[8]

But dearly though Metochites loved his literary "brain-children" (τέκεα νοὐός), he thought his scientific works, philosophical and astronomical, most important of all. As in the *Poem* to Gregoras, Metochites here devotes nearly a third of his verses to the praise of these works (ll. 234-326). He boasts to have dealt with all problems, physical, mathematical, logical, and ethical, in his *Miscellanea* (ll. 240-263); he has revealed the mysteries of Astronomy to all desirous of this knowledge (ll. 264-302); he has rendered the *Physics* of Aristotle plain and easy to understand—this a "great and lovely work of φιλανθρωπία" (ll. 303-326). One must, however, examine these claims more closely. Certainly, many chapters of the *Miscellanea*, works of Metochites's mature years, are among the most interesting writings produced in fourteenth-century Byzantium, and may even contain the germs of humanism.[9] But the Aristotelian Commentaries, written when Metochites was a young man, are nothing more than paraphrases, and often infelicitous ones.[10] One wonders whether the real reason for their production was not merely to prove the author's acquaintance with the Stagirite, in order to improve his standing among the mandarins at the court of Andronikos II. The *Introduction* to Astronomy, undertaken when Metochites was forty-five years old, is an impressive achievement. But the readjustment of the Theonic tables, to begin with the reign of Andronikos (alluded to in ll. 293-94), is a bit too nice; and Gregoras informs us that, far from any feelings of φιλανθρωπία, it was at first with great chariness that Metochites shared his precious knowledge of Astronomy even with him.[11]

[8] About Xanthopoulos's poetry, see Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 705-706; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, vol. 1, pp. 114, 165, 172.

[9] The *Miscellanea* (ed. M. Müller-T. Kiessling [1821]) are the source of most of the material discussed in H.-G. Beck's *Theodoros Metochites, Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (1952). See also H. Hunger, "Theodoros Metochites als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 45 (1957): 4-19.

[10] See B. Tatakis, "Aristôte critiqué par Théodore Métochite," in *Mélanges O. et M. Merlier*, vol. 2 (1956), pp. 439-445.

[11] About the *Introduction* to Astronomy, see Ševčenko, *Études*, pp. 42-45; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 2 (1978), p. 248. For Gregoras's remarks, see Nicephori Gregorae, *Historiae*, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn, 1829-1830), vol. 1, pp. 308, l. 23ff.

But Metochites anticipates our objections. In a fine jest at the end of the *Poem*, he excuses his high opinion of his own works as being the result of Xanthopoulos's exaggerations (ll. 327-333).

* * *

For our edition, we have used *Par. gr.* 1776 (xiv saec.), which contains all twenty of the *Poems*. Our examination of this MS has left no doubt in our minds that the many corrections in the text of the *Poems* were made by Metochites himself: the hand here is identical with that in his corrections in *Par. gr.* 2003 (the *Miscellanea*). We shall keep the particulars, however, for a future occasion where space will permit a thorough discussion. At that time we shall also examine Metochites's metrical system in connexion with the corrections. For the present, we have included in the apparatus all the readings underlying the corrections that we could make out; and we have indicated by underlining the places where corrections have been made but the original reading is illegible, even under ultra-violet light. Though we have standardised the accentuation in the case of enclitics etc., we have retained Metochites's eccentricities in the case of certain words, e.g., μελεδωναί (l. 129).

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fol. 162

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΣΟΦΟΝ ΞΑΝΘΟΠΟΥΛΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ. ΙΒ.

Τὰ μὲν ἐφάμην ἐς Θεόδωρον ἀδελφὸν ἤδη
σόν, φίλτατον ἐμοὶ φιλεόντων ἄνδρα σοφόν τε,
τάδ' ἄρα μὴ μόνον ἔστων λεχθέντα πρὶν ἐκείνῳ,
ἀλλά τε σύν τ' ἄρ' ἀμφοῖν, κείνῳ πρὸς δ' ἔτι σοί γε·
κοινὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἅπαντ' ἔασι βιοτοῖο κέλευθα·
σουφία, φίλοι, ἀζυγίη τε φίλη, πρηγμάτων
μάλ' ἀποφυγά, τά περ στροφέουσι πολύπλαγκτ' αἰὲν
ἡμέας, ὅσσοι φθάντες ὑπὸ σφίσι δὴ σχέθημεν,
ἀπροτίοπτα γεγαότες εἰνθάδε, καί τ' ἄφυκτα
παρμενέειν ἄτρουπον ἀναγκαίην μάλ' ἔχοντες·
οἵ τ' ἔασι βαρυδαίμονες, οἵ τε δοκεῦμεν ἱμερτὰ
πουλυπόθητα δέ τ' ἄλλοις ἐκτοθ' ὁρῶσι βιεῦν.

5 ἡμῖν an pro ὑμῖν?   12 βιόεν a.c.

πρὸς δ' ἔτι κοινὸς ἐγὼν ὑμῖν, ἄμφω|φιλῶν θ' ὑμᾶς
καί τε φιλεύμενος ἔξοχον ἄλλων ὑπ' ἄρ ὑμῶν
πάλαι προύτερον εἶτεα πολλά. ἀτὰρ ἔπειτα
καὶ τόδε κοινὸν ἔχω φάμεν' αἰτιάσασθαί τ' ἄμφω
νῦν, ὀτιή με λιπόντες ὁρᾶσθ' εἰν πρήγμασι δεινοῖς·
fol. 162v κάρτα μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, πλεῖν δ' ἔμπης ἠὲ σὺ κεῖνος,
ἀμφοτέρω μὲ δ' ὅμως λίπετ' ἀσχαλόοντ' ἀνιηροῖς
συνεχέεσιν ἰδίᾳ τε κοινῇ τ' αὖ ἀνόϊστα.
Τῷ γ' ἄρα, καί τ' ἐφάμην, ἃ προύτερον ἤδη λέκται
πρός τ' ἄρ ἐκεῖνον ἐμοὶ ὢν τ' αὖ πέρι λέκτ' ἔμοιγε,
κοινὰ τάδ' ἀμφοτέροισί νύ τ' ἔστων ἐγκλήματα·
νυνὶ δέ μ' ἀνώγει θυμὸς μέτρια τάδ' ἐρέειν σοί,
φίλτατ' ἄνερ Νικηφόρ', ἐπώνυμε σουφίας αὐτῆς
οὕνεκ' ἀέθλων. ἀτὰρ ἐρέω σοὶ νῦν, ἐράοντι
καί τ' ὀΐοντι τἀμὰ συντάγματ' ἔμμεν' ἀγητά,
ἀμφί τ' ἄρ αὐτῶν ἅττα δοκεύεις ἀμφί τ' ἐμοῖο
φύσιος ἠδέ τ' ἐπιστήμας δὴ κυδαλίμοιο,
ἔκ τε πόθοιο μάλ' ἶφι κάοντος, ἐκ δέ τε πούνων
εἶν γε τοσούτοις πρήγμασι νωλεμὲς εὖ μάλ' ἀπαύστων
ἀγερθείσας, ἀλαθέα μήτι δοκεῦν ἄνοσά τε,
ἀλλ' ἀπατηλὰ μὲν ἠδὲ ψεύδεα· μήτι δὲ μεμπτὰ
τάδ' ὀΐεσθαι καί τε λέγειν, ὅτι τυφλόν, ὁ λοῦγος
φησί, τὸ φιλέον ἔμμεν' ἀνὰ τὸ φιλεύμενον αἰέν,
ὥς κεν ἔπειτα σὺ τοιάδ' ὁράας ἀμφ' ἔμ' ἀλαά,
fol. 163 πάρτροπα, τά κε παρήπαφε φιλία. συγγνωτὰ μὴν
μοῦνα ψεύδεα δι' ἄρα νοῦσον, ἀκούσι' ἐόντα·
ἀτὰρ ἐνὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς ἐὼν νοάμων κριτής τε
ὀρθός, ἀληθής, σουφός, ἐοικότα δὴ πιφάσκων,
ἀμφ' ἄρ' ἐμεῖο δοκεύεις τε κρίνεις τ' ἐπίνουσα
ἀκροαταῖσι σαόφροσι πάμπαν ἄδεκτα πείθειν·
τοὺς μὲν ἐγὼν μάλα καιδέομαι, μάλιστα δ' οἵ νῦν
σύν νύ θ' ἁμῖν ζώοντες ἀΐουσι τά περ αὐτὸς
οὕνεκ' ἐμεῖο διαμπερὲς ἦ μάλα πολλὰ πέλωρα,
μήτι φειδόμενος, κύδιμ' αἰνέσιμά τ' ἀγορεύεις·
τοῖς γὰρ ἐγὼν ὅραμ' αὐτίκα δὴ μετόπισθ' ἑξείης
σοῖσι λόγοισι, ἀπ' ἄρ ἶφι ἐὼν δεύτερος αὐτῶν.
ἦ πολὺ αἰδὼς αὐτόθεν ἕσπετ' ἐμοί· σοὶ δ' αὖ τε
τάχα μὲν αὐτίκ' ὄνειδος ἕποιτ' ἄν, τάχα δέ τ' οὐκί,
ὀττιὴ φιλέων κάρτ' ἀμφὶ φίλοιο, πεποίθεις
ἐσθλὰ τὰ μὴ πέφυκ', ἔμμεν', ἔρδων οὐ νεμεσητῶς,
ὑστατίοισι δ' ἴσως μερόπεσσι λιπὼν ἄρ' ἐμεῖο

34-35 cf. E. Leutsch, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen, 1851), vol. 2, p. 777, 30.

14 ὑμέων a.c. 22 πρός γ' a.c. 25 σουφίας αὐτῆς p.c.: σοφίας a.c. 28 δοκέεις a.c. 30 πόνων a.c. 34 λόγος a.c. 41 δοκέεις a.c. 48 p. ἶφι eras. γ' 49 p. πολὺ eras. γ' 53 ἄρ' ἐμεῖο p.c.: ... ἐμοῦ a.c.

πάρ γε τεοῖσι λόγοισι ἐρικυδέα μνήματα,
παιδείας ἕκατι ἁπάσης ἀσκήσιός τε
fol. 163v λούγων, οὐκ ἄπο τεύξε', ἀποιχομένοιο ἐμοῖο,
πίστιος ἀμφ' ἅ νύ τ' οὐκ ἴσασι ῥέα μάλ ἀϊόντων·
καὶ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀπ' ἄρα τεθνειώτων φθοῦνος ἄπεστι,
πουλὺ μάλ' ἀντίσχων ἅτ' αἰνέσιμα βιοοῦσι,
κατὰ δέ τ' οἰχομένων τιμὰ ῥηίδιος πέλετ' ἔμπης.
ἀτὰρ ἐμὲ πλεόνεσσι σύ γ' αἰνεσίμοισι λόγοισι
μήτ' ἀγορευέμεν ἑξῆς, μήθ' ἅπασιν ὁμιλείων
δηρὸν ἔτι χρέεσθαι μνῆμα σοφίας ἐμεῖο.
χάζεο δὲ προπάροιθ' ἀνθρώπων, οἵ ἔασ' ἀεὶ
ἀμφί σε πολλοί, ἠύτε πὰρ μέλιτός νύ τ' ἄγγη,
ἀδινὰ μάλα κεχήνασι συνεχέα πλῆθε' ἀνδρῶν,
τἀμὰ κυδαίνειν ἠμὲν ἐπιτυχέα πολὺ φύσιν,
ἠδέ τ' ἐπίμονον ἄσκησιν μετὰ λούγων χρῆσιν,
ἠδ' ἔτι ἐκτόκι' ἀλλ' ἐπί γ' ἄλλοις διάδοχ' αἰὲν
πάρ γ' ἑκάτερθ' ἰόντα, θωύματος ἄξια πολλοῦ,
κόμμασι παιδείας τυπούμενα παντοδαποῖσιν,
ἀπροτίοπτα τάδ' ἀείρων κατ' ἔθος σὸν ἅτ' ἐς νῦν,
ὡς ἂν ἔπειτα μήτε σὺ δὴν νεμεσητὰ ὀφέλλων,
ἅττ' οὐ χρειώ, πολλὸν ἐλέγχῃ, μήτ' ἄρ ἔγωγε
fol. 164 πάρ τέ νύ τ' ἀληθείης πάρ τ' ὀλοοῦ φθόνοιο
τυφλώττοντος ὀνείδεά τ' αἰσχύνην τε φεροίμην,
καί θ' ὧν ἀντία μάλ' ἔρασαι δρᾷς σοί τ' ἐμοί τε.
Τὰ μὲν ἐγὼν ἐπιτέλλω λώον' ἐμοί τέ σοί τε·
ἀτὰρ ἔοικας ἐμοί γε σύ, φίλτατε σουφῶν ἀνδρῶν,
ἐξ ἄρα τευ μεγάλοιο πόθοιο, γνώμας ἐμοί γε,
φίλτατε, βέλτιστά τ' ἐθελούσης ἔκ τ' ἐνθεῦτεν,
ἀμφί με κάρτα νύ τ' ἐκκάειν παιδείας ἔρωτας
τοῖσδε λόγοισιν ἐπαίνοισί θ' οἷς κατ' ἄρ ἐμεῦ χρῇ·
πὰρ γὰρ ἅπασι τόδ' ἔκδηλον πέφυκ' εὖ γ' ὁράασθαι
(ὅττι κεν ἃ μεγαλίζετ' ἐπαίνοισι μάλ' ἀέξει)
προτροπάδην ἄρ' ἔμ' ἐς πλέον' ἶφι ἔρωτ' ἀείρεις,
τοῖος ἐὼν σοφίης τ' ἀληθείης τ' ἐραστής,
τἀμὰ κυδαίνων, ὥς τι μέγα δοκέων ἔμμεν δὴ
ἀμφὶ λόγους τἀμὰ τάδε χρῆμα, σοφίην δ' ἐοῦσαν
ἔκλογον ἐξ ἁπάντεων ἀνδρόμεων πρηγμάτων
ἀρίτιμόν τε, πολὺ δέ τ' ἄμεινον κτήσιος ἄλλων,
καί τ' ἐμὲ τῆσδ' ἐράονθ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντ' ἐσθλὰ κόσμου
ἠδὲ πᾶσαν εὐδαιμονίην, τῆς ἱμείρονται
fol. 164v πὰρ βίοτον μέροπες βρουτοὶ λελαχέσθαι δαρόν,

55 p. ἕκατι eras. τ' 56 λόγων a.c. p. ἀποιχομένοιο eras. γ' 62 ὁμιλέων a.c. 63 σουφίας a.c. 64 p. οἳ eras. γ' 65 ἠέ τε a.c. 66 πλήθε' ἀνδρῶν p.c.: πλήθεα a.c. 69 p. ἔτι eras. γ' 71 παντοδαποῖσι a.c. 73 p. νεμεσητὰ eras. γ' 74 χρεώ a.c. 79 σοφῶν a.c. 80 p. γνώμας eras. γ' γε add. 81 βέλτιστά γ' a.c. 86 p. ἶφι eras. γ' 88 ἔμμεν δή p.c.: ἔμμεναι a.c. 90 πρηγμάτεων a.c. 93 εὐδαιμονίαν a.c. 94 λελαχέμεν a.c.

ὅσσοις τοι νόος ἦ ῥα σαόφρων ἀστυφέλικτος,
τῶν κεν ἐγὼν ἔραμ᾽ ἔμμεν᾽. ἀτὰρ οὐ πάμπαν ἅμαρτες,
τάδ᾽ ἕνεκά μου αὐτὸς οἴων ἀτρεκέα δή·
ἦ γὰρ ἔμοιγ᾽ ἅπασα τύχας εὔρροια, πάντ᾽ εὐκτά,
πρήγματά κεν βιότοιο, πολυέρατα χρήματα,
τούσδ᾽ ἄρα πάντα δεύτερ᾽ ἔασιν οὐδενόσωρα
τῇδε παραβάλλειν, ὅσ᾽ ἀρίτιμα, φίλτατα, τερπνά.
καί γε τόδ᾽ αὐτόθεν ἅπασι δῆλον, σοὶ δὲ μάλιστα·
τοῖος ἔρως με πέδησε, διὰ πάντεσσιν ἰόντα
πρήγμασιν ἐσθλοῖς καὶ λυγροῖς, μάλ᾽ ἄτροπ᾽ ἔχεσθαι
τῶν γ᾽ ἀμφὶ σοφίην μελεδωνῶν, τῶν μ᾽ ἀποέργει
οὐδὲν ὅ, τι βιότοιο μάλ᾽ ἀγαθὸν οὔτ᾽ ἔμπαλιν·
καί τε σὺ τάδ᾽ εἰδὼς μάλ᾽ ἄγασ᾽ αἰεί, θῶυμ᾽ οἴων
ἔμμεν᾽ ἀληθῶς τόνδ᾽ ἐμὸν ἀμφὶ σοφίαν ἔρωτα.
ἀτὰρ ἐγώ σε λόγοιο πάλαι ποθ᾽, ὅν αὐτὸς ἔειπας,
μνήσω, καί τε δοκῶ μοι τόνδε σὲ καὶ νῦν φάμεν·
ἦ γὰρ ἔφησθ᾽ ἄρα πόλλ᾽ ἀμφί γ᾽ ἐμὲ σύν θ᾽ ἅμαδις
λῶστα πὰρ θεόθεν τυχηρά τ᾽ ἴδιά τ᾽ ἐμοῖο
fol. 165 δόσθ᾽ ἀρίδηλα, τά περ νέμεσις ἀπηγέεσθ᾽ ἴσως·
τὰ καταρίθμεες, ἀρξάμενος παιδός γ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἐμεῖο
ἠμὲν φύσιος ἔργα, τά κεν μάλ᾽ ἔασιν ἀγητά,
ἀμφὶ μάλιστα νοὸς κράτος ἠδέ τ᾽ ἔρωτ᾽ ἀκάματον,
ἄτροπον ὑπ᾽ ἄρα παντὸς ἐσθλοῦ τ᾽ ἂρ λυγροῦ τε
οὕνεκα λούγων κτήσιος· ἠδ᾽ ἂρ ἔπειθ᾽ ἑξείης
δῶρα τύχης ἐρίηρα, δεσπότεώ θ᾽ ὡς τύχον
πάντ᾽ ἀγαθὰ ῥέα, παντοδαπά τε τιμῆς τ᾽ ὄλβου τε
ἥδιστ᾽ εὖ μάλα μοι διδόοντος ἀολλέ᾽ ἅμαδις·
ἠδέ τ᾽ ἀρίτιμον εἰν τέκεσι διάδουχον κλῆρον.
τίς κε κατ᾽ ἄρ νύ θ᾽ ἅπαντ᾽ ἐπιὼν ἀριθμήσαιτο
ὦκα πάρ γε τῶνδ᾽ ἐπέων δρουμήματι ταχεῖ;
πλὴν ὅτι πουλλὰ μάλ᾽ ἑξείης μακάρια διϊών,
ἅττα διὰ μερόπεσσ᾽ ὀλίγοισι ξύν γ᾽ ἐκύρησε,
θῶυμα δὴ τόδε τίθεο· πῶς ποτ᾽ ἄρ ὑπ᾽ οὐδαμῶν
τῶνδ᾽ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀπότροπος ἔκλιν᾽ ἔρωτα σοφίης,
ἀλλά μ᾽ ἐπιστανὸν μάλ᾽ ἀεὶ λούγων μελεδωναί,
ἄσχετον εὐπραγίης τ᾽ ἠδ᾽ αὖ κακοδαιμονίης,
ἱμερόεντα πονεῦντ᾽ ἔχουσιν, ἀπάνευθ᾽ ἄρα
fol. 165v τῶνδ᾽ οὔπως ἐθέλοντα βιοῦν· ὡς οὔποτ᾽ ἀέρος
δὴ πέλεται ζώειν ἀπάτερθέ νύ τ᾽ ἀμπνοᾶς ἄνδρας,
τοῖον ἔμ᾽ ἐξ ἄρα πάλαι δὴ πρότερον δόκεες σὺ
πουλὺν ἐραστὴν ἄτροπα λούγων ἠδ᾽ ἔτι δουκεῖς.
τὰ μὲν ἄρ οὕτω σύ γ᾽ ἀμφί με μὰ κάρτα τ᾽ ᾤου.

95 p. νόος eras. γ᾽ 97 ἕνεκ᾽ ἐμεῦ a.c. 104 καὶ p.c.: τε a.c. p. λυγροῖς eras. τε 117 τ᾽ ἄρ p.c.: τε a.c. 118 λόγων a.c. 122 τεκέεσι a.c. διάδοχον a.c. 125 p. πλὴν eras. γ᾽ 135 ἄτροπον a.c. λόγων a.c. δοκεῖς a.c. 136 σύ τ᾽ a.c.

πρὶν μὲν ἴσως ἐπιτυχέως δόκεες, νύ τ' ἴσως δ' οὔ·
ἦ γὰρ ἅπαντ' ἀπατηλὰ τοῦδε βίοιο κέλευθα,
τά τ' εὐδαίμονά τις δοκέει μογερὰ μάλ' ἐόντα·
καί τ' ἴσασιν ὁπόσοι πείραντ' ἐτεὸν νοάμουνες·
καί μοι μήτις ἔοι νόος οὕνεκα τῶνδ' ἄχαρις
πρός τε θεοῦ, πρὸς τ' αὖ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἐσθλοῦ.
Ἀτὰρ ἔπειθ' ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ τῆσδ' εὐπραγίης μοι
ἰδίᾳ κοινῇ τ' αὖ ἀδινοῖσι πέδημ' ἀλεγεινοῖς,
τίπτ' ἐρέω; πᾶσι δῆλά γ' ἔασι. τίς ἀδαήμων;
σὺ δὲ μάλ' ἴδρις, ὁτιή σοι νόος ἀμφί τε κοινὰ
ἀμφί τ' ἴδια πρήγματ' ἐμοῖο μέμηλ' ἄρα πολλόν.
ἀλλ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ τοῖσδ' ἀχνύμενος πολυτειρέεσσ' αὐτὸς
λευγαλέοισι, πολυπλάγκτοισί τε κυμάτεσσιν,
ἤματα πάντα πάντοθεν ἀργαλέοισιν ἀλύων,
fol. 166 τοῦ γε περὶ σοφίην μάλ' ἔρωτος ἀποτράφθ' ἔμπης
οὔποτ' ἐγὼν δύναμ'· εἰνθάδε δή μοι πᾶσά θ' ἑορτὴ
σύν τε χάρις βιότοιο δοκεῦσ' ἀέξει πουλύ,
πάντα δέ τ' ἄχεα, κοινά τ' ἴδιά τε, μέτρι' ἔμοιγε
ἠὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνθεῦτεν γίνετ'· αὐτῶν ἔκ τε
κεῖαρ ἐμὸν τράπετ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλῃ γαληνιάζον,
φλεγμονὰν ἀμβλῦνόν νύ θ' ὁπηοῦν, ἠύτε τισὶν
αὔρησι δροσερῇσι κατ' ἄρ δὴ πνειόμενον δὴν
ἔνδοθ' ἰείσαις ζωοφόρον εὐηνὲς ῥέ' ἄημα.
πολλάκις ἔνθεν ἐμοὶ νόος ἀχθόμενος μάλ' ἰάνθη,
κοῦφος ἀπαλλάξας ἀλεγεινῶν· πὰρ δ' ἄχε' ὦκα
τράπετό οἱ νεύσαντι περὶ σοφίης πονάματα,
τὰ μενοεικέα τίθησι θυμόν, ἔκ τ' ἀνίησιν
ἀγριαινούσης κακότητος ὀϊζυρᾶς τε
διαθέσιος ἶφί ῥα πολυφρονύτιδος, δεινῆς.
ἄμπνευσα δὲ τάχ' αὐτόθεν ὥς κε λάβοιμ' ἀνὰ νοῦον
ὠδῖνας ἱμεροέσσας λούγων μουγοστούκους·
καί τε σαφὲς δεῖγμ' ἀμόθεν ἅττ' ἄρ' ἐγὼν σύνταγμαι
πλεῖστ' εἰ δή τις ἔτ' ἄλλος πρίν τε νυνί τ' ἐπὶ μάλα
fol. 166ᵛ σουφίης τρόφιμος· σφετέρων δ' αὐτῆς θιασώτης
ἦρα τι γείνασθαι τέκεα νοὸς ἀρίτιμα·
τὰ μὲν ἄρ' ἔκ τε φιλοσοφίης ὑψιβάμουνος,
κυδαλίμοιο, διάφορα τῆσδ' ἐς φάος ἄγοντα
μυστήρι', ὀλίγοις φατά, πουλύπονα φράσασθαι·
τάδ' ἐκ ῥητορικῶν τεχνῶν γλῶτταν ἐρίηρα
τιθέμεν' ἔργον ἐχουσῶν — ἦ μάλ' ἐπιμελὲς αὐτό —
καὶ τ' εὐφωνίαν ἑρμηνείας ἀγανόφρουνος,
ἧς διὰ νουὸς ἐπιχρώννυθ', ὑπένδοθεν ἰὼν

140 νοάμονες a.c. 142 τ' αὖ p.c.: τε a.c. 143 μοι p.c.: ἐμοῦ? a.c. 152 δή p.c.: δέ a.c. 157 ἠέ τε a.c. 159 p. ζωοφόρον add. γ', deinde eras. 166 νόον a.c. 167 λόγων a.c. μογοστόκους a.c. 173 ἀρίτιμα p.c.: ἐρίηρα a.c. 174 ἄρα ἐκ a.c. φιλοσσοφίης a.c. ὑψιβάμονος a.c. 176 πολύπονα a.c. 179 ἀγανόφρονος a.c.

κόσμι᾽ ἀριπρεπέος ἀγλαΐας εὐεπίῃσι.
τὰ μὲν ἄρ ἀμφ᾽ ἑκάτερθεν ἐγὼν βιβλία πουλλὰ
σύνταγμαι· τά περ αὐτὸς ἑκάστοθ᾽ ὁράων αἰνεῖς,
καὶ τ᾽ ἄρ ἐμοὶ κλέος ἠδέ τε βίῳ φουρὰν οἴει
δή τιν᾽ ὀνήσιμον, εὖ μάλ᾽ ἀγητήν, κυδιάνειραν.
τὰ μὲν ἐγών, ὡσεὶ τέκε᾽ ἀμφαγαπάζων φίλα,
παρτίθεμαι νῦν ἐς δέ τ᾽ ἔπειτα πύκα φρονέουσιν
ἄνδρεσι· τοὶ κρίνουσ᾽ ἀπαθέες, μάλιστ᾽ ἐπειδὰν
μοῦρος ἵκηται δὴ τοκέας κατ᾽ ἄρα φθόνοιο
λιπόντας ἐπίβουλα βέλεμνα μέρμερα, δεινά.
fol. 167 Ἀτὰρ ὅ, τι ποτ᾽ ἂν ἀμφί γ᾽ ἑκάστοις φθάσας φαίην,
κέρδος ἴσως ἂν ἔῃ σφίσιν· εἰ δ᾽ ἐτεὸν τόδ᾽ ἐφάμην,
ἠέ τε καὶ μή, λείπετ᾽ ἔπειτα ψῆφον ἐνεῖκαι
σῇ σοφίῃ. πρὸς δ᾽ αὖ ἑτέροισι δικασταῖς ὀρθοῖς
τοὶ μὲν ἐμοὶ ταμείοις παρτιθέαται λοῦγοι,
τεύχεσι βίβλων ἀνά τιν᾽ ἄλυδις ἄλλην δῆτα
χρείαν ἑκάστην ἐς φάος εἰνείκαντι, ἄρ᾽ ἔστων·
ἠμὲν ὁτουοῦν ἄμμιν ἐπάξιοι δοκέοντες
τάχα λόγου κεν, ἠέ τε καὶ οὔ. τῶνδ᾽ ἄρ ἔμοιγε,
τοὶ καθάπαξ οὐ μαψιδίως ἀπᾴδοντα σκουποῦ
ἀντέμεν δοκέουσιν, ὃν ἦσθ᾽ ὤδινα πάρος
ἀμφί τε παιδείης, ἐπικαλέσας ἠδ᾽ Ἠθικόν,
τὸν σύ γ᾽ ἐτύτημον, ὥς γ᾽ ἐδούκεις τῆμος, ἔμοιγε
πευκαλίμῃσι μεμεστῶσθ᾽ ἔκρινας εὖ φρεσὶ πάντα·
ἀτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω τόνδ᾽ ἔμμεν᾽ ἡμετέροιο
νουὸς κήρυκα τὰ στροφάοντ᾽ ἐνί γ᾽ ἔνδοθεν αὐτῷ
δῆλα τιθεύμενον· ἃ μὲν εὖ μάλ᾽ ἀμφαδόν, ἃ δὲ
τοῖσιν ἔπειτ᾽ ἐφοράουσ᾽ ἐς βάθος εἴσω γνωτά.
τὸν μὲν ἄρ οὐδ᾽ ἀτερπέα σύν τ᾽ ἐθέμην ἶφι φωνάν,
fol. 167v ἔστι δ᾽ ἄρα τινὰ καὶ γλώττης ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἐρίηρα·
δεύτερος αὖ ἐπὶ τῷδε δοκῷ μοι Βυζάντιος
τάχ᾽ ἂν ἀπόγραφος ἀρχετύπων προτέρων νύ τ᾽ ἐκείνων,
τῶν μεγαλώνυμ᾽ ἔασί τε τίμιά τε κλέ᾽ ἀνδρῶν·
ἠμὲν ἅπασαν διάθεσιν ἠδ᾽ αὖ νόμιμ᾽ ὧδε
ῥήτρας ἄεθλα ἐνὶ τοιοῖσδ᾽ ἠδὲ πορίσματα νουός,
ἠδ᾽ ἐρίηρ᾽ ὀνόματα, εὐφραδέα θ᾽ ἑρμηνείαν
ἴχνια κατ᾽ ἄρ ἀνύτουσαν περιφανῶν κείνων,
εἴν γε παλαίσμασι φωνῆς ἀνδρῶν, ἀγλαΐῃ τε
Ἀτθίδος εὐγενέος δῆτ᾽ εὐεπίης, χάρισί τε.
καὶ τὸν ἄρα τεκόμην μετὰ τοῖσιν ἔπειτά γ᾽ ἑξείης
ἀμφὶ Γρηγορίοιο θεουδέος, ὃν θεολοῦγον
κάλεσαν εὐσεβέες, ὑμνητήριον ἐνείκας.
τριφάσια τάδ᾽ ἐμῶν προτίθημι βιβλί᾽ ἐμεῖο
φωνᾶς ἐπιμελέος· τάδ᾽ ἀλλ᾽ ᾗ δουκέεις· ἔστων.

184 φορὰν a.c. 188 ἐπειδὰν p.c.: ἐπεὶ a.c. 191 φαίην p.c.: ἐρέω a.c. 195 παρτιθέαται sic 197 ἐνείκαντος a.c. 199 κεν p.c.: δή a.c. 200 σκοποῦ a.c. 203 ἐδόκεις a.c. 208 ἐφοράουσ᾽ ἐς p.c.: ἐφοράουσι a.c. 223 προτίθεμαι a.c. 224 δοκέεις

σὺν δ᾽ ἄρα τοῖς τίθεμ᾽ αὐτὸς καὶ τά περ εἰν μέτροισιν
εἶπε᾽ ἐνήνοχα ποιητικαῖς δὴ χαρίτεσσιν,
ὑστάτια τάδε, κεῖαρ δῆτ᾽ ἐμὸν ἀχνύμενον δὴν
τοῖσδε ἀχέεσσι συνεχέεσσι βαιὸν ἀείρων,
fol. 168 ἔκ τε τιθεύμενος ἄρα κακοσχόλων μελεδωνῶν·
τοῖσδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἐαρινοῖσιν ὥστ᾽ ἀνθέεσσιν
ἀπ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀειθαλέων ποιήσιος εὖ λειμώνων
ἄμπνυμ᾽ ἱλαρόν, δρουσερὸν ἔνδοθί νύ τ᾽ εἰσάγων,
εἰν δέ τε μὴ μάλα παικτοῖς λαθικηδέα παίζων.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρ ὡς ἔστω, τάχα δ᾽ ἐοικότα φαμέν.
  Ἀτὰρ ἃ τριφάσι᾽ εἴτερα τεύχεα σύνταγμαι δὴ
ὀψιγόνοισι μεθ᾽ ἡμέας οἴσει τί ποτ᾽ ὄνειαρ,
ἠδέ τ᾽ ἐμοὶ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἴσως δείγματά τ᾽ ἔσται
φιλοσόφου παρεούσης εὖ μάλ᾽ ἔμοιγ᾽ ἕξιος,
εἴδεα διὰ πάντα πολυμερέα τῆσδ᾽ ἅμα.
τὰ μετὰ φύσιος ἔργα μέλει φιλουσοφίῃ,
τά τε μαθηματικὰ καλέονται, σὺν δὲ λογικά,
σὺν δ᾽ αὖ ἠθικά· τὰ κρινέουσί τ᾽ ἐόνθ᾽ ἅπαντα·
τῶν κεν ἔασ᾽ ἅμαδις μνήματ᾽ ἐνὶ τεύχεϊ πάντων
τῷδ᾽, ὃ κάλεσα Γνωμῶν Σημειώσιας, ἔνδον·
τοῦ κεν ἐπίσκοπος ὅστις ἐπιμελέως γένοιτ᾽ ἄν,
ὄψεθ᾽ ὅ φημι· σὺν ἄρ᾽ εὐφωνί᾽ ἀολλέα πάντων
δείγματα σαφέα τῶν καταλουγισάμην νῦν ὅμαδον,
fol. 168v ἠύτ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἄρα ταμείου του πολυχανδέος ἴσως,
νουὸς ἐμοῖο ῥέοντα πάντοθεν ἄλλυδις ἄλλα,
κόμμασι δὴ τυπούμεν᾽ ὁμοῦ σοφίης παντοίης,
ἅττα διακριδὸν ἄγερθεν παλαιὰ νέα τε.
καὶ τόδ᾽ ἐμοὶ νοὸς ἠδὲ πολυμαθίης τε τεῦχος
μαρτύρετ᾽ ἴσως κράτος — ἀδράστεια δ᾽ ἀπέστω —
καὐτὸς ἐμοὶ σύ γε πολλάκις ἦσθ᾽ ὥς κεν τόδ᾽ ἔειπας,
οὐδέ σε παραπάφειν οἶσαιτ᾽ ἄν τις ἐμὲ λούγοις
ψευδέσιν, οὔποτε· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε τόδ᾽ ἤθεσι σοῖσιν.
ἦ μὰν ἔτι σῇ κρίσιϊ πάρ γ᾽ ἔασι σύμφωνοι
πουλλοὶ σύν τ᾽ ἄρα σοι μάρτυροι ταῦτα φάντες.
ἀτὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε τεῦχος ἐμεῖο ἅτε πίνακα νουὸς
ἠέ τ᾽ ἴσως ἀνδριάντα λιπόμην ἐνὶ βίῳ·
ἅτε δ᾽ ἐφημερίδας τινὲς ἐντίθεσθαι μνήμᾳ
νούμισαν, ἁμετέρων ἄρ᾽ ἐφημερίδες λουγισμῶν,
ὧν περ ἑκάστοτ᾽ ἀνὰ νόον ἔμβαλον, ἔσσοντ᾽ ἔνθεν.
τἄλλα δὲ τεύχεε ἀμφοτέρω φιλοσουφίας ἐστὸν
σαφέα τ᾽ ἐκτόκια, πολύ τ᾽ εἰν βίῳ μερόπεσσι
βέλτιστα — παρρησί᾽ ἐρῶ, φθόνον οὐκ ἀλεγίζων —
fol. 169 ἀστρονομίης οὕνεκα παραδόσιες καιναί,

239 ἅμα p.c. : ὁμοῦ a.c. 240 φιλοσοφίῃ a.c. 247 καταλογισάμην a.c. 255 λόγοις a.c. 259 ἐμεῖο p.c. : ἐμοῦ? a.c. 263 ἔσοντ᾽ a.c. 264 p. τεύχεε eras. γ᾽ φιλοσοφίας a.c.

τάς κεν ἐγὼν σύνταγμ᾽ ἀραρυίας ἔτεσφιν ἡμῶν.
πολλὰ γὰρ εἶτεα καὐτός, ἄλλοι τ᾽ ἴσασ᾽ ἅπαντες,
οἵ νῦν ἔχουσι περὶ σοφίην μέροπες δὴ βρουτοί,
τῶν γε μαθηματικῶν λεῖπται ἐπιστήμ᾽ ἀκριβὴς
— τέτταρ᾽ ἅ πέρ γ᾽ ἔασι — μάλ᾽ ἀστρονομίης δ᾽ αὐτῆς·
τὰ μὲν ἐγών, παρρησί᾽ ἐρέω νῦν, εἴποτε δή τις
ἄλλο τι ἄλλος ἠὲ τά, φάμεν᾽ ἐτήτυμον ἶφι,
ἤσκημ᾽ ἀνύσας· εὖ δέ τε μάλ᾽ ἱκόμην ἔξιος
τῶνδε σοφίης κυδαλίμοιό νύ θ᾽ ἱμεροέσσης.
ἀτὰρ ἔμοιγ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ἀστρονομίης ἄσπετος ὦρτο
ζῆλος ἐνὶ κραδίῃ, μάλ᾽ ἐπεὶ μέτ᾽ ἄρα μερόπεσσι
παντάπασ᾽ ἠδὲ ἄϊστος ἔην, ἔραμαι δ᾽ ὁπηοῦν
τοῖς τε νῦν ἠδ᾽ ἐσέπειτ᾽ ἐσουμένοις βροτοῖσι
χραισμεῖν οὕνεκα τῆσδε σοφίης εὖ μάλα τυχεῖν
τῷ γ᾽ ἄρα συντάγματα νέα πόνεσα, διὰ τῶνδε
βένθε᾽ ἐπιστήμης διζεύμενος ἦ μάλ᾽ ἀγητά.
τάδ᾽ ἄρ ἕκαστ᾽ ἀπηγέομαι διακριδὸν ἔπειτα
κατὰ μέρος σάφα, ὥς κεν ἔην ὁδὸν ἑξῆς ἰών,
fol. 169v τά περ ἔασι περίκλυτ᾽ ἀκουέμεν ὠσὶ μούνοις
μυστήρια, πέλωρά τ᾽ ἀΐειν, θώυμ᾽ ἔχοντα,
ὥς τινα ῥηίδια διδάγματα φαάντατα,
πᾶσιν ἐράουσ᾽ ἱστορέων ἱλαδὸν λούγοισι
πουλυαρίθμοισι· καί τ᾽ ἐκδόσιας ἑτεροίας
ἠὲ καθὰ νόμισαν Πτολεμαῖος ἠδὲ Θέων τε,
ἀμφοτέρω ἄκρω πᾶσαν εἰνθάδε σουφίας ἕξιν,
αὐτὸς ἐγὼν ἐτύπωσ᾽ ὥς κεν νυνὶ τοῖσδε χρούνοις
κάρτ᾽ ἐπεοικότ᾽, δυσεργέα πάντ᾽ ἀφαιρῶν·
καί τε τόδ᾽ ἀτρεκέως ἐρέειν μέγα τ᾽ ὠφέλιμόν τε
ἔργον ἄνυσ᾽ ὁπόσοι σοφίας τῆσδ᾽ ἄνδρες ἔρανται.
τίς δὲ τοσσάτιόν γ᾽ ἀμαθὴς τ᾽ ἀπαθής τε πέφυκε
χρήματος εὖ μάλ᾽ ἐρατεινοῦ, τιμίου τ᾽ ἄνωθεν
δὴ προτέρων διάδοχ᾽ ἀγακλεέων νύ τ᾽ ἀνδρῶν,
τοῖον ἐγὼν μάλ᾽ ἔοργα πολυέρατον μερόπεσσιν
ἔργον ἀμήχανον ἐννοέεσθ᾽, ἔκπαγλον ἀΐειν·
καὶ τόδ᾽ ἐγὼν ἄνυσα, φορὰν ἐς βίον ἀγακλυτήν.
καὶ τόγ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἀμφί τε φυσικῶν Ἀριστοτελείων
σύνταγμ᾽ εἴτερον, ἐκ ῥέα μάλα τιθεύμενος ἅ κεν
fol. 170 δὴ ζοφόενθ᾽ ὁράασθαι δυσχερέα τ᾽ ἔκδωκε
διὰ νόον φράσασθ᾽, ἐπίτηδές τ᾽ αὖ διὰ φωνὰν
κάρτ᾽ ἐπίβουλα διδάγματ᾽ ἐνεικάμενός τ᾽ ἀΐδηλα,
ἐς φάος ἄγων, εὖ μάλ᾽ εὔγνωτ᾽ αὐτὸς ποιῶν,
ἴδριας ἀκαμάτους τῶν φύσιος ἔργων ὅσσοι
ἔμμεν᾽ ἔραντ᾽ ἐπιίδμονες εἰν μέρει καθόλου τε,

271 λεῖπτ᾽ ἐπιστήμ᾽ a.c. 273 νῦν add. 274 p. τι eras. γ᾽ 279 p. ἠδὲ eras. γ᾽ 280 ἐσομένοις a.c. 285 p. σάφα eras. γ᾽ 290 πολυαρίθμοισι a.c. 292 p. ἀμφοτέρω eras. γ᾽ 293 κε a.c. 303 Ἀριστοτέλειος a.c. 305 ἔκδοτο a.c. 307 τ᾽add.

δι᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐμοῖσι πόνοισ᾽, ἐπικουρίῃ τε μογηρᾷ
θηκάμενος, τό κεν οὔτις ὀνούσαιτ᾽ ἔργον ῥέξας,
ἢ μάλα φιλανθρωπίας ἱμερτὸν τόδε πολλόν.
κἄστιν ἀπ᾽ ἄρα τοῦδέ γε τεύχεος ἄπον᾽ ἐμεῖο
ὠκά τε μάλ᾽ ἀΐεντά τιν᾽, ὄρνυσι ποῦθος, μαθεῖν,
ἠέ τις ἴσως χρειώ, ῥηιδίως φέροντα
τὰ πολυήρατ᾽ ἔασι μογηρά τ᾽ Ἀριστοτέλεια.
τὸν μὲν ἄρα πόνον ἡμέτερον τόδε σύνταγμά μοι
πολλὸν ἀεὶ σύ γε θωύμασας ὥς κεν μάλ᾽ ἔοργα,
σὺν δέ τ᾽ ἀγήοχα νοῦον βαθυγνώμονος ἀνδρός,
σὺν δέ τε ῥεῖα θέμην ἀκήριον ἡμεδαποῖσι
ῥήμασι, διὰ σάφ᾽ ἰὼν πάντεων ἑξῆς εὖ δὴ
κεῖνος ἅ γ᾽ εὕρατο φύσιος ἔργα πολυδαίδαλα
fol. 170v πραπίσιν ὑψιβάμουνος νοῦ πυκινῆσ᾽ ἀπελαστοῦ
πάντα διφήσας, ἐοικόθ᾽ ἕκαστα μάλα τυχήσας,
ὥς ποτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν τε πάρος τῶν θ᾽ ὕστερον αὐτοῦ.
Τάδε μέν, ἄριστ᾽ ἀνδρῶν, κέκρικ᾽ ἐγὼν μετ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτοῖς
δὴ τεκέεσσι φίλοις, τά περ ὠδίνεσι προάγαγον
πουλυμόγοισι ἐνί γε μάλιστα πρήγμασι τόσσοις,
οἷσιν ἐγὼν ἔχομ᾽ ἄτροπος, ἢ μάλ᾽ ἀνιηροῖσιν·
ἦν δέ τ᾽ ἄρα με παρήπαφε πάθε᾽ ἀνδρούμεα κοινά,
τῶνδε σὺ αἴτιος, ὅς μ᾽ ἀείρεις ἀπατάασθαι.

311 μογερᾷ a.c. 312 ὀνόσαιτ᾽ a.c. 314 ἐμεῖο p.c.: ἐμέθεν a.c. 315 πόθος a.c. 316 χρεώ a.c. 317 Ἀριστοτέλεος? a.c. 322 εὖ δὴ add. 324 ὑψιβάμονος a.c. 329 πολυμόγοισι a.c. 331 ἀνδρόμεα a.c. 332 p. σὺ eras. γ᾽ αἴτιος ὅς μ᾽ p.c.: αἴτιος ἐμ᾽ a.c. ἀείρειν a.c.

TO THE WISE NIKEPHOROS XANTHOPOULOS, AND CONCERNING HIS OWN COMPOSITIONS. XII.

(1) As for the things which I have said already to your brother Theodore, he who is wise and dearest to me of all those who love me, let not these things said before be only for him, but for both withal, for him and also for you; (5) for ⟨both of⟩ you[?] have all ways of life in common: wisdom, friends, your beloved unmarried state, your flight from affairs which, in their delusiveness, always divert all of us who have become caught up in them; we come to this state inadvertently and are under inflexible necessity to remain without fleeing — (11) these are the luckless ones: we who seem to others looking from without to live lovely and greatly desirable lives. Yet I, too, have ⟨much⟩ in common with you, I who have loved you both and have been loved by you above ⟨all⟩ others for many years, from long ago. (15) But I now have this to say and whereof to accuse both of you in common: that both of you have abandoned me, seeing me in dire circumstances. Both of you — he more than you, but nevertheless, both of you — have abandoned me as I grieve unbearably over constant woes, public and private.

(21) Therefore have I said: let the ⟨words⟩ which were spoken by me formerly to him and the things spoken about me be common accusations to both. But now my spirit urges me to say these few things unto you, (25) dearest Nikephoros, you whose name is synonymous with wisdom itself by reason of your labours. I tell you now, you who love my compositions and deem them admirable, that the things which you think concerning them and concerning my nature and renowned knowledge, (31) gathered through my exceeding fervent longing and my relentless, well-nigh unceasing toils in so many matters, seem neither true nor sound, but rather, deceitful and false. Yet neither is it blameworthy ⟨of you⟩ to think and say these things; for, as the saying (35) has it, the lover is always blind with regard to the beloved: even so with regard to me do you see blindly and obliquely these things in which your love has deceived you. Now, lies on account of ⟨some⟩ illness, in as much as they are involuntary, are excusable. But you who are in everything a prudent judge, (40) righteous, truthful, wise, declaring that which is meet, in the case of me you think fit and determine to persuade prudent listeners of unsound, wholly unacceptable things. Before these men I am greatly ashamed, especially those who now live among us and hear the many utterly monstrous things you proclaim, sparing nothing, to my glory and praise. (47) For I appear to these men straightaway after your words, directly following them. Indeed does shame attach to me; and to you may perhaps attach reproach — or perhaps not; (51) for in your love you are convinced, with regard to the one dear to you, that things are good which are not, and in doing this you act blamelessly. And perhaps, in leaving glorious remembrances of me for later men in your speeches[1] (55) on account of all my learning and practice in literary works, you will not fail, once I am gone, in gaining the belief of men who ⟨will⟩ listen with ease to things about which they know not. For Envy, though it withhold praises from the living, is absent from the dead; (60) to those who have departed honour comes quite easily. But you are not to acclaim me any more in laudatory speeches, nor are you to make further mention of my wisdom in your long conversations with everyone. Cease from praising my works, my greatly felicitous nature, my persistent practice in the use of words, my ⟨literary⟩ offspring, always succeeding one after the other in turn, worthy of great marvel, touching each and every branch of culture; ⟨cease from praising these works of mine⟩ in front of (65-70) those people who are always about you, thick crowds of men constantly agape, as if before vessels of honey; ⟨cease from⟩ exalting these works inadvertently as you are wont to do even now, lest you later incur reproaches whereof there is no need and be greatly embarassed, or lest I receive opprobrium and shame from both Truth and ruinous Envy ⟨thus⟩ blinded, (77) and ⟨thereby⟩ you do the very opposite of that which you desire, unto yourself and me.

I charge you with these things for your own good as well as mine. But, O dearest of wise men, (80) because of a great longing and disposition, dearest mine, of wishing the best for me, you seem to me to burn with love of culture with regard to me in these words you use to my praise. And it is clear and easily seen

[1] Metochites here seems to speak of written works in which Xanthopoulos had praised him — but which?

by all (85) (for things magnified by praises wax great!) that you rouse me with headlong speed to even greater love, you who are such a lover of wisdom and truth and who glorify my compositions; as though you thought these to be great literary works, and wisdom to be (90) the choice and ⟨most⟩ venerable of all human accomplishments, much better than the acquisition of anything else, and ⟨you thought⟩ me to love wisdom above all excellent things and all good fortune in the world: ⟨wisdom⟩ which all mortal men with prudent, resolute minds, (96) among whom I wish to be, desire to obtain at last in this life. In these thoughts you have in no wise missed the mark, but think quite rightly. For to me every prosperous course of Fortune, all things to be prayed for, matters of livelihood, beloved possessions, as many things as are precious, dearest, joyous, (100) all are secondary and of little import in comparison with wisdom. This is clear to all straightaway, especially to you: such love has bound me, throughout my experience of all manner of circumstances, prosperous and grievous, to cleave unswervingly to the cares of wisdom; from these nothing in this life, howsoever good it be, has withheld me. (107) You know this and marvel at it; you have always thought this love of mine for wisdom a truly wondrous thing. Yet I shall mention something you once said of old — I think you say it even now. (111) You said concerning me that a great many of the very best things, both good fortune from God and conspicuous innate qualities, had been given me. It is perhaps reproachable to speak of these things; but you ennumerated them, beginning from the time when I was still a child, (115) ⟨including⟩ endowments of nature which where quite marvellous, especially with regard to my strength of mind and my inexhaustible love for the acquisition of literary knowledge, unswayed by aught fortunate or grievous; and ⟨including⟩ next the lovely gifts of fortune, and how I had received every good thing with great ease from the Lord, He who grants me every sort of honour and wealth most graciously, in rich abundance; (122) and ⟨you included⟩ also my honoured heir successor among my children.[2] Who, in the swift course of these verses, could quickly go through and enumerate all these things? (125) But after you had described a great many blessings which are visited upon few mortals, you set this down as a miracle: that never was I diverted by any of these things from my love of wisdom; studies of literary works have always occupied me, and sweetly do I toil, (130) unaffected by good fortune or adversity, in no wise wishing to live apart from these studies. Just as it is impossible for men to live without air or drawing breath, even such a great and constant lover of literary works did you think me of old, and so do you still think. (136) These are the things you believed with regard to me. Perhaps of old your thoughts hit the mark, but now perhaps not: for all the paths of this life are deceitful, and those which one may think fortunate are especially wretched. (140) All sensible men who have experience of truth know this. — Nor may I ever have any ungrateful thought on this account toward God or our noble and excellent Emperor![3]

But as for the fact that now, in this state of prosperity, I am fettered by constant griefs both public and private, (145) why should I mention this? It is

[2] A singularly unfortunate remark: Metochites's two sons abandoned him more heartlessly than the Xanthopouloi.

[3] *scil.* Andronikos II.

clear to all. Who does not know it? You know very well, for you have given much attention to my affairs, public and private. Yet though I grieve in these woeful, wretched, far-wandering billows (150) and am beset every day by griefs from all sides, I can never in any wise be diverted from my love of wisdom. Herein every feast and apparent joy of life increases greatly; and every grief, public and private, hereby is alleviated, to my own thinking (155) or by its very nature: my heart is diverted from these things, resting serenely elsewhere, elsewise, assuaging somehow its fiery pain, as though breathed upon at length by dewy breezes fanning it with a life-giving, favourable wind. (160) Thereby often has my grieving mind been refreshed and become light, upon being delivered from sorrows: quickly are woes turned away from it as it inclines to labours for the sake of wisdom, These make the spirit happy, setting it free from ravening evil, from a wretched (165) state of dreadful anxiety. Forthwith am I relieved, directly I set my mind to the lovely pangs of travail of literary works. The clear proof hereof are the great many works which I have composed here and there, (170) as many as any other nursling of wisdom of old or, especially, of late. As a member of wisdom's devotees, I longed to beget honourable offspring of my mind. Some ⟨I begat⟩ of lofty-treading, glorious Philosophy: these works bring various of Philosophy's mysteries, utterable only to a few and difficult of understanding, into the light; ⟨and I begat⟩ other works of the rhetorical arts, whose task is disposing the tongue in a lovely manner — I was very attentive to this! — as well as euphony of felicitous expression, (180) through which thought is given colour as it emerges fittingly from within, with splendour of noble eloquence. Such are the works, of both sorts, which I have composed. Upon seeing them, you have always praised each and every one; you think them my glory: a beneficial (185) offering, exceeding marvellous and ennobling, to the life of men. Now and forever I present these books, which I love even as dear children, to wise-thinking men: they who judge ⟨literary works⟩ dispassionately, especially after death has come to the authors, who have thus (190) escaped Envy's insidious, baneful, evil darts.

Now whatever I have said already about each of my literary works may perhaps do them justice; but as to whether I have spoken verily or not, it remains for a vote to be cast by your wisdom. Moreover, let it be for other upright judges ⟨to decide concerning⟩ (195) these works I have deposited in treasuries, in the volumes of books I have brought forth into the light for every purpose, one or another. To me these works seem to be of some worth, perhaps with reason, perhaps not. But among the works (200) which, I think, succeed in not altogether recklessly missing the mark, is the speech concerning culture — you know it — which I brought forth in pangs of old and called *On Ethics*. You judged this work with truth, as you thought then, to have been well crammed full by me with prudent intellect. (205) I declare this work to be a herald of my mind, proclaiming those things which turn within it: some are easily apparent, others are known ⟨only⟩ to those who probe the depths within. I composed this work with not a little charming language, (210) and there are in it also some lovely turns of speech. Second to this speech, I think, is my *Byzantios*: a copy, as it were, of archetypes of those ancient men of great and honourable fame. For in this work I made use of every disposition, of practices of oratory ⟨customary⟩ in such speeches and contrivances of meaning, (216) as well as of

lovely nouns and eloquent expression, following successfully the traces of those of old renowned for contests of speech among men, for splendour of noble Attic eloquence, and for grace. (220) Thereupon in turn I produced my work about God-fearing Gregory, whom pious men have called the Theologian, bringing it forth as a song of praise unto him. So much for these three books of careful eloquence. As for my other works — you know them — let us not dwell on them. (225) Instead, I shall mention here, along with the others, the verses bound in metre which I brought forth with the graces of Poetry. These are the last of my works. Through them have I been able somewhat to gladden my heart, as it grieves in constant woes, and to relieve it of mischievous cares. (230) With these spring flowers, as it were, from the ever-blossoming meadows of Poetry, I enjoy a bright respite, drawing in a dewy breath, thus making sport in things which, though not readily sportive, banish care. (234) Here we end our remarks on these works, be they fitting or otherwise.

But three other books which I have composed will be of some profit to generations after us, and will perhaps gain for me immortal glory: examples of my persistent philosophical inclination, altogether divers expressions of its many sides. (240) Among these are the philosophical works which deal with Physics and those which deal with Mathematics, along with Logic and Ethics: all that is considered to exist. (243) Of all these have I made mention in the book I called *Didactic Observations*;[4] and if anyone study this book carefully, he will know whereof I speak: with eloquence have I drawn up plain examples of each and every one of the things I have just listed, flowing from my mind, as though from a cavernous treasury, here and there, from every side, impressed with the stamps of all the branches of wisdom, ancient and new; I have gathered them all together with precision. (252) This book will perhaps bear witness to the strength of my mind and my great learning — Away with Envy! — You yourself know that you have said this many times. Nor could anyone believe that you would ever deceive me with false words, for this seems not in keeping with your ways; and indeed, there are many in agreement with your judgement who bear witness with you, proclaiming the same things. (259) I leave this book to the world as a picture of my mind, as it were, or perhaps as a statue: even as some men have thought fit to bequeath journals to History, so will these be journals of the thoughts I have had on every occasion. (264) As for the other two books, both are lucid offspring of Philosophy, and of the greatest value in the life of men — I now speak with boldness, with no thought of Envy! — (267) They are new teachings of Astronomy which I composed, adapting them to our times. ⟨You⟩ yourself, as well as all mortal men now possessed of wisdom, know that precise knowledge of the mathematical sciences, all four of them, but especially of Astronomy, had been lost for many years. (273) But I gained mastery of these — I speak boldly now! — as ⟨great as⟩ anyone has ever gained in anything whatsoever — verily I did! I attained perfect competency in the glorious and lovely wisdom of these sciences. But above all, an ineffable fervour for Astronomy arose in my heart, especially since this science had altogether disappeared from the life of men; and I desired somehow to assist mortals, now and in the future, in the successful acquisition of

[4] The Greek title of the *Miscellanea* is Ὑπομνηματισμοὶ καὶ Γνωμικαὶ Σημειώσεις.

it. (284) Wherefore I toiled upon new compositions, penetrating thereby to the greatly wondrous depths of this science: I expounded upon each and every one of these with precision, clearly in every detail, proceeding in sequence as best I could, describing everything profusely, in numerous words, to all those who longed for knowledge of these things which are glorious mysteries even to hear, awesome to perceive, marvels indeed; ⟨I described them⟩ as though they were easy, most manifest concepts. (290) I drew up tables different from those of Ptolemy and Theon (they who were foremost in the mastery of this science), well adapting them to our times, removing all difficulties. (295) Verily did I accomplish this task, great and useful, on behalf of all men who long for this wisdom. Who could be such an ignoramus as to be insensible to such a lovely and precious thing, one succeeding to the ⟨achievements of⟩ glorious men of old, as is this work that I have completed: much-loved by mortals, a task impossible to comprehend, marvellous to see? It was I who accomplished this, a splendid offering to the world. (303) And I composed yet another work: about Aristotle's *Physics*. There I dextrously explained the works he published which are obscure of understanding and difficult of comprehension because of their meaning. And I purposely presented those of his teachings which are treacherous and unfathomable because of his language. I brought these forth into the light and made well known through my labours and assiduous care, easily rendering all those who desired knowledge, both in general and in detail, well acquainted with nature's workings. I accomplished this: a great and lovely work of benevolence which no one may fault. (314) Anyone may consult my work, be it desire that rouses him or perhaps need, and learn from it quickly, without toil, easily acquiring Aristotle's much-loved and toilsome teachings. (318) You have always marvelled greatly that I wrought this work so well. I gathered together the thoughts of this man of profound wisdom and set them forth with ease, unchanged, in my own words; with order and clarity I went through all that he researched: the complicated workings of nature which he discovered with the prudent understanding of his high-treading, incomparable mind, succeeding meetly in every case as no one before or after him.

(327) Such are the things, O best of men, that I hold with regard to the dear offspring I brought forth in greatly toilsome pangs, all the while inextricably entangled in so many grievous affairs. (331) And if those emotions common to all men have misled me, you are to blame: you who incite me to self-deception!

Psellos épigraphiste

GILBERT DAGRON

Les centaines de pierres inscrites que côtoyaient quotidiennement les habitants de Constantinople ou des vieilles cités provinciales, celles qu'ils trouvaient en creusant les fondations de leurs maisons ou des édifices publics (la capitale était construite sur des cimetières antiques remblayés), appartenaient au décor de leur existence, donc à leur culture vivante, mais elles venaient pour eux d'un passé oublié, le plus souvent d'un paganisme récusé; et, bien sûr, ils ne savaient généralement pas les lire. Bref, si l'objet leur était familier, son sens leur était de plus en plus étranger. Même pour qui savait déchiffrer les lettres, l'inscription tendait à n'être plus qu'un graphisme énigmatique, ressurgi non pas de l'histoire mais du sol de la préhistoire, un message venu d'ailleurs et trouvé paradoxalement chez soi: prophétie à vérifier, maléfice à conjurer, trésor à découvrir, ou tout simplement mots à soumettre à une libre exégèse.

Sans doute faut-il distinguer les époques et considérer que la lecture et l'interprétation, dont les difficultés n'ont fait que croître, ont été l'apanage de gens différents pour une utilisation différente. Aux V^e-VI^e siècles, lorsqu'on grave encore beaucoup d'inscriptions, on continue de prêter à celles qu'on voit, qu'on trouve ou qu'on imagine, la valeur de documents historiques: les Patria des cités et les premières Chroniques sont pleins de ces textes, plus souvent déjà copiés de sources littéraires que relevés sur place. Hésychios utilise celles qui font revivre le lointain passé de Constantinople [1]; Malalas puise dans celles d'Antioche à partir de recueils déjà constitués [2]; Agathias décrit avec des précisions de spécialiste la base d'une statue de Chérémôn (I^e siècle avant J.-C.) trouvée à Tralles et la stèle qui commémorait sur le Kasoulinos/Vulturne

[1] Hésychios, *Patria*, 30 et 34, in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, éd. Preger, pp. 12-13 et 14; la première inscription est prise dans Denys de Byzance; les deux ont, après Hésychios, une tradition littéraire, cf. Th. Preger, *Inscriptiones graecae metricae ex scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam collectae* (Leipzig, 1891), n° 190 et 165.

[2] Cf. G. Downey, «References to Inscriptions in the Chronicle of Malalas», *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 66 (1935): 55-72.

la défaite des Francs de Boutinilos en 554 [3]. Trouvailles ou fraudes, ces textes gravés appartenaient au dossier des villes et gardaient encore la valeur de témoignages irrécusables.

Bientôt après, le sens historique se perd. Les inscriptions sont livrées à la curiosité des badauds ou à l'imagination de quelques charlatans (on les appelle généreusement «philosophes»), qui se livrent à leur propos à toutes sortes de jeux interprétatifs; la plus banale des épitaphes devient une prophétie de la naissance du Christ [4], une simple inscription de dédicace est censée indiquer la localisation d'un trésor [5]. Ensuite seulement, de vrais savants, ou pour mieux dire une petite élite d'érudits, reprennent goût au déchiffrement des pierres et commencent à mener des enquêtes régionales comme fait Grégoire Magistros peu avant 900 [6]. L'*Anthologie Palatine* [7] est issue de ce mouvement: les inscriptions y sont bien lues, éditées sans fantaisie, mais comme des textes littéraires et non plus comme des documents d'histoire locale.

Que se passe-t-il ensuite dans ce XI[e] siècle qui multiplie les écoles et diffuse plus largement, au moins à Constantinople, une culture à la fois savante et vivante [8]? Une lettre de Psellos à Constantin X Doukas (1059-1067) nous permet d'en juger. Au cours d'on ne sait quels travaux, une «pierre» sculptée et inscrite a été découverte, montrée à l'empereur, qui interroge le «consul des philosophes». Psellos répond en ces termes [9]:

«Mon saint Maître, j'ai examiné l'inscription et la gravure de la pierre, comme tu me l'as ordonné. Il y a sur la partie gauche un homme qui

[3] Agathias, *Hist.* II, 17, 6-8, éd. Keydell, p. 63 (l'inscription paraît composée ou recomposée par l'historien d'après des Πάτρια Τράλλεων aujourd'hui perdus); II, 10, 8-9, éd. Keydell, pp. 54-55 (l'auteur invoque une tradition orale parvenue jusqu'à lui). Cf. Preger, *Inscriptiones*, n° 281-282.

[4] Ainsi les initiales bien connues Χ Μ Γ, développées en Χριστὸς μέλλει γεννᾶσθαι à partir, semble-t-il, de la découverte d'une tombe en 781 (Théophane, éd. de Boor, I, p. 455), cf. Th. Reinach, «Un intrus byzantin dans le Panthéon hellénique: le faux dieu Kyropalatès», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 9 (1900): 52-62; C. Mango, «A Forged Inscription of the Year 781», *Sbornik Radova* 8 (1963): 201-207.

[5] *Patria* de Constantinople, III,30, in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, éd. Preger, pp. 225-226; à mettre en relation avec *Anthologie Palatine* I, 7.

[6] Sur l'activité et les déplacements de Grégoire Magistros, voir lemmes à *Anthologie Palatine* VII, 327, 334 et 429. Nous n'entrons pas ici dans le problème de la *Gregorii collectio* et des rapports entre Grégoire Magistros et son contemporain Constantin Képhalas (dernière mise au point: P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), p. 205 et 268.

[7] Composée vers 950/980, à partir de l'«Anthologie de Képhalas» (vers 900).

[8] Cf. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI[e] siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), chap. IV: «Le gouvernement des philosophes: l'enseignement, les écoles, la culture».

[9] *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, éd. Kurtz, II, pp. 207-209: lettre 188, Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δούκαν.

brandit une épée de son bras droit et qui désigne du gauche quelque chose que l'on ne voit pas; sur la partie droite est sculpté un trône, sur lequel est assise une étrange figure qui rassemble et dissimule ses jambes sur une unique ligne droite. L'homme armé de l'épée est Ulysse, la figure incertaine (τὸ δὲ ἀσαφὲς εἴδωλον) Circé. Il s'agit d'une fable hellénique (= païenne) selon laquelle la déesse aux filtres, Circé, après avoir ensorcélé avec ses filtres tous les compagnons (d'Ulysse) et les avoir transformés en bêtes, fut vaincue par le seul Ulysse; il l'effraya, en effet, en brandissant son épée contre elle. Il dit lui-même dans l'Odyssée d'Homère: «Mais moi, tirant mon glaive pointu du long de ma cuisse, j'ai bondi sur elle comme si je voulais l'occire» [10], et de l'autre main il lui montre la plante nommée *môly*, que lui a donnée pour l'aider le messager des dieux helléniques Hermès; le même Ulysse dit en effet à ce sujet dans le livre d'Homère que j'ai cité: «Ayant ainsi parlé, le dieu aux brillantes apparitions tira du sol une herbe et m'en montra la nature: sa racine est noire et sa fleur blanc de lait, les dieux l'appellent *môly*; on ne l'arrache pas sans peine» [11]. De la droite, donc, comme je le disais, Ulysse brandit l'épée contre Circé, de la gauche il montre le *môly*, comme le lui a suggéré Hermès. Et la figure de Circé n'a pas tout à fait apparence humaine, elle est un peu étrange et de forme différente, le sculpteur ayant voulu rendre ainsi la nature indicible du démon.

Quant à l'inscription qui apparaît sur la pierre, elle se décompose en 1) trois lettres O N O au dessus des deux figures 2) dans la partie droite, à l'extrémité de la pierre, là où est représentée Circé: I Δ E 3) enfin, du côté gauche, là où est représenté Ulysse M et Ω; ce qui fait, une fois les lettres rassemblées, ἴδε ὄνομα μῶλυ, comme si Ulysse disait à Circé: regarde et redoute cette plante qui a pour nom *môly*.

Voilà ce que j'ai pensé de cette représentation en première analyse, mais on peut en donner une interprétation plus magique, et je m'étonne que le magicien Basile [12] ne s'en soit pas avisé. Les gens avaient en effet l'habitude, lorsqu'ils concluaient des accords de paix, d'allumer un autel et d'y placer des victimes, égorgées avec l'épée et coupées ensuite en petits morceaux. Le trône apparaissant sur la pierre est une sorte d'autel;

[10] Odyssée X, 321-322.

[11] Ibid., 302-305. Sur la plante nommée *moly*, cf. *RE* XVI, 1, col. 29-33 (Steier, 1933), où sont cités les principaux commentaires. Le *moly* est cité dans les lexiques d'Hésychios et de la *Suda* (s.v.) et a souvent excité l'imagination des Byzantins. Notons une *ekphrasis* de Circé mise sous le nom de Psellos, in *Tzetzae allegoriae Iliadis* éd. Boissonade, pp. 363-365.

[12] Je ne peux identifier le μάγος Basile, sans doute un rival de Psellos dans l'entourage de Constantin X.

ce qui est au-dessus de l'autel est une victime à la tête coupée, de sorte qu'on ne la voit que jusqu'au cou [13]; quant à l'homme à l'épée tirée, c'est l'égorgeur du traité de Concorde (ὁμονοίας) [14]. Les Lettres sont grecques (ἑλληνικά), ce ne sont ni des lettres étrangères (ἐθνικά), ni des hiéroglyphes (ἱερογλυφικά).

J'ai reconnu sur la pierre bien d'autres choses plus profondes que celles-là, les unes plus divines (= chrétiennes), les autres plus helléniques (= païennes); mais ce qui m'a plu le plus, c'est que, dans les deux interprétations, sculpture et inscription intéressent ton pouvoir: car le cratère de la concorde est symbole de paix, et le héros Ulysse représente l'homme qui vainc les forces qui lui sont opposées. Toi, puissé-je te voir plus pacifique que guerrier [15]!»

Un bas-relief sans doute assez banal est ici transformé en énigme. L'iconographie devrait nous guider vers une interprétation; malheureusement la description donnée par Psellos reste imprécise, sans doute intentionnellement. A gauche, un homme tient une épée dans la main droite et tend de la main gauche un objet non identifié: probablement une couronne ou un rameau. A droite, on reconnaît soit une femme assise sur un siège dans une attitude un peu hiératique, soit un buste sur un socle, soit encore un autel. On pensera d'abord à la représentation funéraire de l'adieu — dont les stèles de Byzance nous conservent précisément bien des exemples: une femme voilée, assise (le plus souvent à gauche mais parfois aussi à droite), ayant devant elle un homme qui lui tend une couronne [16]. L'épée brandie serait toutefois un peu gênante et sans parallèle, me semble-t-il, dans ce domaine iconographique. On peut aussi imaginer une scène de libation, de sacrifice ou d'offrande à un dieu, par exemple à un buste d'Hermès [17]. Il reste aussi une incertitude sur la nature de la «pierre». Stèle? Autel?

[13] Absurdement, Psellos imagine un sacrifice humain pour expliquer la représentation d'une tête ou d'un buste.

[14] L'éditeur écrit: ὁ δὲ ἐσπασμένος τὸ ξίφος ὁ σφαγεύς ἐστι σπονδὴ ὁμονοίας. Pour comprendre, il faut sans doute corriger en σπονδῆς ὁμονοίας, ou mettre une ponctuation avant σπονδή («et le traité est un traité de Concorde»).

[15] Ailleurs, Psellos ne s'est pas fait faute de reprocher à Constantin Doukas son pacifisme (*Chronographie*, éd. Renault, II, pp. 146-147).

[16] N. Fıratlı et L. Robert, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1964). Dans la typologie des stèles, on peut distinguer les scènes de banquet funèbre et celles d'adieu avec, en face d'une personne assise, un personnage debout ou couché (pp. 18-26); voir particulièrement les stèles n° 169 à 182. Parmi les objets symboliques relevons la couronne ou la palme (pp. 36-37); l'épée figure parmi les attributs des soldats, mais suspendue et non pas brandie (p. 35).

[17] Ibid., stèle n° 119 (notée par erreur 129): un homme debout tenant une patère de libation devant un buste d'Hermès sur un socle.

Venons-en à l'inscription. Psellos la décompose ainsi: au-dessus de la scène O N O, à la limite droite de la pierre I Δ E, à la limite gauche M Ω. Le sens de la lecture qui permet à Psellos de reconnaître ἴδε ὄνο(μα) μῶ(λυ) est de toute façon aberrant. Si l'on rectifie l'ordre des syllabes, on obtient MΩONOIΔE, qui n'est, tel quel, guère compréhensible. C'est donc que Psellos, pour parvenir à l'interprétation homérique qui lui plaît tant, a non seulement commencé la lecture par la droite, mais interverti ou volontairement mal transcrit certaines lettres. On peut sans trop de difficulté supposer qu'il a lu la syllabe de gauche à l'envers (c'est à dire dans le sens de sa lecture, qui va de droite à gauche); nous serions donc fondés, à restituer ΩMONOI/OMONOI; et de cette hypothèse découlerait une correction relativement légère de ΔE en AC [18]. Il faudrait lire ὁμονοίας, génitif d'ὁμόνοια la Concorde. Or c'est précisément par le mot ὁμονοίας que Psellos achève sa seconde interprétation, celle d'un sacrifice à l'autel de la Concorde. Il avait donc parfaitement su lire l'inscription.

Sans doute ne sommes-nous pas tout à fait au bout de nos peines, car l'épigraphie et l'iconographie antiques de la Concorde ne fournissent pas de repères tout à fait probants [19]. Bien des inscriptions ou monnaies illustrent le thème de l'Ὁμόνοια entre un mari et une femme, entre deux cités ou entre deux empereurs (Ὁμόνοια Σεβαστή/Σεβαστοῦ/Σεβαστῶν = Concordia Augusta/Augusti/Augustorum) [20]; mais la représentation

[18] Surtout si l'on suppose un *epsilon* arrondi se rapprochant du *sigma* lunaire.

[19] Voir l'article *Homonoia* de la *RE* VIII 2, col. 2265-2269 (Zwicker 1913) et surtout Barbara Levick, «Concordia at Rome», in *Essays presented to Humphrey Sutherland* (1975), pp. 217-233. Ὁμόνοια peut être soit une allégorie abstraite, soit une déesse ayant son temple, comme à Rome, Tralles ou Millet, ses autels (Pausanias 5, 14, 9), ses statues et son clergé propre, soit le qualificatif d'un «traité» (de Concorde), soit encore — ce qui n'est pas tout à fait exclu ici — un nom de femme qui pourrait figurer sur une épitaphe (pour Byzance, cf. A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre, textes inédits*, p. 39, n° 32: (Ὁμό)νοια Εἴσιδι εὐχήν avec un bas-relief représentant Héraclès à demi-couché, flèches en main, et à l'arrière-plan trois grâces.

[20] Limitons-nous à quelques exemples. La concorde entre les époux est bien illustrée par l'inscription d'Hérode Atticus à Marathon Ὁμονοίας ἀθανάτ(ου) πύλη, associée à deux statues assises d'Hérode et de Regilla sa femme (*IG* II 2, 5186; D.J. Geagan, «A New Epigram from Marathon», *Athenische Mitteilungen* 79 (1964): 149-156), de même que par les monnaies d'Antonin le Pieux presque contemporaines (140/144), montrant au revers le couple Antonin-Faustine les mains jointes avec l'inscription *Concordiae* (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* IV, p. 198-199, n° 1236-1240, pl. 28,8; voir autres références dans Geagan, «A New Epigram», p. 153 n. 11). L. Robert a récemment publié l'inscription d'un autel de Périnthe dédié à la Concorde, à l'époque impériale, par une association d'«amis des Apaméens» («Des Carpathes à la Propontide 7,1», *Studii Clasice* 16 [1974]: 61-69). On trouvera dans B. V. Head, *Historia numorum*², de nombreux exemples de personnification d'Ὁμόνοια sur les monnaies grecques (index p. 918 et 949, voir plus particulièrement p. 77, 163, 666); la Concorde entre les Augustes

n'est nulle part celle que décrit Psellos, laquelle n'est pas pour autant invraisemblable. On remarquera, par exemple, que sur les monnaies figurent parfois une tête de femme voilée ou laurée, personnification de la Concorde, avec le nom Ὁμονοίας/Concordiae, seul et au génitif, comme il semble que ce soit le cas sur notre inscription [21].

Quoi qu'il en soit, si Psellos nous semble avoir correctement interprété la pierre qui lui était montrée, il choisit de ne donner la bonne lecture qu'allusivement, par un mot glissé au détour d'une phrase et qui ne se présente pas comme un déchiffrement. A l'explication simple et rigoureuse, il préfère une lecture absurdement compliquée qui lui permet de faire valoir son inventivité littéraire. Et c'est bien ce jeu devant une inscription qui mérite ici commentaire. La lettre nous prouve — et c'est à ma connaissance un témoignage presque unique — que lorsqu'on trouvait à Constantinople une pierre gravée, il arrivait qu'on la présentât à l'empereur, avec le secret espoir, peut-être, qu'elle indiquerait la place d'un trésor, une recette magique ou une prédiction sensationnelle [22]: ces textes ou images enfouis sous terre viennent d'outre-tombe. Alors intervient le déchiffreur. Il identifie l'écriture: hiéroglyphes (qui ajouteraient au mystère et pourraient renvoyer dans l'imagination byzantine d'alors à la magie, à l'alchimie et aux formules hermétiques) [23], lettres latines ou non grecques, (ῥωμαϊκά ailleurs, ici ἐθνικά qui donneraient à

est un thème politique largement exploité dans les légendes monétaires romaines, tout spécialement du IIᵉ au IVᵉ siècle (cf. *Roman Imperial Coinage II-IX*, indices). Mentionnons encore une iconographie allégorique de la Concorde décrite par Sévérien de Gabala (IVᵉ/Vᵉ siècles): une femme se tient derrière les deux personnages dont on consacre l'union et pose les mains sur leurs épaules (*Homelia de pace*, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας I, p. 17).

21 Ainsi sur certaines des monnaies citées plus haut et, très normalement, sur des inscriptions d'autels (par exemple *IG* II 3, 1663: Ὁμονοίας τοῦ θιάσου). On trouve aussi le datif.

22 Les *Patria* de Constantinople fournissent quelques bons exemples de ce genre d'interprétation: *Parastaseis* 24, in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, éd. Preger, p. 34 (recette pour la fabrication de l'or); *Patria* II 62, 79 et III 37, p. 184, 191 et 230 (inscriptions prophétiques). Voir aussi plus bas n. 26.

23 *Parastaseis* 40, *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, éd. Preger, p. 45 (ἱερογλυφικά τινα καὶ ἀστρονομικὰ ἐχίδνια); pour un *alphabetum hieroglyphicum*, cf. Vat. gr. 914 f. 193v et 1892 f. 121v. C'est un thème constant, depuis Platon jusqu'à Manéthon, Jamblique et Olympiodore, que la plupart des recettes secrètes de la «sagesse» égyptienne ont été transmises par des stèles gravées par les anciens; voir quelques exemples réunis par A.J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, I, pp. 224-230. Une légende du même genre se retrouve dans la tradition juive et byzantine, rattachée à Seth qui aurait gravé sur la pierre, avant le déluge, le savoir astrologique qui lui aurait été révélé et qu'Abraham transmet ensuite aux Egyptiens (Flavius Josèphe, *Antiquités juives*, I, 67-71, 167; Eusèbe, *Préparation évangélique*, IX, 17-18; Eustathe d'Antioche, *PG* 18, col. 749-751; Malalas, Bonn, pp. 5-6; Georges le Moine, éd. de Boor, p. 10; Kédrènos, Bonn I, p. 16 ...).

l'inscription soit une valeur officielle, soit une provenance étrangère)[24], ou bien encore lettres grecques (qui rattachent le texte à tout un patrimoine culturel teinté de paganisme). Mais avant d'être un texte, l'inscription est un ensemble de graphismes, de signes mêlés à ces autres signes que sont les éléments iconographiques (d'où l'ambivalence fréquente des mots γραφή, γράφειν)[25]; on peut les assembler en syllabes ou en mots (εἰς ἓν συναγόμενα) dans n'importe quel ordre, pour en extraire un sens; on peut choisir de les interpréter comme des initiales et de lire les inscriptions comme nos sigles modernes (ONU, UNESCO): c'est ainsi que les Byzantins imaginèrent les mots étranges de ΒΕΚΛΑΣ, ΑΙΜΑ ou ΜΑΡΠΟΥ, dont la résolution valait prophétie[26]. Le terme qui désigne les lettres, στοιχεῖα, est chargé de connotations magiques[27]. Ici, Psellos reste entre la simple lecture et la pure mystification; il brode sur quelques syllabes initiales.

Il présente surtout une gamme entière d'interprétations possibles sans choisir parmi elles, mais en les classant à des niveaux hiérarchisés: interprétation littéraire (homérique), interprétation «magique» (l'autel de la Concorde), interprétation prophétique (l'annonce du règne pacifique de Constantin X, qui prouve que Psellos a bien retenu comme fondamental le thème de la Concorde), interprétation «plus chrétienne» ou «plus païenne». En astucieux fournisseur de sens, il est prêt à répondre «à la demande». L'inscription lui est prétexte; il propose de lui faire dire n'importe quoi, et en tout cas de tirer parti de l'occasion qui lui est offerte de briller.

24 *Patria* III, 30, in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, éd. Preger p. 225-226 (ῥωμαϊκὰ γράμματα λίθινα pour une inscription en latin signalant un trésor).

25 Ils désignent aussi bien l'écriture que le dessin, mais Psellos distingue ici γραφή et γλυφή.

26 Nicétas Paphlagôn, *Vie du patriarche Ignace*, *PG* 105, col. 565-568 (ΒΕΚΛΑΣ est composé des initiales de Basile, Eudocie, Léon, Alexandre et Stéphanos, annonçant la gloire de la dynastie macédonienne); Nicétas Choniate, *Hist.*, éd. Beck - Kambylis - Keydell, p. 169 (ΑΙΜΑ = Alexis, Ioannès, Manuel, Alexis); Pachymère, Bonn I, p. 28 (ΜΑΡΠΟΥ = Μιχαὴλ Ἄναξ Ῥωμαίων Παλαιολόγος Ὀξέως Ὑμνηθήσεται, prédiction de l'avènement de Michel Paléologue). Voir G. Dagron et J. Paramelle, «Un texte patriographique, le Récit merveilleux, très beau et profitable sur la colonne du Xèrolophos», *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979): 491-523; dans ce récit tardif, et bien entendu légendaire, on trouve lors de travaux exécutés près du Phanar par Basile I et Léon VI un buste portant l'inscription ΒΕΚΛΑΣ; elle intrigue les empereurs qui procèdent à une enquête. La situation est donc à peu près la même qu'ici, et c'est Photius qui résout l'énigme.

27 Voir notamment A. Delatte et Ch. Josserand, «Contribution à l'étude de la démonologie byzantine», *Ann. Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. orient.* 2 (1934) = *Mélanges Bidez*, 1: 207-232; sur l'usage magique des lettres de l'alphabet, F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Berlin, 1922).

Exercice de style? Plaisanterie de lettré? Il faut aller, je pense, un peu plus loin. Sans doute Psellos n'est-il pas ici seulement épigraphiste; il est aussi épistolier et ce passage d'un genre à un autre lui donne toute liberté d'imagination. Mais cette transposition «littéraire» n'a peut-être pas au XIe siècle la signification que nous lui prêterions aujourd'hui en l'opposant à une explication «scientifique». Elle a entière validité. De même que la critique du XXe siècle s'estime en droit de tirer «objectivement» des œuvres et des textes tout ce qu'ils peuvent lui inspirer, sans trop ce soucier des «intentions» de leurs auteurs et en restituant aux mots, aux lettres et aux graphismes leurs prestiges oubliés, Psellos ne croit devoir renoncer à aucun des sens que lui suggèrent sa culture et son imagination; ils ne sont pas vrais ou faux, mais inégalement riches et intéressants. Ainsi se confondent en lui les deux attitudes que nous avons distinguées dans la tradition des Byzantins «épigraphistes» des siècles précédents, celle de l'érudit qui transcrit les inscriptions, et celle du «philosophe» qui les fait chanter.

Collège de France,

Ein Wandgemälde in San Marco, Venedig

O. DEMUS

Ein 1962 vom damaligen Proto von San Marco, Ferdinando Forlati, unter der Marmorverkleidung des Baptisteriums aufgefundenes und 1963 bekannt gemachtes Fragment[1] eines ursprünglich recht umfangreichen Wandgemäldes hat seither nicht die Beachtung gefunden, die ihm als einem der wenigen erhaltenen Zeugen der hochmittelalterlichen Wandmalerei Venedigs zukommt; außerdem besitzt das Wandgemälde wegen seines Anbringungsortes besonderes historisches und baugeschichtliches Interesse.[2] Was von dem Gemälde übrig ist befindet sich, jetzt vom Mauerkörper gelöst und auf Platten übertragen, gegenüber der originalen Lage etwas (ca. 12-14 cm) nach oben verschoben, an der Nordwand des heutigen Baptisteriums, unterhalb des Mosaiks der Enthauptung und Grablegung des Täufers. Wie aus dem Plan (Abb. 1) ersichtlich, ist diese Wand ein Teil der südlichen Aussenwand des westlichen Kreuzarmes (südliches Seitenschiff) der Kirche. Vom ursprünglichen Bestand[3] sind nur Teile der unteren Zone einer Himmel-

[1] F. Forlati, »Ritrovamenti in San Marco II, Un affresco del Duecento«, *Arte Veneta* 17 (1963): 223f.; idem, *La Basilica di San Marco attraverso i suoi restauri* (Trieste, 1975) pp. 107ff. Über weitere Gemäldefragmente aus dem bzw. im Baptisterium siehe weiter unten.

[2] Knappe Notizen finden sich in meinem Buch *Romanische Wandmalerei* (München, 1968) p. 127, Abb. 7, 8; S. Bettini, »Appunti di storia della pittura Veneta nel Medioevo, I«, *Arte Veneta* 20 (1966): 30ff.; D. Dalla Barba Brusin und G. Lorenzoni, *L'arte del patriarcato di Aquileia* (Padova, 1968), p. 70f.; R. Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Trecento* (Roma, 1964), p. 75; *Venezia e Bisanzio* (Catalogo, Venezia, 1974), no. 50, mit Farbabbildung des oberen Teiles der Hauptfigur nach der Restaurierung; eine Farbreproduktion der ganzen Hauptfigur in D. Valeri, G. Mariacher, *La Basilica di San Marco* (I Tesori, Firenze, 1966), Abb. 31.

[3] Eine Abbildung des gegenwärtigen Gesamtbestandes in *Venezia e Bisanzio*. Bei der Wiederanbringung des auf Kunststoffplatten übertragenen Gemäldes an der Wand wurde dasselbe gegenüber der ursprünglichen Lage etwas nach oben verschoben; dadurch wurde auch das Verhältnis von Bildfläche und Rahmen etwas verändert. Die ursprüngliche Breite des Gemäldes muß ca. 6 Meter betragen haben, die Höhe des (einzig erhaltenen) unteren Teiles ca 3 1/2 Meter. Die ursprüngliche Gesamthöhe ist kaum abzuschätzen, war aber jedenfalls größer als die der gegenwärtigen Arkade.

fahrtsdarstellung erhalten, mit der in ganzer Figur geretteten Gestalt Mariae; von den zwei flankierenden Engeln fanden sich nur mehr Kopf, Oberkörper und Flügel der linken, die Calotte des Hauptes der rechten Figur; links sind vier Apostelköpfe (teilweise beschädigt) erhalten, rechts Reste von weiteren vier Aposteln, in freiem Rhythmus aneinandergereiht; es ist nicht zu bezweifeln, daß oberhalb dieser Figurenzone, durch ein etwa 25 cm breites Ornamentband von ihr getrennt, der von Engeln zum Himmel getragene Christus dargestellt war. Reste eines weiteren Ornamentbandes, an dessen unterer Kante noch der obere Rand eines gemalten Sockelvorhanges erkenntlich ist, schlossen die Darstellung nach unten ab. Die sonst so häufigen Bäume in der unteren Zone waren nicht dargestellt. Von der ursprünglichen Farbigkeit hat sich nur wenig erhalten: ausser der Abschattierung des oberen Rosetten- und Rankenfrieses in rosa, ocker, hellblau und grün auf blauem Grund mit rotbrauner Rahmung, sind in unverändertem Ton nur die Inkarnatteile (Gesichter und Hände) erhalten; der blaue Grund ist stark nach Grau verfärbt. Die mittelblaue Lasur des Untergewandes Mariae ist nur am linken Ärmel und, in Resten, nahe dem unteren Saum erhalten, das Übrige erscheint heute weiß mit Vorzeichnung und untermalender Abschattierung in ocker; von dem ursprünglich wohl mit einer Purpurlasur überdeckten Maphorion ist nur die rote Untermalung übrig, die aber immerhin die originale Struktur der Draperie bewahrt zu haben scheint. Die ursprüngliche Farbe der Schuhe Mariae ist nicht auszumachen, jedenfalls ist keine Spur von rot zu sehen. Eine Namensbeischrift ist nicht sichtbar.

Vom linken Engel ist die ockerfarbene Untermalung der Flügel mit weiß und roten Federn erhalten. Sämtliche Nimben sind ockerfarben mit weiß-roten Rändern. In seiner ursprünglichen satten Farbigkeit muß das Gemälde von prächtiger Wirkung gewesen sein (Abb. 2-5).

Sein Gegenstand, die Himmelfahrt Christi, hat nichts mit der heutigen Widmung des Raumes als Baptisterium zu tun. Das heißt natürlich nicht, daß in einer Taufkapelle eine Darstellung der Himmelfahrt in einem größeren Rahmen nicht möglich gewesen wäre, aber eben nur als eine unter mehreren Darstellungen, als Teil eines Zyklus und nicht an so betonter Stelle: das Fresko füllt die ganze linke Wand des Altarteiles des heutigen Baptisteriums. Allerdings ist festzustellen, daß sich im Museo di San Marco das Fragment einer Wandmalerei befindet, das der Überlieferung nach ebenfalls im Baptisterium zum Vorschein ge-

kommen sein soll (Abb. 6).[4] Es handelt sich um den Rest (Rumpf und Hand) einer mit kurzer Tunica(?) bekleideten, vorgeneigten(?) Figur; links darüber (zum Teil nur in Vorzeichnung erhalten) Reste einer Architekturdarstellung, die Ähnlichkeit mit Details der Architekturen in den Fresken der Krypta von Aquileja aufweist. Auch die Bildung der (greifenden?) Hand ähnelt jener der Hände in den Aquilejenser Malereien, mit denen (und zwar vor allem mit den Gewölbemalereien) das Fragment im Museo Marciano auch die grobe Technik teilt.[5]

Eine Deutung des offenbar einem szenischen Zusammenhang angehörigen Fragments ist ebensowenig möglich wie eine genauere Datierung — ein Datum im 12. Jahrhundert ist aber doch wahrscheinlich. Ein ikonographischer Zusammenhang mit der Himmelfahrtsdarstellung ist sicher nicht anzunehmen; auch hat der obere Rahmenstreifen andere Maaßverhältnisse. Da auch nicht mit Sicherheit feststeht, ob das Fragment tatsächlich im Baptisterium gefunden wurde, muß es aus unserer Untersuchung ausscheiden.

Sicher zur Ausstattung des Baptisteriums als solchen gehören dagegen die spärlichen Reste, die sich an den Außenwänden (Nord und Süd) des vor einigen Jahren in fragmentarischem Zustand freigelegten Taufbeckens (Kreuz im Quadrat) im Ostteil des Baptisteriums gefunden haben. Erhalten sind die untersten Teile zweier stehender Einzelfiguren, und zwar mit Sandalen bekleidete Füße und dunkle Gewandsäume; Farbcharakter und kompakte Modellierung unterscheiden sich grundlegend von den Resten des Himmelfahrtsbildes (und dem Fragment im Museo di San Marco).[6] Die Himmelfahrt muß daher als eine isolierte

[4] F. Forlati, »Lavori di adattamento della Capella Ducale di S. Marco a Basilica e innovazioni introdotte sino a questi ultimi tempi«, *Arte Veneta* 16 (1962): 215f.; idem, *La Basilica*, p. 107. Forlati sagt von dem Fragment: »che si diceva in modo generico proveniente dal Battistero«. Die heute sichtbaren Farben beschränken sich auf ocker, grau und mehrere Töne rot-braun.

[5] Vergleichbare Details in den Fresken der Krypta von Aquileja am besten in dem Tafelwerk von D. Gioseffi und E. Belluno, *Aquileja: Gli affreschi della Basilica* (Cassa di Risparmio di Udine, Pordenone, 1976); die Tafeln sind nicht nummeriert. Das Draperieschema des Fragments und die technische Ausführung sind noch enger verwandt mit denen einer Figur in den Profanmalereien der Torre San Zeno in Verona: Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, Taf. 75, rechts unten. Man möchte an die gleiche Hand denken. Vielleicht darf auch die Vermutung ausgesprochen werden, daß das Fragment im Museo Marciano einer Profandarstellung angehörte wie die Veroneser Fresken.

[6] Unpubliziert. Das (Immersions-)Taufbecken wurde offenbar bei der Errichtung des heutigen Baptisteriums im vierzehnten Jahrhundert als Teil des Unterbaues für den Altar verwendet und ummantelt, um die riesige Steinplatte zu tragen, von welcher nach der Legende Christus zur Menge gesprochen haben und die im zwölften Jahrhundert(?) aus Tyrus nach Venedig gebracht worden sein soll.

Darstellung angesehen werden. Die ikonographische[7] Rekonstruktion des Gemäldes muß sich auf den unteren, »irdischen« Teil der Komposition beschränken. Vom oberen, »himmlischen« Teil kann mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit nur ausgesagt werden, daß in ihm der auf dem Regenbogen thronende Christus in einer wohl von zwei (kaum von vier) fliegenden Engeln getragenen Mandorla dargestellt gewesen sein dürfte. Obwohl in der unteren Zone nur von acht Aposteln Reste erhalten sind, ist nicht zu bezweifeln, daß ursprünglich alle zwölf dargestellt waren. Dem die linke Gruppe anführenden Petrus könnte in der rechten Hälfte Paulus entsprochen haben, doch dies nicht mit Sicherheit, da auch andere Anordnungen belegt sind und es nicht feststeht, ob die »byzantinische« Apostelreihe mit Paulus und den Evangelisten, oder die »historische« Reihe gegeben war, in der etwa Andreas als erste Figur der rechten Gruppe anzunehmen wäre; auch die Reihe der Apostel in der linken Gruppe ist nicht ohne weiteres zu rekonstruieren; die einzige, mit Sicherheit zu benennende Figur ist Petrus, der ihm folgende bartlose Apostel könnte als Johannes, die dritte, bärtige Figur als Marcus oder Jacobus (major) gedeutet werden. Der folgende, vierte Apostel ist abermals bartlos; da wohl anzunehmen ist, daß die Reihe wie die meisten, mit Thomas oder Philippus endete, könnten hier Judas Thaddaeus oder Matthias gemeint gewesen sein. Jedenfalls entspricht die Anordnung, soweit sie sich aus den vier erhaltenen Köpfen rekonstruieren läßt, keiner der in den Mosaiken der Kirche erhaltenen Reihen; sie unterscheidet sich auch von den gebräuchlichen mittelbyzantinischen Folgen, in denen Petrus kaum je von einem bartlosen Apostel gefolgt ist: Johannes, den wir in unserem Fresko an dieser Stelle vermuten, ist in byzantinischen Darstellungen der Himmelfahrt fast immer als weißbärtiger Greis gegeben (wie auch in der Mittelkuppel von San Marco). Am ehesten könnte eine Reihe wie die der Beisitzer des jüngsten Gerichts an der Westwand der Kathedrale von Torcello oder die der Fußwaschung am südlichen Hauptkuppelbogen von San Marco selbst Pate gestanden sein.[8]

[7] Zur Ikonographie der Himmelfahrt siehe H. Gutberlet, *Die Himmelfahrt Christi in der bildenden Kunst* (Straßburg, 1935); H. Schrade, »Zur Ikonographie der Himmelfahrt Christi«, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, Vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1930), p. 66ff.; G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Vol. 3 (Gütersloh, 1971) p. 141ff.; *Reallexikon der byzantinischen Kunst*, Vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1971) 1232 (Wessel).

[8] Zu den verschiedenen Apostellisten vgl. G. de Jerphanion, »Quels sont les douze Apôtres dans l'iconographie chrétienne?«, *La voix des monuments* (Paris-Bruxelles, 1830), pp. 189ff.; u. I. Andreescu, »Torcello III. La chronologie des mosaiques pariétales«, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 245ff. In der Apostelreihe der Fußwaschung am

Als einzige der teilweise erhaltenen Figuren weist Petrus (mit der Linken) nach oben; die Hände der die Jungfrau flankierenden Engel sind mit verehrenden Gesten auf diese Mittelfigur bezogen und weisen nicht, wie in den meisten byzantinischen Darstellungen (nach Ap. G. 1: 10,11) nach oben, auf den zum Himmel getragenen Christus. Dadurch und durch die große Orantengeste ist Maria als Hauptfigur stärker betont als üblich; im Gegensatz dazu ist die Orans in den Mosaiken von San Marco und Murano (Apsis), sowie in den Himmelfahrtsdarstellungen der Pala d'Oro mit vor der Brust parallel nach außen gewendeten Händen gegeben.[9]

Die hoch erhobenen, hart abgewinkelten Arme und Hände — so daß die Unterarme senkrecht, die Hände wagrecht stehen und die abgespreizten Daumen die Senkrechten der Unterarme fortsetzen, — verleihen dem Orantengestus Mariae im Wandgemälde des Baptisteriums eine in Werken des späteren zwölften und des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts kaum anzutreffende archaische Strenge und Ausdruckskraft.[10] Ein weiteres ausdruckssteigerndes Element ist das (goldene) Suppedaneum, auf dem die Figur steht.

Das Gewand der Orans — blaues Untergewand, purpurviolettes Maphorion mit (fast verschwundenen) Sternen auf Stirn und Schultern — entspricht dem normalen byzantinischen Habitus, allerdings mit einer nicht unwichtigen Zutat: von dem (nicht sichtbaren weil vom Maphorion verdeckten) Gürtel hängt nicht, wie gewöhnlich in byzantinischen Darstellungen, ein schmales kurzes Tüchlein herab, sondern das weit seltenere breite und lange Band, eine Art *subcinctorium*[11] mit ornamentiertem unteren Abschluß. Nach J. Braun handelt es sich um ein

südlichen Kuppelbogen von San Marco folgen auf Petrus ein Unbärtiger, ein Bärtiger und abermals ein Unbärtiger, wie in dem Himmelfahrtsfresko. Allerdings ist der Bärtige in der Fußwaschung deutlich als Andreas gekennzeichnet während der Typus der dritten Figur im Fresko keinesfalls mit Andreas identifiziert werden kann.

[9] Eine Liste von Himmelfahrtsdarstellungen mit dem »kleinen« Orantengestus bei H. Gutberlet (wie Anm. 7), p. 137.

[10] Zur Orans im Allgemeinen zuletzt C. Belting-Ihm, »>Sub matris tutela<«, *Abh. der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1976/3 (Heidelberg, 1976), bes. p. 58ff. — Parallelen zur Orans des Baptisteriumfreskos sind eher in makedonischen und frühkomnenischen Werken wie der Kuppel der H. Sophia in Saloniki, der Eudokia (Einlegearbeit) des Archäologischen Museums in Istanbul, der Orans in der unteren Reihe der Pala d'Oro zu sehen, als etwa in Cefalù oder Torcello (Westwand). Der Typus des Freskos im Baptisterium ist weit seltener als der mit schräg erhobenen Unterarmen; so folgen auch die meisten übrigen Darstellungen der »großen Orans« in Venedig dem letzteren Typ (C. Belting-Ihm, p. 65).

[11] Cf. J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung in Orient und Occident* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), pp. 117ff.

ursprünglich spezifisch bischöfliches (und päpstliches) Ornatstück, das vielleicht als Hinweis darauf zu deuten ist, daß Maria hier auch als Personifikation der Ecclesia zu sehen ist. Analogien finden sich in Parenzo (thronende Maria der Hauptapsis) und Ravenna (Orans aus der Apsis der Kathedrale, von 1112), um nur Beispiele aus der Mosaikkunst zu nennen.[12]

Ikonographisch ist das Wandgemälde im Baptisterium von den sonst in San Marco vorhandenen Darstellungen des Themas (zwei in der Pala d'Oro, Hauptkuppel, Fassade) sowohl in der Gesamtanlage als auch in nahezu allen Details denkbar verschieden.

Der seltsamste Zug unserer Himmelfahrtsdarstellung ist aber nicht irgendeine Einzelheit, sondern die Trennung der irdischen Zone mit Maria, Engeltrabanten und Aposteln, von der himmlischen, mit dem von Engeln zum Himmel getragenen Christus, durch ein breites Ornamentband, so, als ob es sich um zwei verschiedene Szenen handelte. Der Ursprung (und damit in unserem Falle wohl auch das Vorbild) dieser in zwei Teile zerschnittenen Komposition dürfte in Apsisdarstellungen zu suchen sein: die ältesten Beispiele haben sich in koptischen Apsiden (Bawit, Kapellen XVII, XVIII etc.) erhalten.[13] Allerdings wäre es richtiger, hier nicht von »Beispielen« sondern von Analogien zu sprechen, da der Gegenstand dieser Wandmalereien nicht eigentlich die Himmelfahrt sondern eine Kombination dieser Szene mit der Gottesvision nach Ezechiel (1:4-28) ist. Es gibt aber zeitlich näherliegende Parallelen, die eindeutig die Himmelfahrt darstellen, ohne die zur Majestasvision gehörenden Zutaten (wie vier Zoa, Feuerwagen etc.), so zum Beispiel das (jetzt nach Montecassino übertragene) Apsisfresko von Santa Maria di Trochio, hier übrigens mit 4 Tragengeln in der Concha.[14] Eine weitere Darstellung dieses Typus auf italienischem Boden wurde kürzlich von Mme. Hadermann-Misguich bekannt gemacht: die allerdings zum grossen Teil zerstörte Apsisdarstellung in Sta Maria Maggiore in Ninfa (Lazio), wo der auffahrende Christus der Conche von den Aposteln der Apsiswand durch ein Band in rotem Ocker getrennt ist.[15] Noch schärfer ist die Trennung der beiden Zonen durch

[12] Weitere Beispiele: zwei thronende Madonnen in Sta. Maria Antiqua, wo das reich verzierte Band eher Teil eines kaiserlichen Ornats zu sein scheint; eine Ikone in Bisceglie, Unteritalien: V.N. Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, vol. 2 (Petrograd, 1915), Abb. 219.

[13] C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 97ff.

[14] E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), p. 249.

[15] L. Hadermann-Misguich, »Influence stylistique de Byzance sur les peintures médiévales

ein breites Ornamentband im Giebelmosaik von S. Frediano in Lucca.[16] Weitere Parallelen der Scheidung der irdischen von der himmlischen Zone der Himmelfahrtsdarstellung finden sich in Glasgemälden,[17] wo die Trennung allerdings durch die Stockwerkteilung der schmalen Bahnen bedingt ist, in Miniaturen,[18] und besonders häufig in den Tympana romanischer Portale.[19] In diesen letzteren enthält das Halbrund des Tympanons die von Engeln getragene Mandorla mit der Figur Christi, während die Apostel getrennt darunter, im horizontalen Türsturz untergebracht sind.

In allen diesen Beispielen ist die Trennung der beiden Zonen in irgendeiner Weise durch Format oder Struktur des Bildträgers (Concha-Cylinderwand, Gliederung des Fensters, Giebelwand, Tympanon-Türsturz) bestimmt. Gibt oder gab es auch in San Marco einen entsprechenden Grund oder Anlaß für die Trennung der beiden Zonen?

Die Frage ist nicht leicht zu beantworten, da in unserem Fall die ursprüngliche Struktur und Funktion des Bildträgers, der südlichen Aussenwand der Kirche, durch die Erbauung des Baptisteriums, dessen Nordwand sie nun bildet, grundlegend verändert worden sein kann. Es ist daher ein näheres Eingehen auf die Geschichte desselben notwendig. In seiner heutigen Form ist das Baptisterium unter dem Dogen Soranzo (1312-28) errichtet worden, der auch dort begraben liegt.[20] Die Cronaca Agostini sagt von ihm, daß er »*in loco puerorum* (Taufkapelle) *ubi construi fecerat arcam suam*« begraben wurde. Die Mosaikausstattung wurde von Andrea Dandolo (Doge 1343-1354) vielleicht schon während der Tätig-

de Ninfa (Latium)« Vortrag beim XVI. Internationalen Byzantin. Kongreß (Wien, 1981). Mme Hadermann-Misguich weist bereits auf das Fresko im Baptisterium von San Marco als nächste Parallele hin. — Die Teilung von Himmelfahrtsdarstellungen in irdische und himmlische Zonen begegnet auch in Kappadokien, so z. B. in der Elmali Kilisse, wo der von Engeln getragene Christus im gerahmten Scheitel eines kuppelartigen Gewölbes dargestellt ist, während die Apostel in einer trapezoiden Schildbogenwand darunter angeordnet sind: M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, vol. 2 (Recklinghausen, 1967), pp. 185ff.

16 Tafel 49 bei H. Decker, *Italia Romanica* (Wien-München, 1958).

17 Zum Beispiel Le Mans, Kathedrale, südliches Seitenschiff (ca. 1140-45): L. Grodecki, *Romanische Glasmalerei* (Fribourg-Stuttgart, 1977), Taf. 46; Poitiers, Kathedrale, Chor (*op. cit.* Taf. 58); in zwei getrennten Medaillons: Le Champ-près-Froges (Isère; Westfernster, ca. 1160-70; *op. cit.* Taf. 162).

18 Zum Beispiel Sacramentar von St.-Etienne, Limoges, in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 9438, fol. 84 v: E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France* (Princeton, 1966), Abb. 85.

19 Um nur wenige charakterische Beispiele zu nennen: Toulouse, St.-Sernin, Porte Miègeville; Cahors, St.-Etienne; Anzy-le-Duc: Mâle, *Religious Art*, Abb. 42, 86, 83; Petershausen: Gutberlet, *Die Himmelfahrt Christi*, Taf. 25.

20 *La Ducale Basilica: Documenti* (Venezia, 1886), p. 212, no. 829.

keit als Procurator (ab 1328) begonnen und unter Giovanni Gradenigo (Doge 1355/56) vollendet. Auch Dandolo ist im Baptisterium begraben, und zwar als letzter der Dogen, die in San Marco ihre Ruhestätte gefunden haben.[21] Dabei ist festzustellen, daß sich schon vor der Errichtung der heutigen Taufkapelle an dieser Stelle ein Taufbrunnen befand, eben jener oben erwähnte, dessen Reste vor kurzem freigelegt wurden: sie reichen (mit ihren Malereifragmenten) sicher ins späte zwölfte oder das frühe dreizehnte Jahrhundert zurück.[22]

In der Cronaca Caroldo wird berichtet daß Andrea Dandolo »nel *portico* della chiesa di San Marco, dove hora è il battistero« begraben wurde: danach war das Areal des heutigen Baptisteriums ursprünglich Teil eines *portico*, das heißt wohl einer Vorhalle (siehe Anm. 21).

Wie sah nun dieser *portico* an der Südseite der Kirche, östlich des Ante-Vestibulums (der späteren Capella Zen) vor der Errichtung des heutigen Baptisteriums Soranzo's aus? Wir haben darüber zwar keine direkten Nachrichten, und volle Gewissheit würde sich wohl erst durch sondierende Grabungen gewinnen lassen; immerhin können mit Hilfe einiger Anhaltspunkte und Überlegungen schon jetzt gewisse Vermutungen mit hohem Wahrscheilichkeitsgrad gewagt werden.

Das durch die Haupttür vom rechten (südl.) Seitenschiff der Kirche zugängliche Baptisterium besteht aus zwei Kuppeltraveen und einer im Westen vorgelagerten schmalen, tonnengewölbten Vorhalle, mit Türen nach Süden (ins Freie) und in die westlich von dieser gelegene Capella Zen, die ursprüngliche Eingangshalle (Ante-Vestibulum) des Atriums (Narthex). Der zur Verfügung stehende Raum war in der West-Ost-Erstreckung durch den Abstand dieses Ante-Vestibulums und der Westwand des südlichen Querschiffes der Kirche gegeben, in seiner nord-südlichen Breite durch die äussere Südwand des Westflügels der Kirche, und die Nordwand des Tesoro, der Schatzkammer. Diese vorgegebenen Begrenzungen bestimmten die Raumform des Einbaues des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts: die Breite gestattete (und bedingte) den Durchmesser der Kuppeln. Der Durchmesser der Kuppeln ist nicht unwesentlich grösser als jener der Atrium (Narthex)-Kuppeln; im Westen blieb dabei noch ein Raumstück übrig, das für eine dritte Kuppeltravee zu schmal war und daher nur mit einer schmalen

[21] *La Ducale Basilica: Documenti*, p. 212, nos. 831 (Rafaino Caresini), 837 (Caroldo). Über Andrea Dandolo's Bedeutung für San Marco siehe H. Buchthal, *Historia Troiana* (London, 1971) bes. p. 61ff.

[22] Das ergibt sich aus den Resten der Fresken an den Außenwänden des z.T. in den Boden eingelassenen Taufbeckens, siehe oben S. 130.

Quertonne überwölbt werden konnte; die Verbindungstür zum Ante-Vestibulum (Cappella Zen) mußte asymmetrisch in die Trennwand (Westwand) des Baptisteriums eingesetzt werden. Eine weitere Unregelmäßigkeit wurde durch die Notwendigkeit veranlasst, mit dem Südfenster (unter der westlichen Kuppel), dem einzigen Außenfenster des eigentlichen Baptisteriums, an der Nordwestecke des Tesoro ins Freie zu kommen. Dazu bedurfte es einer kuriosen Abschrägung des östlichen Fenstergewändes und einer entsprechenden Abschneidung der Nordwestecke des Tesoro. Hätte es noch eines Beweises bedurft, daß das Baptisterium in den Raum zwischen der Südwand der Kirche und der Nordwand des Tesoro eingeschoben — fast möchte man sagen, eingezwängt — wurde, wäre dieser Beweis durch die Verlegenheitslösung des Südfensters gegeben. Wie und wann kam aber dieser »tote« Raum zwischen Kirche und Tesoro zustande, der nachträglich vom Hauptteil des Baptisteriums ausgefüllt wurde? Mit anderen Worten: aus welcher Zeit stammt der Westteil des Tesoro, der für die östliche Hälfte des Baptisteriums die Südwand bilden sollte?

Die meisten Autoren haben der grossen Mauerdicke dieses seltsam ungegliederten »Kastens« wegen, auf das hohe Alter dieses Bauwerkes geschlossen, in seinen Mauern sogar Reste jenes Turmes oder jener Kapelle des ehemaligen Dogenpalastes sehen wollen, in dem die 829 nach Venedig gebrachten Reliquien des heiligen Marcus untergebracht worden sein sollen bevor die erste Kirche zu ihrer würdigen Beisetzung [23] vollendet war. Gegen diese Annahme spricht vorerst, daß zwischen diesem West- (und Haupt-)Teil des heutigen Tesoro und dem Dogenpalast keine sichtbare oder nachweisbare Verbindung besteht oder bestand. Es ist wahrscheinlicher, daß es sich bei diesem stark ummauerten Bau einfach um einen Teil des Neubaues des Tesoro handelt, der die durch den Brand von 1230/31 zerstörte alte Schatz- und Reliquienkammer der Kirche zu ersetzen hatte. Daß diese alte Reliquienkammer sich nicht an dieser Stelle befunden hatte, wird aus den Berichten über den Brand wahrscheinlich, in denen ausdrücklich gesagt wird, daß diese ursprüngliche, in Brand geratene Schatzkammer auf allen Seiten von Holz umgeben war (»quae de lignis magnis de subtus et de supra et circumquaque per totum erat cohoperta«),[24] was gewiss

[23] Cf. O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, 1960) p. 11. *La Ducale Basilica: Documenti*, p. 3, no. 21; cf. auch R. Cattaneo, in *La Ducale Basilica: Testo*, p. 163f.

[24] *La Ducale Basilica: Documenti*, p. 12f. no. 97.

nicht auf die Lage des heutigen Tesoro paßt. Daß man den Neubau mit mächtigen Mauern und nur einem, stark vergitterten Fenster errichtete, erklärt sich wohl aus dem Sicherheitsbedürfnis der Schatz- und Reliquienkammer und hat nichts mit dem gemutmaßten hohen Alter zu tun. Zum Schmuck der ungegliederten Außenwände wurden Reliefs und Plastiken (unter anderen die vier Porphyrfiguren an der Südwestecke) aus der Konstantinopler Beute verwendet. Wir glauben daher, daß dieser Bau erst nach dem Brand von 1230/31 errichtet wurde und daß bis dahin die südliche Außenmauer des Westarmes der Kirche (zwischen Querschiff und Südvorhalle) freilag, beziehungsweise von einer offenen Arkade, dem oben erwähnten südlichen Portico begleitet war. Wie dieser aussah, läßt sich ohne Abnahme des über dem Fresko befindlichen Mosaiks des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts nicht feststellen. Die Tatsache aber, daß die Mittelachse des Wandgemäldes (gleich der Mittelachse der Zentralfigur der Jungfrau) ziemlich genau der Mittelachse der gegenwärtig darüber befindlichen Lunette entspricht,[25] legt den Gedanken nahe, daß sich ursprünglich hier ebenfalls eine Arkade befand, bloß als architektonisches Relief an der Außenmauer der Kirche, oder verbunden mit einem Gewölbe. Das Wesentliche ist aber, daß die Wand ungefähr in der gleichen Höhe wie heute, durch ein Gesims geteilt gewesen sein dürfte, und daß das Vorhandensein eines solchen Gesimses aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach der Grund für die Zweiteilung der Himmelfahrtsdarstellung in eine himmlische (oberhalb) und eine irdische Zone (unterhalb des Gesimses) war.

Wenn unsere Rekonstruktion richtig ist, dann war das durch ein Gesims geteilte Gemälde vor der Errichtung des neuen Tesoro (1231 ff.) von außen sichtbar. Diese Annahme würde auch mit der gleich näher zu definierenden Funktion des Gemäldes übereinstimmen, ja seine raison d'être erklären.

Das Thema des Wandgemäldes hat, wie gesagt, nichts mit der Taufe zu tun; es verbildlicht viel mehr eines der größten Staatsfeste Venedigs, das Fest der Himmelfahrt, der *Ascensio Domini*, der »Sensa«.[26] Der Ursprung dieses Staatsfestes wird von der venezianischen Tradition darauf zurückgeführt, daß die Ausfahrt der Flotte zum Krieg gegen die

[25] Sichtbar bei Forlati, *La Basilica*, Abb. 6.

[26] *La festa della Sensa*. Notizie storiche, a cura del Comitato »Viva San Marco« (Venezia, 1913); G. Renier Michiel, *Origine delle feste Veneziane* (2. Aufl. Venezia, 1916) passim; B. Tamassia Mazzarotto, *Le feste Veneziane* (Firenze, 1961), p. 180ff. Über die Verbindung mit dem »pactum« von 1170 siehe H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, vol. 1 (Gotha, 1905), p. 267f.

Narentaner und damit zur »Eroberung« der Adria (Dalmatiens) am *Himmelfahrtstag* des Jahres 1000 stattfand. Der siegereiche Doge Pietro Orseolo II. führte von da ab den Titel »Dux Dalmatiae«. Der Festtag gewann erneute und gesteigerte Bedeutung durch den (legendären) Sieg der Venezianer bei Salvore über die Flotte Barbarossas im Jahre 1177 und das darauffolgende, vom Dogen Sebastiano Ziani vermittelte pactum Venetum zwischen Barbarossa und dem Papst. Mit diesem Triumph wurde in der späteren venezianischen Überlieferung die Institution des »sposalizio del mar« und der »fiera della sensa«, der grossen am Himmelfahrtstag stattfindenden Handelsmesse in Verbindung gebracht. Vieles an dieser Überlieferung ist gewiss legendär, es kann aber kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß das Himmelfahrtsfest bereits im 11. Jahrhundert eines der höchsten und populärsten venezianischen Feste gewesen ist; es ist außerdem wahrscheinlich, daß die *fiera della sensa* schon vor 1177 alljährlich um den Himmelfahrtstag stattfand.

Mit der Feier dieses Festes ist unseres Erachtens die Anbringung des Himmelfahrtsfreskos, von außen sichtbar, an der Südseite von San Marco in Verbindung zu bringen. Eine genaue Datierung ist damit nicht gegeben, wir sind dafür ausschließlich auf die stilistische Analyse angewiesen.

Als erstes Resultat einer solchen Analyse mag die Feststellung gelten, daß es sich um das Werk eines venezianischen Meisters handelt. Es hat zwar nichts mit den wenigen in Venedig selbst erhaltenen (oder wenigstens dokumentierten) Wandmalereien zu tun, nichts mit dem während des Krieges in San Nicolo di Lido entdeckten und bald darauf zerstörten Fragment einer Ölbergdarstellung,[27] den wesentlich späteren in San Zan Degolà,[28] und jenen in SS. Apostoli,[29] wohl aber besteht eine nicht zu verkennende Verwandtschaft mit der Ausmalung der Krypta der Kathedrale von Aquileja.[30] Diese Verwandtschaft, vor allem in Farbe und Technik, insbesondere den Weißhöhungen im Incarnat, und zum

[27] Abgebildet bei S. Bettini, *Mosaici antichi di San Marco a Venezia* (Bergamo, 1944), Textabb. fig. 1; *Storia di Venezia*, Vol. 1 (Centro internazionale delle arti e del costume, Venezia, 1958) Abb. 76.

[28] *Venezia e Bisanzio*, nos. 61, 62 mit Abb. und Bibliographie.

[29] *Venezia e Bisanzio*, no. 110.

[30] Die neuere Bibliographie bei J. Kugler, »Byzantinisches und Westliches in den Kryptafresken von Aquileia«, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973): 7ff.; Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, p. 127 (dort schon Korrektur meiner verfehlten, 1959 vertretenen Frühdatierung). Die beste Sammlung ausgezeichneter Farbabbildungen in Gioseffi und Belluno, *Aquileia*.

Teil der Ornamentik,[31] ist so eng, daß an der Zugehörigkeit beider Bestände zu der gleichen Werkstatt-Tradition gar kein Zweifel bestehen kann. Die schon häufig geäußerte, ja heute wohl weitgehend akzeptierte Meinung, daß es sich dabei um eine spezifisch venezianische Tradition handelt, wird durch das Himmelfahrtsfresko zur Gewißheit und zwar gerade durch die Tatsache, daß die beiden Werke zeitlich verschiedenen Entwicklungsphasen derselben Kunsttradition angehören. Die zeitlich bedingten Unterschiede sind ebenso unverkennbar wie die »schulmäßigen« Übereinstimmungen. Die Technik der Aquilejenser Fresken ist nicht nur flüssiger, sie ist auch flüchtiger, routinierter und mechanischer. Die Weißhöhungen sind ins Inkarnat nicht eingebunden sondern bilden fast selbständige Muster: ein oberflächlicher Illusionismus, der mit Tupfen und Flecken arbeitet, ist an die Stelle einer zwar kühnen aber noch immer graphisch modellierenden Lichtmalerei getreten.

Die größte Differenz besteht aber im Ausdruck. Die Figuren des Himmelfahrtsfreskos sind ernster, strenger, hoheitsvoller, ihre Gesten feierlich — man vergleiche etwa den Orantengestus Mariae im Baptisterium mit dem des heiligen Hermagoras zwischen Fortunatus und Syrus in Aquileja. Hier handelt es sich nicht um bloße Qualitätsunterschiede sondern auch um eine nicht zu unterschätzende zeitliche Differenz.[32] Während die Aquilejenser Fresken bereits ans Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts zu setzen sind, muß die Himmelfahrt des Baptisteriums von San Marco doch erheblich früher datiert werden.

Wie es sich bei der venezianischen Malerei des zwölften Jahrhunderts fast von selbst versteht, sind Stil und Technik sowohl des Himmelfahrtfreskos als auch der Wandmalereien der Krypta von Aquileja der byzantinische Kunst aufs tiefste verpflichtet, wobei sich das venezianische Fresko mehr an der hochkomnenischen, die Aquilejenser Malereien mehr an der spätkomnenischen Entwicklung der byzantinischen Malerei orientieren. Aber sowohl bei den älteren wie bei den jüngeren venezianischen Wandmalereien besteht ein grundlegender Unterschied gegen-

[31] Siehe z. B. die Untermalung der beiden Marienfiguren in Venedig und Aquileja (Marienmaiestas) und den abgeschatteten Farbwechsel in den Rosetten der oberen Bordüre in Venedig und (vereinzelt) in Aquileja (kreisförmig gerahmte Rosette unterhalb der Bischofsweihe des Hermagoras). Auch die Nimben sind gleich behandelt, die Haarbänder der Engel haben die gleiche, sehr spezifische Form mit pfeilförmigen Ansätzen und Enden. Andererseits unterscheiden sich die meisten Motive der Aquilejenser Fresken (Knötchenranke, antikisierende Details) grundsätzlich von denen des Himmelfahrtsfreskos.

[32] Das wurde auch schon von J. Kugler, »Die Kryptafresken der Basilika von Aquileia«, Studien zu einer Monographie (unpublizierte Dissertation, Wien, 1969), p. 96, Anm., gesehen.

über den zeitgenössischen oder unmittelbar vorangehenden byzantinischen Werken in der Art der weißen Lichthöhungen, vor allem in den Gesichtern: das weiße Lineament der byzantinischen Werke ist immer rhythmisch zusammenhängend, in der Spätzeit auch ausgesprochen formzeichnend, das Relief umschreibend, während die Lichter in den venezianischen Malereien abstrakte, unzusammenhängende, oft hart aneinanderstoßende Arabesken bilden — härter und strichförmiger in den älteren (Baptisterium), weicher, malerischer in den jüngeren (Aquileja) Fresken. In dieser Beziehung lassen sich kaum größere Gegensätze in der Form der Lichthöhungen denken, als die zwischen dem Kopf des (einzigen, teilweise erhaltenen) Engels im venezianischen Himmelfahrtsbild und dem Kopf des Verkündigungsengels in der Mirož Kathedrale in Pskov,[33] ganz abgesehen von der expressiven Qualität des ersten gegenüber der (wenn auch etwas provinziell verformten) Klassizität des letzteren.

Wegen dieser und anderer grundlegender Differenzen können byzantinische Werke nicht ohne weiteres zur Datierung des Himmelfahrtsbildes im Baptisterium von San Marco herangezogen werden. Auch von venezianischer Seite ist eine absolute Datierung wegen des Mangels an unmittelbar vergleichbaren Wandmalereien nicht leicht zu erbringen. Sicher ist jedoch, daß das Fresko einer früheren Entwicklungsstufe angehört als die Ausmalung der Krypta von Aquileja. Auch der Vergleich mit venezianischen Mosaiken kann nur recht allgemeine Datierungshilfen beibringen. Die außerordentliche Strenge des Antlitzes Mariae weist in eine Zeit die jener der Orans in der Ostkuppel[34] (zweite »Schicht«) und der Apsisfigur von Murano[35] vorangegangen sein muß; auch die strenge Symmetrie der Anordnung des Maphorions erinnert eher an Werke wie die Orans aus dem Dom von Ravenna[36] von 1112 als an solche des vorgeschrittenen Jahrhunderts.

Was von den Köpfen der Apostel übrig ist, findet seine nächsten Analogien in den Apostelreihen der christologischen Darstellungen am Südbogen der Vierung, etwa in den Christus folgenden Figuren des Einzugs in Jerusalem.[37] Der Typus Petri mit vergleichsweise glattem, strähnigem Haar begegnet dort ebenso wie eine Besonderheit, die in den späteren venezianischen Mosaiken, denen der Mittelkuppel und ihres

[33] Abb. bei V.N. Lazarev, *Freski Staroj Ladogi* (Moskau, 1960), Taf. 100.
[34] Abb. bei Bettini, *Mosaici*, Taf. IX.
[35] Abb. bei W. Weidlé, *Mosaici Veneziani* (Torino, 1956), Taf. 32.
[36] Abb. bei V.N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Milano, 1967), Abb. 366.
[37] Bettini, *Mosaici*, Taf. XIII.

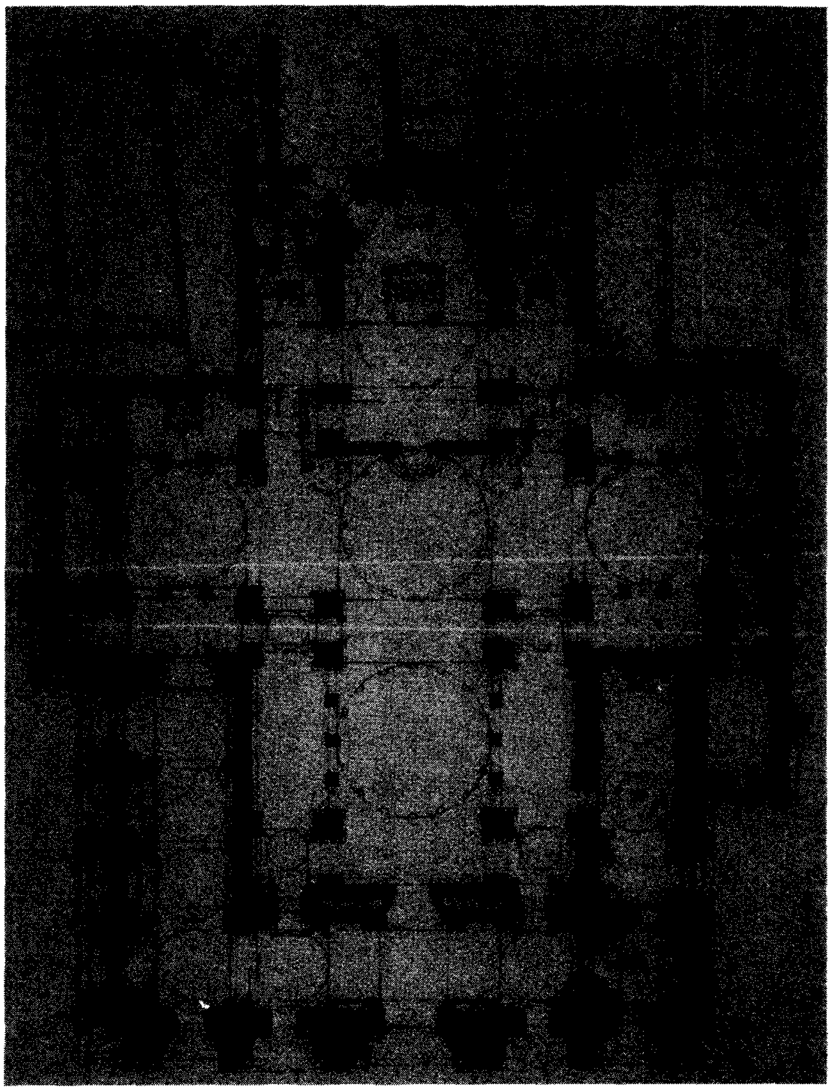
Westgewölbes (Passion) nicht mehr anzutreffen ist, nämlich eine helle, gegen die Wange von einer dunklen Linie abgesetzte Haarsträhne, die über dem Ohr beginnt, in zügigem Schwung in den runden Kinnbart mündet, und wie eine Fuge zwischen Haar und Gesicht wirkt.

Auch der Habitus der beiden bartlosen Köpfe des Freskos findet sich in den im Mosaik des Einzuges Petrus folgenden Aposteljünglingen: die etwas gekrümmte Nase, das starke Kinn, der ziemlich große Mund mit dem suffisanten Lächeln — in all dem herrscht eine gewisse Familienähnlichkeit, die davor warnt die beiden Werkgruppen allzuweit auseinander zu rücken. Es darf daher wohl an ein Datum zwischen diesen der ersten Hälfte des zwölften Jahrhunderts angehörenden Mosaiken und den aus seinem Ende stammenden Fresken der Crypta von Aquileja gedacht werden.

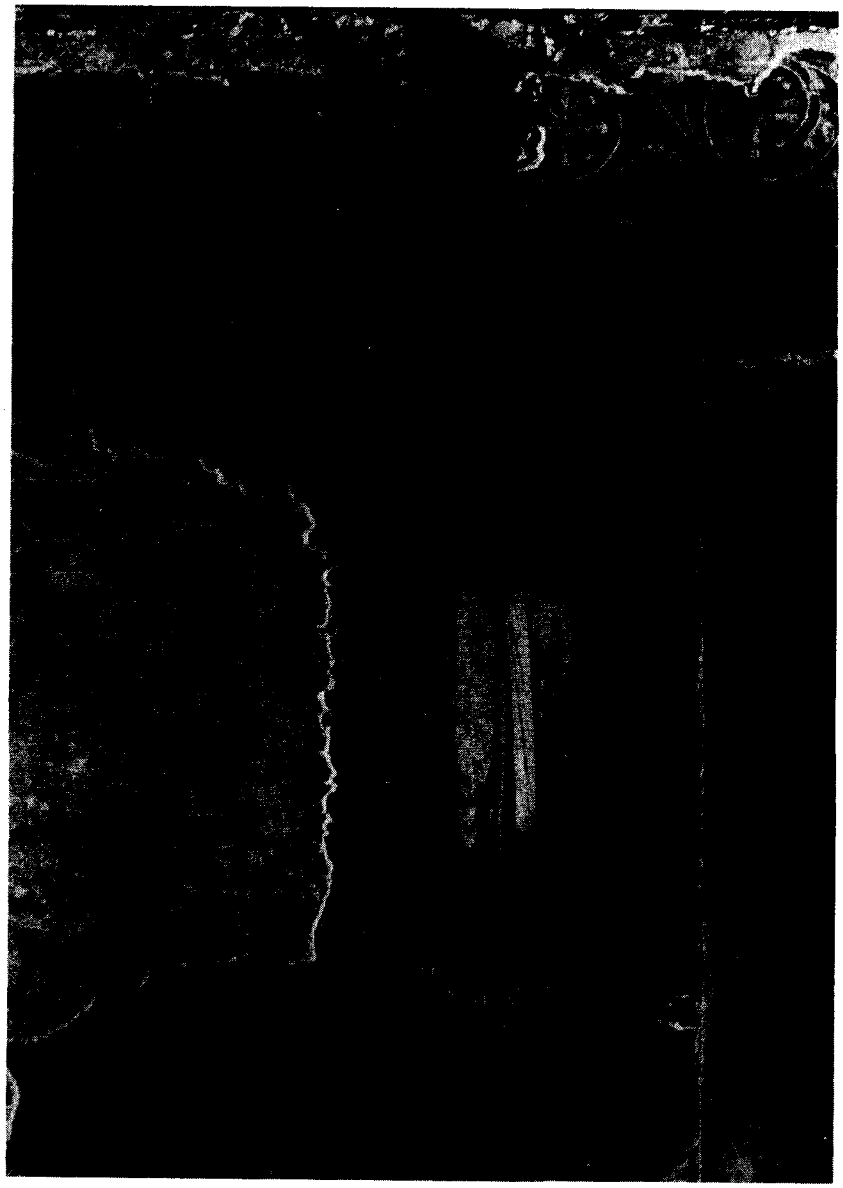
Vielleicht kann man mit einer Datierung um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts rechnen. Zeitlich näher an Aquileja möchte man das Fragment im Museo Marciano rücken, wobei es ungewiß bleibt ob es überhaupt aus den Baptisterium stammt und ob es in die Entwicklungslinie einzugliedern ist, die vom Himmelfahrtsfresko zur Krypta von Aquileja führt.[38]

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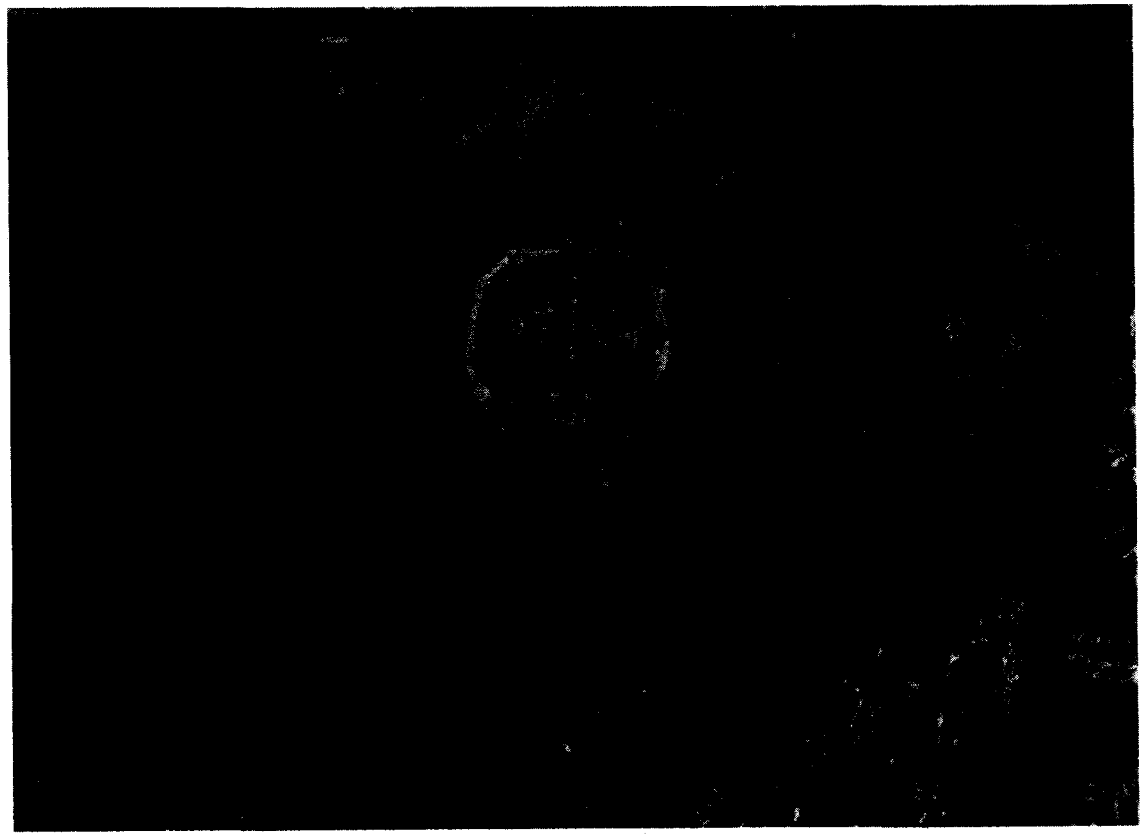
[38] Die von E. Cozzi, »L'arcangelo Michele: un affresco poco noto dell'Abbazia di Sesto al Reghena«, *Arte Veneta* 29 (1975): 75ff., Abb. 1, 2 mit dem Baptisteriumfresko in Zusammenhang gebrachten Reste von Wandgemälden sind zu schlecht erhalten, um ein begründetes Urteil zu gestatten. Eine direkte Beziehung zu San Marco oder zu Aquileja scheint mir nicht vorhanden (vgl. die Einzelheiten der Flügelbildung).



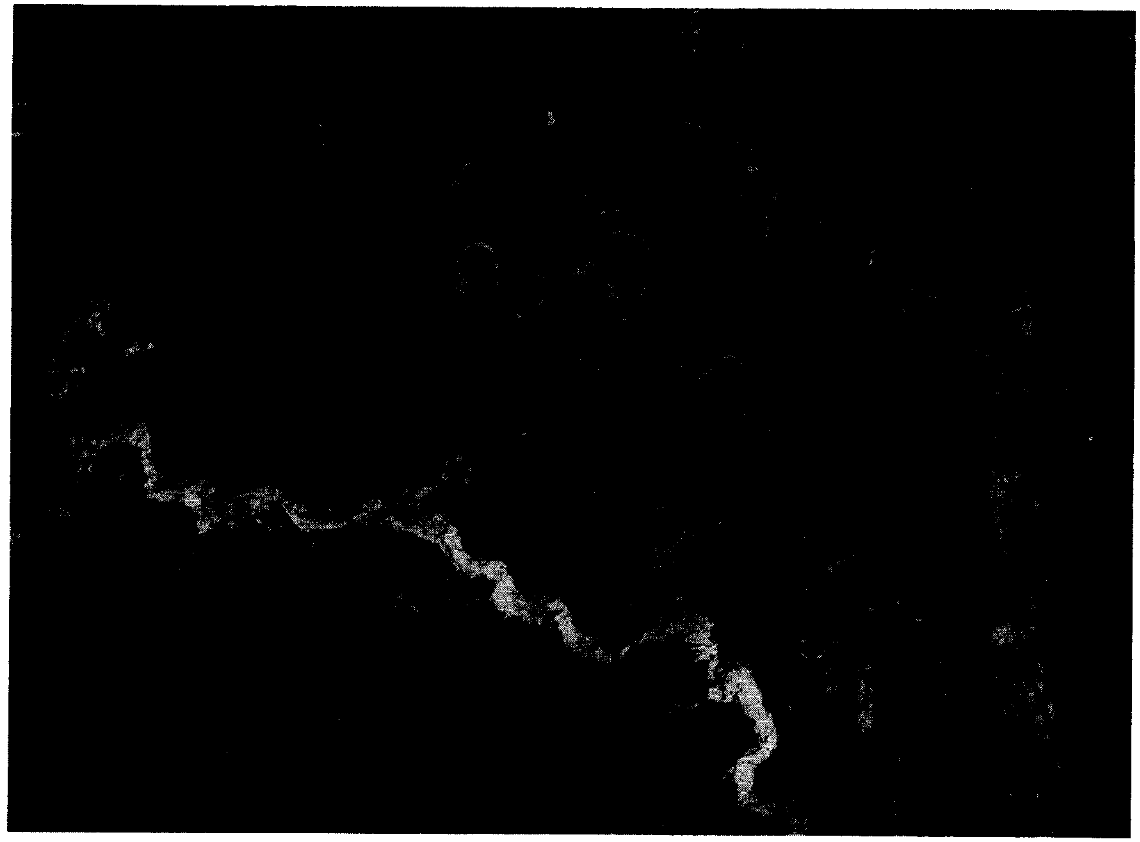
1. San Marco, Grundriß (nach Ongania).



2. San Marco, Baptisterium, Wandgemälde, Mittelstück vor Restaurierung (Aufn. I. Strempel).



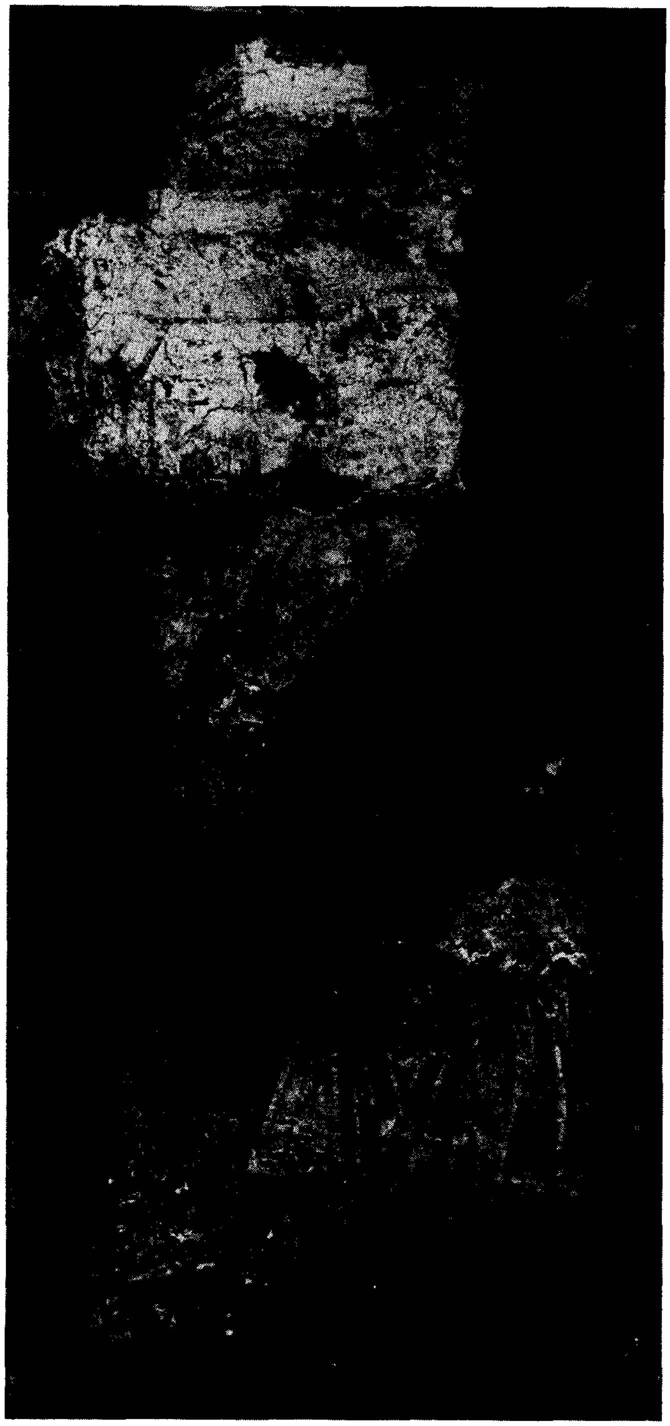
3. San Marco, Oberkörper Mariae (Aufn. I. Strempel).



4. San Marco, Linker Engel (Aufn. I. Strempel).



5. San Marco, Köpfe von vier Aposteln; nach Restaurierung (Aufnahme Procuratoria di San Marco).



6. Museo di San Marco, Fragment eines Wandgemäldes (Aufnahme Procuratoria di San Marco).

A Silver Vessel in the Collection of Elie Borowski

ERICA CRUIKSHANK DODD

A silver vessel in the collection of Dr. Elie Borowski, Toronto, is another example of silverwork from one of the most interesting periods of Byzantine art, the critical years before Iconoclasm. The last word has not been written about Byzantine art of this period, although it has drawn the attention of several scholars who describe the tensions experienced between established classical habits and the developing forms of the medieval world.[1] The "glaring dichotomy" in the art of this period, as Kitzinger described it,[2] the vacillation between an enduring but tired classical tradition and the increasing excitement of ideas apparently antithetical to classicism, are nowhere so evident as in the art of the seventh century. The Borowski bowl in itself illustrates this crisis, and it may be compared with other silver objects from the same period. The advantage of studying silver objects as a group is that they offer comparisons in similar medium and technique with the added advantage that some of them are dated by their hallmarks.

Apart from the continuing "hellenistic" tradition[3] in seventh-century art and the breakthrough of a formal and symbolic style, there is another factor in the artistic milieu of the time that has attracted less attention and yet is prominent in the sixth century and has played some part in the developments of the seventh. This is the deliberate adoption of Iranian or Sassanian ideas imported directly to Constantinople. The relationship between the Arabs and Byzantium is believed to have been an influential factor in the disputes of Iconoclasm, but when and how this influence

[1] The relevant literature is given in Ernst Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art Reconsidered," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31 (1981): 657-675; for general summaries, see Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977), pp. 99ff.; C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), pp. 261ff.

[2] Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, p. 111.

[3] Here I use the term "hellenistic" interchangeably with "classical," meaning the continuing traditions of the greco-roman world in the Byzantine East. See Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage," p. 659.

penetrated Byzantium has not been fully appreciated.[4] Indeed, Iranian forces of influence were experienced in the capital long before the Arabs posed a threat to Byzantium. As early as the first quarter of the sixth century a "whole new vocabulary of ornament appears."[5] The Borowski vessel presents a modest illustration of this development in the seventh century. That is to say, the basic elements of this bowl are traditional and classical. The *imago clipeata* containing the bust of a saint, surrounded by grapevines with birds eating the grapes, are banal and can be traced back as far as genuinely hellenistic prototypes. The presentation of these motifs, however, is anticlassical and the language affected is partly Sassanian.

The Borowski silver vessel (fig. 1) is 16.4-16.5 cm. in diameter and is relatively shallow, standing less than three centimeters high. There is no trace of ornamentation on the inside of the bowl, which was clearly not meant to be seen. The relief was hammered from the back in repoussé technique and then chased from the front. The work is comparatively crude. There is rich gilding of the relief but the gilding is splashed carelessly over the design. In the center is a roundel surrounded by a rope design and containing the bust of a nimbed saint holding a cross. Around this central medallion is a vine scroll containing peacocks pecking at bunches of stylized grapes.[6] The leaves of the vine bear no resemblance to vine leaves. They are either formal, tri-lobed fecundities or, in the intersteces of the vines, lance-shaped palm fronds. This formal vine scroll is common on vessels from the Eastern empires, Bactrian or Sassanian, and the lance-shaped leaves are also typical of Eastern styles.[7] Although the work is technically crude, the composition also follows Sassanian models as, for example, on a bowl in Detroit (fig. 2).[8] The size and shape

[4] I. Shahid, "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): 293ff.

[5] C. Mango, *Byzantium*, p. 262. Mango cites especially the example of the Church of St. Polyeuctus in Istanbul: R. N. Harrison and N. Fıratlı, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 230ff.; 20 (1966): 222ff.; 21 (1967): 273ff.; 22 (1968): 195ff.

[6] Some of these birds have short tails and look more like ducks, but this appears to be because the artist ran out of room for peacock tails. The bodies of the birds are all alike.

[7] Michael Stettler and Karel Otavsky, *Abegg Stiftung Bern, Minor Arts, Sculpture, Painting* (Bern, 1973), pl. 8. This Sassanian vase is called "Sassanian or Bactrian" from the sixth or seventh century and it illustrates palm motifs and pearl borders like those on the silver vessels described here and below. Examples of these and of grapevines, birds and stylized palm fronds can be readily found among Sassanian works. E.g., *Sasanian Silver, Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Arts of Luxury from Iran*, Exhibition in the University of Michigan Museum of Art, August-September 1967, pls. 24, 31, 39.

[8] *Sasanian Silver*, pl. 125. Elsie Holmes Peck, "A Sasanian Silver Bowl," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 47 (1968): 23-28.

of both vessels is similar, but the Detroit bowl is considerably deeper. In the center of the Detroit bowl is a roundel of pearls containing the figure of a ram with the stemma around its neck. Dorothy Shepherd has described the religious connotations of this representation.[9] It would appear that the Christian artist has emulated a Sassanian dish but replaced the figure of the ram with a religious image of his own faith suitable for the purpose of the vessel.

The saint in the roundel (fig. 3) is in three-quarter face with a short beard, bushy mustaches, and cropped hair. He is wearing a simple chlamys and holds a cross in his left hand. This figure is familiar in Byzantine art of the sixth and seventh centuries, especially in comparable silver vessels, where the saint with the cross is identified as St. Peter standing on the left of Christ, as opposed to St. Paul who stands on his right. In this period, St. Peter almost invariably carries the cross. He is seen in this fashion in the roundel on the left of Christ on the censer in the British Museum, for example (fig. 4),[10] or on one of the chalices in Cleveland (fig. 5).[11] A St. Peter of similar type is shown on the left of Christ on the famous vase from Homs, now in the Louvre (fig. 6), but on the vase he is not holding a cross.[12] His hand is raised to hold something, however, and it appears that the cross has been inadvertently left out. Neither the vase in the Louvre nor the chalice in Cleveland is precisely dated. The British Museum censer is dated by means of its stamps to the reign of Phocas, A.D. 602-610. Another roundel containing the bust of St. Peter may be considered in this context: this is on the famous reliquary in the Vatican dated by its stamps to the reign of Heraclius, A.D. 610-641 (fig. 8).[13] The stamps on the Vatican reliquary and on the British Museum censer indicate that the objects were stamped in Constantinople but they were not necessarily decorated in the same place they were stamped. They may have been acquired in an unfinished state and been decorated in the provinces in response to the demand of a local

[9] "The Iconography of Anahita," to appear in *Berytus*, vol. 28 (1980).

[10] Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 7 (1961), no. 35; Eadem, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, Abegg Stiftung Bern (1973), p. 48ff.

[11] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, p. 18, fig. 9; p. 53, fig. 46.

[12] Ch. Diehl, "L'école artistique d'Antioche et les trésors d'argenterie syrienne," *Syria* 2 (1921): 81-95; W.F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (London, 1962), p. 246; A. Grabar, *Byzantium, From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam: The Arts of Mankind*, ed. André Malraux (1966), no. 366; E. Coche de la Ferté, *L'antiquité chrétienne au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1958), no. 49, with earlier bibliography; Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, pp. 7, 54.

[13] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, no. 47, with earlier bibliography; eadem, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, p. 48, figs. 41, 44.

purchaser. It has been illustrated elsewhere, however, that the Vatican reliquary and the British Museum censer, both of which are of a technical quality similar to the Borowski vessel, represent an iconographic and stylistic tradition firmly established in Constantinople and not elsewhere.[14] The chalice in Cleveland and the Homs vase do not have stamps and present no outside indication of date or of origin.

The figure of St. Peter on the Borowski vessel belongs to the same iconographic and stylistic tradition as the British Museum censer. It does not so closely resemble the figure in the roundel of the Vatican reliquary, nor the Cleveland chalice. The facial type and attributes, the short, cropped hair, bushy mustaches, long nose, curly beard, and three-quarter view of the head, resemble the figure in the roundel on the Homs vase, except that the latter is of superior technical quality. The vase has generally been assigned to Syria in the sixth century, but present evidence suggests that this exceptional vase should be assigned to Constantinople in the seventh century. This is not the place to reconsider the dating and the workshop of the Homs vase in detail, but further comparison is useful to the present inquiry into the art of the seventh century.

Among the best known examples of Constantinopolitan silver of the seventh century and among the finest examples of Byzantine artistic production are the set of silver plates from Cyprus depicting the story of David.[15] Too much has been written on these silver plates to require further discussion here, but the reproduction of a detail is revealing (fig. 9). The outstanding technical quality and the style of decoration on the Homs vase (figs. 6, 7) is matched only by the technical quality and style of the David plates, and they are sufficiently alike even to suggest the same craftsman. The David plates were stamped in Constantinople during the years 613-629/30 and it is now accepted that their decoration refers directly to the exploits of the emperor Heraclius. That is to say that both in their iconography and their stamps they are associated with Constantinople and their superior quality would support the assumption that they were decorated in an imperial workshop in the capital and not elsewhere. If the David plates indeed represent the work of Constantinopolitan silversmiths at their best, then the Louvre vase should also be

[14] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, pp. 34ff.

[15] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, no. 58; Steven H. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8 (1973): 89-104, with basic bibliography; more recently, see J. Trilling, "Myth and Metaphor at the Byzantine Court," *Byzantion* 48 (1978): 249-263.

associated with Constantinople in the seventh century and not assigned to Syria, in the sixth.

In so far as the figural style is concerned, both the Homs vase and the David plates show an elegant return to antique or "hellenistic" tradition, but in neither does the craftsman display a genuine interest in the physical world or in bodily movement. The figures pose theatrically. What is important is not their physical presence but, rather, the dramatic message they convey through positions and gestures. In the Marriage of David, which is an artificial composition at best,[16] neither David nor Saul has a left arm. Similarly, the fingers of St. Peter in the Homs roundel clutch the folds of his robe rather than the stem of the cross. These physical shortcomings in no way detract from the rhetorical message that the image expressed. Between the roundels on the Homs vase are long, spiky tendrils and a vase or cornucopia stemming out of three bushy acanthus leaves. This very stylized motif is common, but its execution on the vase is exceptionally elegant. The closest comparable example is found among the eighth-century mosaics on the Omayyad mosque in Damascus (fig. 10).[17]

Another object, a lamp or bowl in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, has a stamp applied in Constantinople from the seventh century.[18] It has been pointed out that the leafy decoration between the arches under which stand the angels on this bowl resembles the same decoration between the roundels on the British Museum censer.[19] The pearl motif of the arches is further indication of Sassanian models.

Apart from the Vatican reliquary and, perhaps, the Cleveland chalice, the objects described above stem from a common iconographic and stylistic tradition. If the superior technical quality of the Homs vase and the David plates is overlooked, they, too, form members of this group. The Cleveland chalice has no stamps, and it is more than likely that it is a provincial Syrian production copied from Byzantine models.[20] The relief on the Vatican reliquary, on the other hand, is unique (fig. 8). The figure of St. Peter is full face. He no longer carries a cross but, rather, a book. Although the drapery style is indeed very like the reliefs in question, the position and the execution of the face itself, with deeply incised, harsh

[16] Marvin C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, pt. 1: *Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, 1965), no. 38 and p. 38.

[17] R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Skira, 1962), pp. 22-28; H. Stern, *Cahiers archéologiques* 22 (1972): 201 ff; Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage," p. 660.

[18] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, no. 71.

[19] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, p. 205.

[20] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, p. 53.

lines and staring eyes, is entirely new. Kitzinger has described this change as part of "a changing functional role of the religious image in the period after Justinian."[21] Although there are a number of examples of this new style in other media, the only comparable example in silver is the cross of Justin II, in the Vatican (fig. 11).[22] Not only are the figures in the roundels on the cross described in the same frontal and rigid manner as the figures on the Vatican reliquary, but the decoration between the roundels on the cross consists of vine tendrils, cornucopiae, and stylized fruits more elaborate but nevertheless in the same Iranian tradition as the formal vegetable motifs on the Borowski vessel, the Hermitage bowl, or the Homs vase. The Vatican reliquary also has crude, hatched, leaf motifs between the roundels.[23]

The function of the Borowski silver vessel is not clear. The interior is smooth, apparently not broken or chipped, and there is no evidence of holes of any kind for fastening or hanging or for handles, either on the back or on the front. The suggestion is that it may have formed the adornment for the revetment of an altar or on a column, and in this case it should have been accompanied by other roundels depicting Christ, the Virgin, St. Paul, and apostles or angels.[24]

In summary, the Borowski vessel fits squarely into this period of pre-iconoclast Byzantine art. The motifs of the inhabited vine and the simply dressed saint in the roundel belong to a tradition in Early Christian art that was so deeply entrenched that it endured unchanging for many centuries. Indeed, the explosion of the iconoclast controversy may have been necessary in order to loosen the tight hold that classical tradition had on all forms of artistic expression in this period. In the seventh century in particular, the artist used the classical vocabulary with rhetorical ease. He was equally facile in the Iranian language. The deliberate abandonment of both the classical and the Iranian in the case of the Vatican reliquary must have promised refreshing change. The relief on the Borowski vessel reflects just this moment in artistic history when the message told in the traditional manner was embellished with Iranian overtones, but was described with a simplicity and force that anticipated the medieval style.

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[21] *The Formation of Byzantine Art*, p. 105.

[22] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, fig. 45, pp. 12, 54.

[23] Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, fig. 41b.

[24] Paul the Silentiary describes figures of this type adorning the altar of Hagia Sophia; see see W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople: A Study of a Byzantine Building* (London and New York, 1894), p. 48.

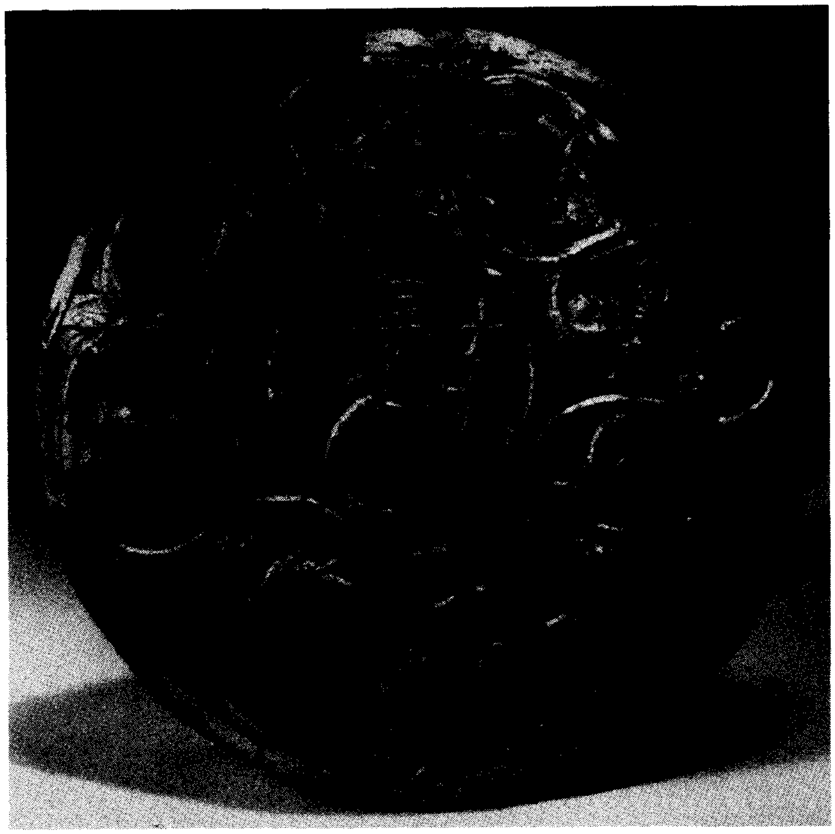


Fig. 1. Silver vessel, gilded; in the Collection of Elie Borowski, Toronto
(Photograph courtesy of Dr. Borowski).

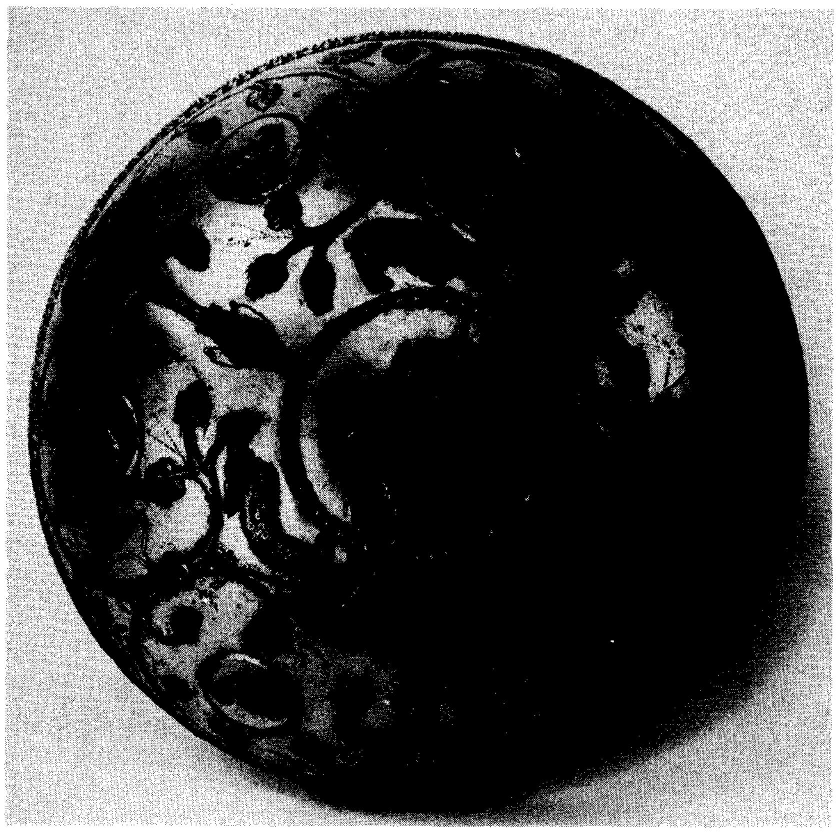


Fig. 2. Silver dish, the Detroit Institute of Arts, Acc. no. 62.266 (Photograph courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts).

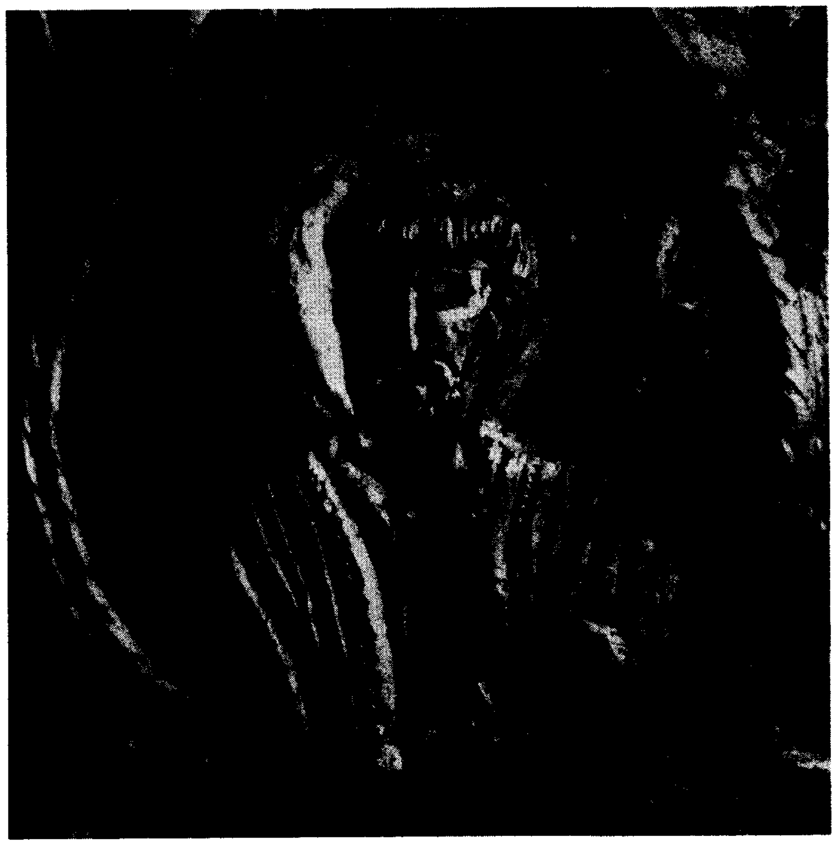


Fig. 3. St. Peter; detail of fig. 1 (Photograph courtesy of Dr. Borowski).



Fig. 4. St. Peter; British Museum censer
(Photograph courtesy of the British Museum).

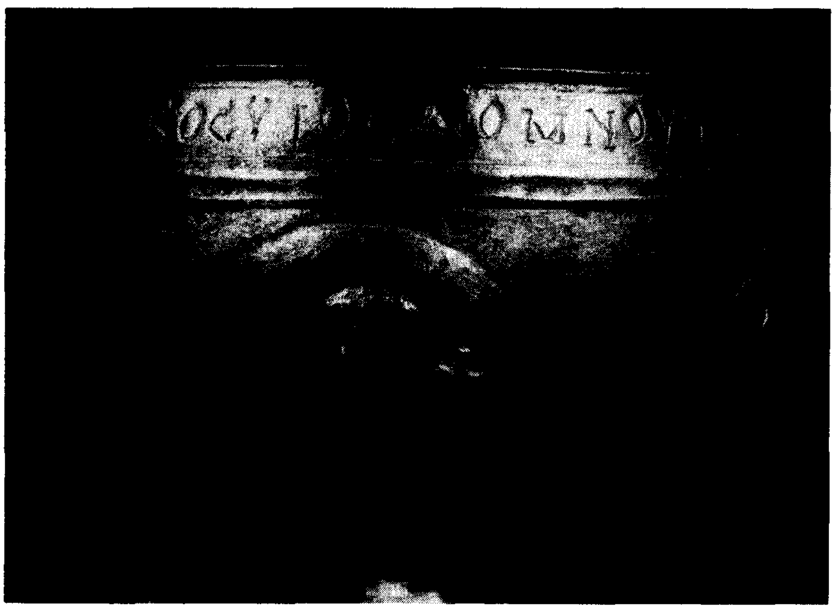


Fig. 5. St. Peter; chalice in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. no. 50.378
(Photograph courtesy of the Cleveland Museum).

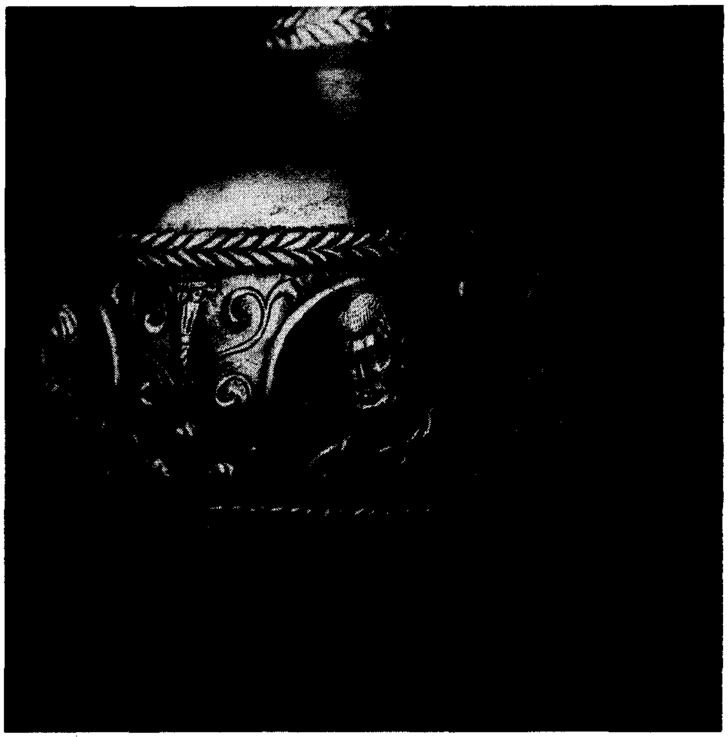


Fig. 6. St. Peter; vase from Homs in the Louvre, Paris
(Photograph by the kind permission of E. Coche de la Ferté).



Fig. 7. Angel on the vase from Homs, the Louvre, Paris
(Photograph by the kind permission of E. Coche de la Ferté).

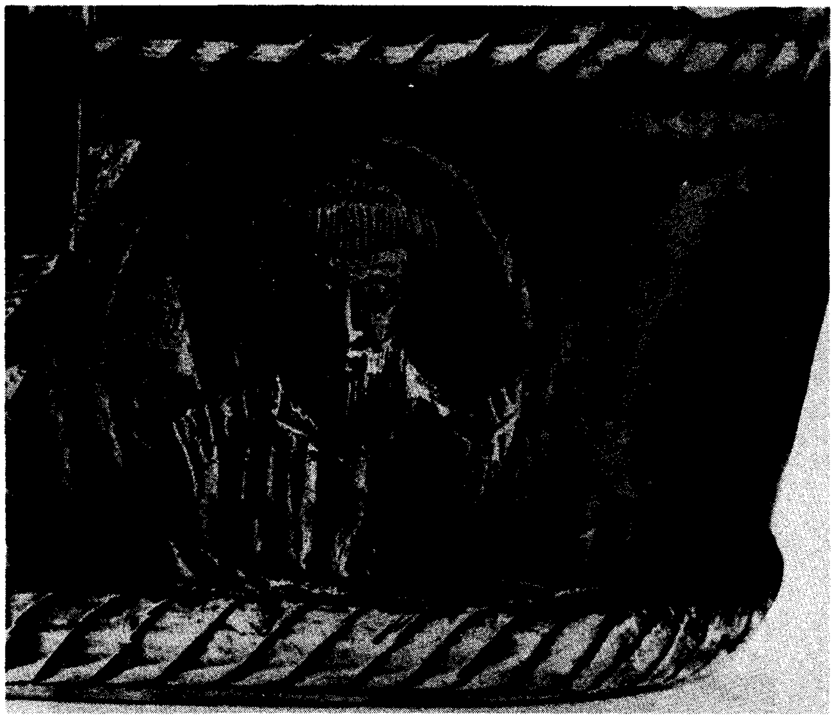


Fig. 8. St. Peter; reliquary in the Vatican Museum
(Photograph courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection).



Fig. 9. The Marriage of David, detail of silver plate; Museum of Antiquities, Nicosia, Cyprus (Photograph courtesy of the Museum).



Fig. 10. Omayyad Mosque, Damascus, detail of mosaics (Photograph by the author).



Fig. 11. The Cross of Justin II, Museo Sacro, Vatican; detail (Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Museum).

La contribution de Ihor Ševčenko à la solution des problèmes cyrillométhodiens

IVAN DUJČEV

La riche et vaste activité érudite du prof. Ihor Ševčenko est concentrée, comme il est bien connu, tout particulièrement dans le domaine des recherches de l'histoire culturelle et littéraire de Byzance. Il existe pourtant une sphère d'études à la limite entre Byzance et les Slaves où il a donné quelques contributions vraiment remarquables qui restent, pour ainsi dire, presqu'en dehors de l'attention des étroits spécialistes. Slave d'origine et byzantinisant de formation érudite, Ihor Ševčenko est sans doute un savant parmi les plus appropriés à s'occuper de la biographie et de l'activité des deux frères de Thessalonique qui, plus que tout autre, personnifient cette unité idéale qui réunit Byzance et les Slaves.

Il convient de rappeler, à ce propos, une des caractéristiques fondamentales de la civilisation byzantine : son universalisme, en ce qui concerne avant tout les peuples slaves. Il ne faut pas oublier que ce furent les Slaves et précisément les Slaves orthodoxes, c'est-à-dire méridionaux et orientaux, qui établirent depuis l'aube de leur histoire des contacts politiques, culturels et économiques avec l'Empire byzantin et subirent, en résultat, son influence. On a discuté, dans la littérature spéciale, à plusieurs reprises, le problème du rôle — positif ou bien négatif — de l'influence byzantine sur les Slaves et leur culture, en formulant le plus souvent des hypothèses contradictoires. Sans reprendre encore une fois cette longue discussion — assez stérile, du reste, quand elle dépasse le domaine strictement érudit, s'inspire par des considérations d'une autre nature, — il faut reconnaître, en grandes lignes, le rôle positif de Byzance pour le développement des peuples slaves, surtout pendant l'époque de leur formation, avant de créer leur propre culture. Sans citer ici d'autres exemples, mentionnons au moins le nom du roi bulgare Syméon (893-937), qui passa sa jeunesse à Constantinople pour étudier dans une école supérieure, y appris à la perfection la langue grecque littéraire et, en revenant dans son pays natal, devint, comme souverain,

un fervent promoteur des lettres, en ce qui concerne avant tout les traductions du Grec en Slave. On se rappelle aujourd'hui ses longues guerres contre l'Empire, en oubliant cependant que ce fut uniquement une lutte dans le domaine politique et économique, jamais une confrontation dans le champ de la culture.

La biographie des deux frères Constantin—Cyrille (ca. 826/27-869) et Méthode (ca. 805/15-885) nous fournit un exemple de l'influence bienfaisante et positive de la culture byzantine. Laissons, pour l'instant, le problème vivement discuté quant à leur origine ethnique — en autres termes, s'ils étaient des «purs» Byzantins ou Grecs ou bien s'ils étaient descendants d'une famille byzantino-slave, qui, à mon avis, aurait mieux expliqué la connaissance parfaite du Slave. Il convient mieux de relever que tous les deux, et surtout le plus jeune Constantin, reçurent une instruction excellente dans un milieu bilingue — grec et slave, comme l'était pendant la première moitié du IX^{e} siècle la grande ville de Thessalonique.[1]

Arrivé à l'âge à peu près de 14-15 ans, peu de temps après la mort de son père, le hypostratège Léon,[2] Constantin quitta sa ville natale et partit pour Constantinople, pour achever son instruction. Grâce aux témoignages de son biographe, le future évêque Clément d'Ochrid, qui composa sa biographie aidé par son frère Méthode,[3] nous sommes bien informés sur les années de ses études dans la capitale, aussi bien que sur la carrière ultérieure et surtout sur les premiers pas de son activité littéraire.[4] Ainsi nous savons qu'il composa, encore adolescent, ses premières œuvres poétiques.[5] Ces écrits, malheureusement, ne nous sont conservés dans son texte original et sont connus seulement en ancienne traduction slave fragmentaire. On a relevé depuis longtemps la présence d'un bon nombre de grécismes dans le texte de la *Vie* slave détaillée de Constantin — Cyrille. Ce fait, difficile à expliquer, a donné lieu à certaines hypothèses hardies, par exemple que la *Vie* détaillée aurait été

[1] Voir à ce propos la déclaration de l'empereur Michel III en 862/63, dans la *Vita Methodii*, chap 5: «Alors... Michel dit à Constantin le Philosophe: 'Prends ton frère l'hégoumène Méthode, et va (en Grande Moravie). Car vous êtes Thessaloniciens, et tous les Thessaloniciens parlent purement le slave.».

[2] Voir *Vita Constantini*, chap. 2. La date de la mort 840-841: v. Fr. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Praha, 1933; Hattiesburg, 1969), p. 14sqq.

[3] Cf. I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, vol. 2 (Roma, 1968), p. 104. Méthode n'est pas l'auteur de la *Vita Constantini*, mais fort probablement il a fourni à son disciple Clément des informations sur Constantin.

[4] Pour les détails v. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, 2: p. 91sqq.; idem, «Les débuts littéraires de Constantin Philosophe-Cyrille», *Slavia* 41, nr. 4 (1972): 357-367.

[5] Voir Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, vol. 3 (1971), p. 100sqq.

rédigée originairement non en Slave, mais en Grec, par conséquent l'ancient traducteur n'aurait pu trouver les équivalents slaves.

Pour résoudre d'une façon raisonnable toutes ces difficultés il faut absolument tenir compte de deux circonstances fondamentales de la biographie des deux frères de Thessalonique. La plus grande partie de leur vie s'est passée dans l'atmosphère politique et culturelle de l'Empire de Byzance. C'est donc à Byzance qu'il faut chercher l'explication, avant tout en ce qui regarde la première partie de leur biographie, jusqu'au moment de leur mission en Grande Moravie en 862/63. Cette méthode de recherche a été appliquée soigneusement et dans les minimes détails par l'excellent connaisseur de problèmes cyrillométhodiens, Prof. Fr. Dvornik,[6] et a donné des résultats admirables. Il s'est passé juste un demi siècle depuis la parution, à Prague en 1933, de son ouvrage remarquable qui a frayé l'application de cette méthode d'interprétation: il ne nous reste qu'approfondir, enrichir et en continuer les recherches.

C'est exactement sous cet aspect, il me semble, qu'il faudrait apprécier la valeur des contributions du Prof. Ihor Ševčenko relatives aux problèmes cyrillométhodiens, et de préciser le nouveau qu'il a donné. Commençons par une étude qu'il a éditée il y a plus d'une dizaine d'années, sous le titre «On the Social Background of Cyril and Methodius».[7] En dehors de la question du «milieu social» proprement dit de Constantin — Cyrille, notre auteur a traité plutôt en passant quelques problèmes supplémentaires d'une importance toute particulière. En mentionnant que les spécialistes qui se sont occupés, jusqu'ici de la question du «milieu that produced the Apostles of the Slavs», il note qu'ils se sont arrêtés surtout à un seul aspect: «they debated whether Thessalonica and Macedonia were Slavic or Greek in the ninth century, or else, they asked whether Cyril and Methodius themselves were Greeks or Slavs, and if the latter, what kind of Slavs». En d'autres termes les recherches affectuées avaient pour but de préciser le caractère ethnique du milieu, dans lequel sont nés et ont vécu les deux frères. Après cette constatation, I. Ševčenko ajoute: «Scholars were able to show, sometimes with excessive clarity, that by the ninth century, the Thessalonican region (if not perhaps the city itself) was heavily Slavicized; on the other hand, when it came to determining the ethnic origin of the two individuals called Cyril and Methodius, the pro-Greek faction won out

[6] A ce propos v. Dvornik, *Les légendes*.

[7] Publiée dans *Studia palaeoslovenica* (Praha, 1971), pp. 341-351 (Miscellanea J. Kurz).

and has been enjoying a comfortable lead, although opinions on this topic continue to vary up to the present day.»[8]

Dans une note «sous-ligne» I. Ševčenko indique les noms des adhérents modernes de l'une ou l'autre conception.[9] Il mérite de mentionner *expressis verbis* sa propre conclusion formulée en appendice:[10] «My own position — écrit-il, — is determined by the realization [that] in the opinion of their own contemporaries (both Latin and Slavic) Cyril and Methodius were either Greeks or non-Slavs. It is safe to assume that on the point of the Thessalonican brothers' ethnic background their contemporaries were better informed that we are. There remains that argument for Cyril's and Methodius's Slavic origin which has to do with the Slavic translation of the Gospels and Psalter (attributed in V[ita] M[ethodii] XV,4 to both brothers). The argument is in two (somewhat contradictory) parts: (a) the translation is of high quality (inference: only Slavs with a mastery of Greek could have made it); (b) it exhibits peculiarities and short-comings (these are demonstrable; cf., e.g., V. Pogorelov in *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 5 [1939] 534-540; hence Greek was a language foreign to the translator). Therefore I assume that (if the texts which we possess go back entirely to Cyril's and Methodius's time), the brothers were Byzantines of Greek background leading — very expertly — a translation team which comprised Slavs as well.»

Laissant prudemment cette question fondamentale sans une réponse claire, I. Ševčenko passe à traiter ce qui représente le noyau de son étude, et déclare: « As there have been no new sources to feed the ethnocentric discussion, it has by now reached a point where it seems more profitable to shelve it for awhile, to respond to changes in scholarly perspective which have meanwhile occurred in other fields of historical inquiry, and to put the question thus: What position did the milieu into which Cyril and Methodius were born occupy in the social and cultural spectrum of ninth-century Byzantium?» Voilà brièvement les conclusions de l'auteur: «Noble origin of both father and mother; imperial favor; local prominence; pastimes of the leisurely rich — all these traits point with certainty to a wealthy parental home»;[11] «Leo was still alive by the year 834»;[12] «while Leo did serve *podъ stratigomъ*, he was in fact

[8] Ševčenko, «On the Social Background», pp. 341-342.
[9] Ševčenko, «On the Social Background», pp. 342, note 4.
[10] Ševčenko, «On the Social Background», pp. 342, note 4 *in fine*.
[11] Ševčenko, «On the Social Background», pp. 342sqq.
[12] Ševčenko, «On the Social Background», pp. 344.

two ranks below him»;[13] informations sur la position d'un *drungarios*; «as sons of such a father, Constantine and Methodius did enjoy a head start in life; however, they made great advances, both socially and (even more) culturally, in the course of their respective careers»; «Constantine enjoyed literary fame beyond the confines of the Empire, was a protégé of Logothete Theoktistos ... and claimed the personal friendship of Patriarch Photius.»[14] C'était donc la base sociale de toute la carrière ultérieure des deux frères Constantin et Méthode.

Encore très jeune, Constantin reçut le surnom «le Philosophe», et ainsi il est mentionné dans les sources écrites slaves, grecques et latines. Le sens de ce surnom peut être suffisamment éclairci: il désignait une personne bien instruite et d'une vie morale.[15] Nous possédons pourtant une définition de la philosophie, formulée par Constantin lui-même et enregistrée par l'auteur de sa *Vie* paléoslave dans un récit fort intéressant.[16] Ainsi, nous dit-il, «le logothète (Théoctiste) ... lui posa une fois la question: 'Philosophe, je voudrais savoir ce qu'est la philosophie'. Et lui, à l'esprit habile, répondit aussitôt: 'La connaissance des choses divines et humaines, autant que l'homme peut s'approcher de Dieu, parce qu'elle apprend à l'homme à être, en action, à l'image et à la ressemblance de celui qui l'a créé' ...'». Il y a un peu plus qu'un quart de siècle qu'I. Ševčenko analysa, dans une étude spéciale,[17] ce passage de la *Vita Constantini* dans le but d'établir les sources premières de la définition formulée par son protégé. Il pose la demande: «What kind of a philosopher was Constantine? To clarify, it will be worthwhile to discuss the definition of philosophy attributed to him in his *Vita*. By guessing as to the character of the sources of his definition and assigning to it a place in the semantic spectrum of 'philosophy', as the term was conceived in Constantine's time, a better insight may be obtained into the Saint's intellectual outlook.»[18] Au début de son analyse, I. Ševčenko proposa une rétroversion (Rückübersetzung) en grec de la définition

[13] Ševčenko, «On the Social Background», pp. 346.

[14] Ševčenko, «On the Social Background», pp. 350-351.

[15] Sur le sens de ce terme byzantin v. Fr. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), pp. 127-208. Cf. aussi Anne-Marie Malingrey, *«Philosophia». Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque des Présocratiques au IVe siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1961).

[16] *Vita Constantini*, chap. 4. Traduction française par A. Vaillant, *Textes vieux-slaves*, vol. 2: *Traductions et notes* (Paris, 1968), pp. 3-4.

[17] I. Ševčenko, «The Definition of Philosophy in the Life of Saint Constantine», in *For Roman Jakobson* (La Haye, 1956), pp. 449-457.

[18] Ševčenko, «Definition of Philosophy», p. 450.

formulée par Constantin, notamment: θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων γνῶσις, καθ' ὅσον δύναται ἄνθρωπος προσεγγίσαι (πλησιάσαι) Θεῷ, ὅτι πράξει διδάσκει ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν εἶναι τῷ ποιήσαντι (πλάσαντι, κτίσαντι) αὐτόν». D'après Ševčenko, «the main ultimate sources of this composite definition are easy to ascertain.»[19]

Sans reprendre ici toute l'argumentation de l'auteur qui a cherché des analogies chez les stoïciens, chez Platon (*Theaetetus*, 176 AB), dans *Genesis*, I, 26, chez Grégoire de Naziance etc., disons qu'il a découvert laborieusement une analogie littérale chez le commentateur de l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre (mort ca. 305), David (vécu au VI^e-VII^e siècle).[20] On doit reconnaître, avec notre auteur,[21] que «his definition contains them [the two Constantinian definitions] in the same sequence in which they appear in *Vita Constantini*. All this adds weight to the contention that Constantine's definitions come from a milieu familiar with the standard commentaries to Porphyry's *Isagoge* or their 'composite' derivates. David's version appears as the most likely source of inspiration». Vraiment, cette réponse de Constantin à la demande de Théoctiste reflète l'enseignement qu'il avait reçu «in Photius's classes»: «his answer reflected a definition of philosophy considered by the textbooks as the best one.» En admettant les explications et la conclusion d'I. Ševčenko comme les plus vraisemblables, il reste pourtant, à mon avis, quelque chose encore à ajouter, par exemple que des analogies proches ou semblables à la définition de Constantin peuvent être découvertes également chez certains autres auteurs patristiques, comme Denys l'Aréopagite, qui était connu au jeune philosophe.[22] En tout cas, l'étude en question du savant américain représente pour nous une contribution précieuse dans le domaine des problèmes cyrillométhodiens.

Le prof. I. Ševčenko nous a donné, en outre, une excellente analyse du ch. XIII de la *Vita Constantini*,[23] qui représentait depuis toujours une énigme pour les slavisants. Ainsi, l'hagiographe nous dit que Constantin le Philosophe, en revenant à Constantinople après la mission chez les Khazars en automne 860-janvier 861, s'établit dans l'église des

[19] Ševčenko, «Definition of Philosophy», p. 450.
[20] Ševčenko, «Definition of Philosophy», p. 453 et note 35; 454sqq.
[21] Ševčenko, «Definition of Philosophy», p. 455.
[22] Denys l'Aréopagite, *La hiérarchie céleste* (Paris, 1958); pp. 87sqq., 92sqq., etc.; p. 88 note 1: «la formule vient, indirectement, de Platon lui-même ...».
[23] *Vita Costantini*, chap. 13: Vaillant, *Traductions et notes*, p. 19.

Saints Apôtres de la capitale.[24] «Il y a à Sainte-Sophie une coupe de pierre précieuse, de l'œuvre de Salomon, sur laquelle sont des lettres hébraïques et samaritaines, de versets écrits, que personne ne pouvait ni lire ni expliquer. Le Philosophe la prit, et il lut et expliqua. (Le premier verset) est ainsi: '(C'est) ma coupe, ma coupe; prophétise, jusqu'à (ce que paraisse) l'étoile; sers de boisson, Seigneur, au premier-né qui veille la nuit.» Puis l'autre verset: «Pour que le Seigneur y goûte, faite d'un autre bois; bois et enivre-toi de joie, et clame: alléluia». Puis le troisième verset: «Voici le prince, et toute l'assemblée verra sa gloire, et le roi David au milieu d'eux.» Et ensuite un chiffre écrit: neuf cent neuf. Le Philosophe fit un décompte minutieux et il trouva: de la douzième année du règne de Salomon au règne du Christ, neuf cent neuf années, et c'est une prophétie sur le Christ.» Sans toucher ici la question quant à l'exactitude de cette traduction paléoslave, proposée par feu le prof. A. Vaillant, disons cependant que l'authenticité de l'épisode et surtout le sens de l'inscription ont occupé déjà bien longtemps les spécialistes. Cette énigme a attiré également l'attention d'Ihor Ševčenko qui lui dédia une étude particulière.[25] En mentionnant les publications précédentes,[26] il proposa une nouvelle traduction qui est meilleure, à mon avis, de celle d'A. Vaillant, ensuite il analysa critiquement les explications proposées jusqu'ici. En acceptant que «the Chalice story is a translation from the Greek», il essaya d'établir la source première de l'inscription en question: «The point of this note is to produce the source, or — to be cautious at first — the well-nigh perfect parallel to two out of three lines written on Solomon's Chalice.»[27] Heureusement, il a découvert un texte grec analogue dans le Cod. Scurialensis Ψ. III,7, f. 317ʳ, du XIᵉ siècle.[28] Il est évident, en effet, que «the Slavic is a word-by-word translation from the Greek.» L'inscription a été reproduite dans le manuscrit cité comme anonyme, sans pouvoir affirmer cependant que c'est justement la traduction grecque faite par Constantin le Philosophe. Selon l'opinion d'I. Ševčenko, «the story of the Solomon Chalice in the *Vita Constantini* is a borrowing; it comes into it from a context which originally had nothing to do with its hero; this story was introduced as

[24] Sur cette église v. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiatique de l'Empire byzantin*, vol. 1: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*, no. 1: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), pp. 41-50.

[25] I. Ševčenko, «The Greek Source of the Inscription on Solomon's Chalice in the *Vita Constantini*», in *To honor Roman Jakobson* (La Haye-Paris, 1967), pp. 1806-1817.

[26] Ševčenko, «Greek Source», p. 1807-1808.

[27] Ševčenko, «Greek Source», p. 1811.

[28] Ševčenko, «Greek Source», p. 1811 sqq.

proof of Constantine's superior intellectual powers.»[29] «The Story of Solomon's Chalice may teach us little about Constantine's knowledge of Semitic languages, the *realia* of the cult of relics in ninth-century Byzantium, and ninth-century Slavic poetry. It does remind the students of the *Vita Constantini* once again that this earliest work of Slavic literature draws upon Greek sources.»

A toutes ces importantes contributions sur les problèmes cyrillo-méthodiens, il faut ajouter une étude de caractère, pour ainsi dire, archéologique, écrite en collaboration avec C. Mango.[30] C'est une information sur les résultats d'un voyage d'études dans les régions au sud de la Propontide, avec des notices utiles relatives aux divers monastères y visités. Il est intéressant de noter d'une manière spéciale l'hypothèse sur l'identification du monastère de Polychronion (Polychron), où le frère de Constantin le Philosophe fut mis hégoumène peu de temps après la mission chez les Khazars en 860/61, comme nous renseigne la *Vita Methodii*, chap. 4.[31]

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[29] Ševčenko, «Greek Source», p. 1817.
[30] C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, «Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 235-277.
[31] Texte chez Vaillant, *Traductions et notes*, p. 37: «monastère ... Polychron». Cf. aussi Dvornik, *Les légendes*, pp. 210, 211, 385, avec une hypothèse à propos de l'identification («il s'agit certainement du couvent de Sigriane»).

Formy zesłania w państwie bizantyńskim

HALINA EVERT-KAPPESOWA

Zesłanie było karą stosowaną w państwie bizantyńskim od początku jego istnienia. Miało ono jednak charakter nieco specyficzny, było bowiem albo karą za przestępstwo popełnione albo środkiem mającym na celu zapobiec by jakiś podejrzany zamiar nie doszedł do skutku. Wbrew jednak temu co się nieraz twierdzi, nie było ono wynikiem kaprysu władcy lecz karą przewidzianą przez prawo [1].

Na zesłanie skazywano w pierwszym rzędzie za przestępstwa polityczne, popełnione bądź też zamierzone. Takoż i niefortunnych pretendentów do tronu i wreszcie tych, którzy dla jakichkolwiek powodów wzbudzali podejrzenia i popadli w niełaskę. Siłą więc faktu źródła ukazują nam jako zesłańców przedstawicieli warstw możnych: wyższych urzędników tak cywilnych jak i wojskowych, bogatych ziemian funkcjonariuszy dworu cesarskiego, wybitnych przedstawicieli armii, wysokich dostojników kościelnych. Ale za Tyberiusza zostali skazani na zesłanie przywódcy stronnictw cyrkowych w związku z rozruchami wywołanymi przez podległe im fakcje [2]. Za regentki, cesarzowej Teodory z dynastii Amoryjskiej, brat jej a zarazem wszechwładny minister Bardas, ukarał i chłostą a następnie kazał stracić jakiegoś umysłowo chorego biedaka, który podawał się na placach i rynkach stolicy za nieślubnego syna cesarzowej [3]. Zdaniem Ph. Koukoules zwykli przestępcy, jak rabusie i złodzieje, bywali niekiedy karani zesłaniem do ciężkich robót [4].

W okresie nasilonych sporów teologicznych tj. w IV i V wieku, kiedy zasady nowej wiary poczynały się dopiero kształtować, na wygnanie szli

[1] Zachariae v. Lingenthal, *Ius Graeco Romanum*, 5 (Leipzig, 1869), 499, 626.
[2] Euagrius Scholarius, *Historiae Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez—L. Parmentier (1898), V, 18 p. 217.
[3] Constantin évêque d'Irénopolis, Αἱ νῆσοι Ὀξεῖα καὶ Πλατεῖα κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν ἐποχήν, Ὀρθοδοξία (1958), III, 270-280
[4] Ph. Koukoules, «Études sur la vie des Byzantins. Voleurs et prisons à Byzance», *Revue des études grecques* (Paris), 61 (1948): 126sq.

kolejno to Arianie to znów wyznawcy doktryny nikejskiej, w zależności od tego, który odłam cieszył się w danym momencie poparciem cesarza [5].

Rodzaje zesłania bywały rozmaite. Najcięższym, które równało się niemal zamaskowanemu wyrokowi śmierci, było zesłanie na wschodnie kresy państwa: pogranicza Armenii i państwa perskiego, państewek kaukazkich oraz terenów zasiedlonych przez wojownicze plemiona arabskie. Aby dostać się na miejsce przeznaczenia należało przebyć niezliczoną ilość kilometrów i to przebyć pieszo, gdyż korzystanie z usług komunikacji pocztowej było skazańcom zakazane. Zależnie więc od pory roku wystawieni byli na tropikalny upał lub ulewne deszcze i chłody. Warunki sanitarne tak w podróży jak i na miejscu były fatalne, kąpiel była niemożliwością, a miary udręczeń dopełniało okrucieństwo konwojentów i ich brutalność, o ile nie zostali przed wyruszeniem w drogę ułagodzeni sutym datkiem przez rodzinę lub przyjaciół zesłańca. On sam nie rozporządzał żadnymi środkami materialnymi, gdyż z chwilą wydania wyroku mienie jego ulegało konfiskacie. Zresztą gdyby nawet miał jakieś pieniądze przy sobie to żołnierze konwoju byli by mu je zaraz ukradli. Pewien wypoczynek przynosiły noclegi, na które zatrzymywano się na stacjach pocztowych, albo w jakimś miasteczku względnie osadzie, a niekiedy nawet w dużych miastach, leżących na szlaku wędrówki. W takim wypadku zesłaniec — jeśli był człowiekiem znanym — spotykał się nieraz z entuzjastycznym przyjęciem elity danego miasta, która potrafiła mu nawet zapewnić dłuższy w nim postój. Tak się rzecz miała z Janem Chryzostomem, patriarchą Konstantynopolitańskim, który skazany wyrokiem synodu tzw. ad Quercum, udawał się na zesłanie do Kukusos na pograniczach Armenii a szlak drogi zahaczał o Cezareę Kapadocką. Na wiadomość o zbliżaniu się konwoju ludność miasta wylegla na drogę i spontaniczną owacją witała swego patriarchę. Lekarze miejscy wyszli za bramy by ofiarować mu swoje usługi, a notable Cezarei ubiegali się o zaszczyt goszczenia go u siebie [6]. Pozostał przez czas dłuższy w Cezarei i były to zapewne ostatnie jasne chwile w jego życiu. Nie zawsze jednak rzeczy tak się miały i gdy po ostatecznym upadku Chryzostoma wielu jego zwolenników zostało zasądzonych na deportację, jego przeciwnicy spośród duchowieństwa nie tylko nie udzielali im pomocy lecz wzbraniali tego laikom a eskortę obdarzali pieniędzmi by pędziła ich dalej [7].

[5] W. Ceran, «Kościół wobec antychrześcijańskiej polityki cesarza Juliana Apostaty», *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Historica*, ser. 1, no. 63 (Łódź, 1980), pp. 122sq.

[6] A. Malingry, *Jean Chrysostome. Lettres à Olympias* (Paris, 1947), pp. 24sq.

[7] Palladius, *Das Leben des heiligen Johannes Chrysostomes*, hrsg. von ... L. Schläpfer (Düsseldorf, 1966), pp. 206-207.

Ostatnim etapem podróży bywała jakaś nędzna mieścina w najbliższym sasiedztwie, a niekiedy nawet w obrębie ufortyfikowanego grodu. Źródła określają te miejscowości jako: ἔρημον πολίχνιον ... τὰ ἔσχατα πολίχνια. Dla ludzi przyzwyczajonych do jakichkolwiek względnych nawet wygód, warunki życia tam były okropne. Jan Chryzostom deportowany do Kukusos, na pograniczu Armenii, zmuszony był całą zimę przeleżeć w łóżku, gdyż piece w pokoju dymiły tak potwornie, że niepodobna było napalić. Zaopatrzenie w żywność tych mieścin było gorsze niż nędzne. Garnizon wojskowy otrzymywał swoje racje, nieliczna ludość cywilna radziła sobie jak mogła, ratując się uprawą własnych pól lub pokątnym handlem z załogą statków, które przybywały z zaplecza po ładunek soli. Papież Marcin I, zesłany w połowie VII w. do Chersonia [nad ujściem Dniepru do morza Czarnego], tak pisze w liście do przyjaciół w kraju «... navicula illo veniente et parum tritici habente ad commutationem salis, vix potuerit emere ex eo unum tritici modium quatuor solidis cum multis ... precibus» [Modius = ca 9 ltr. Za jednego solidusa nabywano w normalnych warunkach 7 modii ziarna]. O chlebie się słyszy ale się go nie widzi. Papież uskarża się do nieznanego adresata na brak oleju, wina i innych podstawowych artykułów żywnościowych. Na domiar złego statki zawijają tu rzadko i «... sale onuste recedant». Bardzo się dziwi postępowaniu swych przyjaciół, którym jest zupełnie obojętne czy jest on jeszcze na ziemi czy też już pod ziemią. Jakoż zmarł wkrótce z głodu i nędzy [8].

W listąch Jana Chryzostoma pisanych z Arabissos, małej mieściny na pograniczu armeńsko-perskim, która była następnym etapem jego deportacji, znajdujemy analogiczny opis warunków bytowania, tyle tylko że o dwa i pół wieku wcześniejszy. Były patriarcha konstantynopolitański uskarża się na okropny stan sanitarny miasta, na brak podstawowych artykułów żywności, brak lekarstw, książek, na nieuctwo lekarzy i wreszcie na przykre warunki klimatyczne: «ἀερῶν δυσκωλία ... ὠνίων στενοχωρία ... τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀμαθία ... βαλανείων ἀπορία [9].

Nie wiemy czy w takich mieścinach jak Arabissos, Kukusos czy Pityusa, istniały więzienia przeznaczone dla zesłańców, w każdym razie członkowie warstw wyższych — przeważnie przestępcy polityczni —

[8] J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, X (Annales, 590-653) (Florence; 1762).
[9] Malingry, *Jean Chrysostome*, epistola 18.

przebywali na wolnej stopie. Był to oczywiście przywilej, choć dosyć wątpliwy: zesłaniec przeniesiony z któregokolwiek miasta cesarstwa na te odległe kresy znajdował się nagle w obcym kraju wśród obcych ludzi, których języka najczęściej nie rozumiał a którzy patrzyli na niego podejrzliwie, w warunkach bytowych, które musiały mu się wydawać, a zresztą i były, potworne i na domiar wszystkiego był absolutnie wyzuty z wszelkich środków materialnych. Nie mógł podjąć żadnej pracy gdyż wahano by się go zatrudnić, mógł więc jedynie liczyć na litość ludzką albo na pomoc krewnych i przyjaciół pozostawionych w dalekiej ojczyźnie, ale i oni przy najlepszych chęciach nie zawsze mogli pomóc. Trzeba było znaleźć oddanego posłańca, który zdołałby przebyć te setki a nawet tysiące kilometrów, uniknąć wszystkich niebezpieczeństw podróży, dotrzeć do adresata i wreszcie powrócić cało. Na tych ogromnych przestrzeniach nie brakło rabusiów, którzy czyhali na podróżnych aby obedrzeć ich z pieniędzy a często i pozbawić życia. Poza tym wiele z pośród osób, nawet bardzo życzliwych zesłańcowi, musiało się lękać by przez kontakty z nim nie narazić się u dworu.

Inną ale nie mniejszą udrękę musiało stanowić dla deportowanego jego zupełne osamotnienie i ta beznadziejna, deprymująca bezczynność na jaką był skazany.

Najbardziej oddalone wschodnie rubieże nie były jedynym miejscem zesłania; kierowano zesłanych również i do miast zachodnich a także i do miast Azji Mniejszej: Atanazy, patriarcha aleksandryjski spędził przeszło dwa lata w Trewirze, deportowany na rozkaz cesarza Konstantyna I [10]. Teodor Studyta, na przełomie VIII i IX w. został trzykrotnie skazany na wygnanie: do Pontu i w głąb Azji Mniejszej [11]. Za panowania Michała VIII, patriarcha Jan Veccos zapłacić musiał wygnaniem do Brussy za swą opieszałość przy wprowadzaniu w życie unii z kościołem Rzymskim [12].

Zesłanie w obrębie granic państwa bizantyńskiego było o wiele łagodniejszą formą tej kary niż zesłanie do Armenii, na pogranicze persko-arabskie. Przede wszystkim już dystans jaki trzeba było przebyć był nieskończenie krótszy a środki lokomocji o wiele lepsze. Do niektórych miejsc można było znaczną część trasy przebyć drogą wodną. Tym samym odpadała więc udręka pieszej podróży, poza tym większe miasta na Zachodzie były siedzibą władz a tym samym warunki życia

[10] J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae ... Series Graeca*, «Beati Theodoreti, ep. Cyrensis Historia Ecclesiastica», 82, c. 958.

[11] G. A. Schneider, *Der heilige Theodor von Studion* (München, 1956), p. 54.

[12] H. Evert-Kappesowa, «Une page de relations byzantino-latines. La fin de l'union de Lyon», *Byzantinoslavica* (Praha), 17, no. 1 (1952): 9-18.

były dużo lepsze. Wreszcie dzięki dużo mniejszej odległości od stolicy i znacznie sprawniejszej komunikacji łatwiej było nawiązać kontakt z rodziną i przyjaciółmi. Źródła nie wspominają czy zesłańców umieszczano — przynajmniej w niektórych przypadkach — w więzieniach, natomiast wiadomo nam, że lokowano ich nieraz w klasztorach pod nadzorem przeora, który ponosił odpowiedzialność jeśli zesłańcowi udało się np. zbiec. Bez wątpienia, że surowy tryb życia według reguły zakonnej, ograniczenie swobody osobistej musiało być przykre dla kogoś, kto był przyzwyczajony do decydowania nie tylko o sobie ale i o innych, do wydawania rozkazów a nie do posłuchu. Ale niekiedy zdarzało się, że zesłaniec i sprawa dla której cierpiał, napotykały na sympatię zakonników a czasem i przeora — wówczas sytuacja jego w klasztorze ulegała całkowitej zmianie.

Trudno powiedzieć czy zesłańcy po przybyciu na miejsce przeznaczenia byli z reguły bądź porzucani na łaskę losu, bądź lokowani po klasztorach, bądź też w niektórych wypadkach umieszczani w więzieniach. Znajdowały się one bez wątpienia na całej przestrzeni państwa bizantyńskiego. Znamy nieco bliżej warunki bytowania w większości z nich, które były przeznaczone dla mętów społecznych. Warunki te urągały kardynalnym normom higieny i pojęć humanitarnych. Pomieszczenia dzieliły się na «exotera» i «endotera». Exotera były nieco lepsze: miały trochę więcej przestrzeni, powietrza i światła. Były też mniej zatłoczone. Natomiast w «endotera» więźniowie byli stłoczeni. Posłaniem ich była przegniła słoma, jakieś szmaty lub wprost goła podłoga. Kubeł z odchodami wynoszono raz na dzień więc powietrze było wprost straszne. Brutalność strażników była przysłowiowa a wszelka troska o dostarczenie więźniowi pożywienia czy bielizny spoczywała na jego rodzinie lub przyjaciołach. Ale więźniowie pochodzący z warstwy społecznie uprzywilejowanej podejrzani lub oskarżeni o przestępstwo polityczne, wtrącani byli przeważnie do wielkiego więzienia, zwanego więzieniem Siedmiu Wież, u murów stolicy. Warunki tam były lepsze, dozorcy bardziej kontrolowani.

Za miejsce zesłania służyły również wyspy. Spośród wielu wysp jakie wchodziły w skład państwa bizantyńskiego, najczęściej wymieniany jest w tym kontekście archipelag na Morzu Marmara. Składa się on z dziewięciu wysepek lecz niektóre z nich są to raczej wielkie skały wyłaniające się z morza. Cała powierzchnia archipelagu wynosi 180 km^2 a zgodnie ze spisem z 1963 r. liczba mieszkańców nie przekraczała 16 tys [13]. Prawdopodobnie w czasach bizantyńskich nie była większa.

[13] Constantin évêque d'Irénopolis (jak w przyp. 3), pp. 278-280.

Wysepki te są nieurodzajne a mniejsze z nich pozbawione są wody. W gruncie rzeczy więc nie nadają się do zamieszkania i dlatego właśnie były zamieszkane wyłącznie przez eremitów, którzy poszukiwali, podobnie jak ich egipscy i syryjscy współbracia samotności i takich warunków, w których mogli by doznać jak najwięcej udręczeń. Oczywiście, że egzystować mogli tylko dzięki pomocy pobożnych współwyznawców w stolicy. Natomiast na kilku większych wysepkach, zaopatrzonych w wodę, a dzięki temu i w pewną roślinność, rozsiadły się liczne klasztory. Ale i one mogły utrzymać się przy życiu jedynie dzięki fundacjom jakie otrzymywały i dzięki temu że były bogate lub miały bogatych protektorów. Wszystko co im było potrzebne, a przede wszystkim żywność, przywożono im ze stolicy, najczęściej zresztą rozporządzały własnymi stateczkami.

Zesłanie na wyspy uchodziło za najłagodniejszą formę tej kary; przede wszystkim, jak było wspomniane wyżej, omijały skazańca straszne perypetie pieszej wędrówki do miejsca przeznaczenia, podczas gdy droga wodna była łatwa, krótka i nieuciążliwa. Klimat tych wysp jest łagodny, nasłonecznienie w każdej porze roku duże, odpadały więc przykrości związane z brakiem opału czy też ciepłej odzieży. Lecz największym atutem tych miejsc była dla wygnańca ich bliskość od stolicy, dzięki czemu kontakt z przyjaciółmi czy rodziną nie był całkowicie i nieodwołalnie zerwany. Można było przy odrobinie szczęścia otrzymać jakąś przesyłkę czy zasiłek pieniężny a wiadomości o tym co się dzieje w świecie docierały stale przez załogę statków, które przywoziły żywność. Zesłaniec nie był tak całkowicie wyobcowany jak jego towarzysze niedoli zesłani na kresy Azji Mniejszej, przebywał w dalszym ciągu we własnym kraju.

Na kresy państwa deportowani byli ci, których się chciano pozbyć raz na zawsze, natomiast na wyspy skazywano tych, którzy byli niewygodni, którzy przedstawiali potencjalnie jakieś niebezpieczeństwo i których należało mieć na oku. Tak np. cesarz Konstantyn Kopronymos zesłał na Prokonesos Św. Stefana Mł., eremitę z okolic Nikomedii, który był zagorzałym ikonofilem i cieszył się ogromną popularnością wśród swoich współwyznawców. Zesłaniec został umieszczony w klasztorze, którego przeor otrzymał nakaz by go traktował surowo i ściśle nadzorował. Ale tak przeor jak i mnisi klasztoru podzielali najwyraźniej poglądy religijne św. Stefana, gdyż nie tylko sami otaczali go tłumnie ale dopuszczali do niego wszystkich jego wielbicieli, którzy gromadnie przybywali z Konstantynopola [14].

[14] Migne, *PG*, «Vita Sti Stephanis Junioris», vol. 100, c. 1076-1196.

Nie wydaje się aby na wyspach istniały więzienia. Ich funkcje w pewnym sensie pełniły klasztory, a to tym więcej, że wielki odsetek zesłańców stanowili duchowni i kobiety. Kobiet nie osadzano nigdy w więzieniach i nie deportowano nigdy na kresy, dlatego by nie narażać je na brutalność konwojentów i więziennych dozorców, nie byłyby też w stanie znieść trudów tak długiej podróży. Natomiast spotykamy je często na zesłaniu w klasztorach, bądź to w jakimś prowincjonalnym mieście cesarstwa, bądź też — co zdarzało się znacznie częściej — na wyspach archipelagu Marmara. W klasztorze na Prinkipo spędziła całe swoje życie i zapewne zmarła Eufrozyna, której jedynym przestępstwem było to, że urodziła się córką cesarza Konstantyna VI i miała prawa do tronu [15]. W klasztorze na Prinkipo zmarła również na zesłaniu jej matka, pierwsza żona Konstantyna VI [16]. Również na Prinkipo a później na Mitylenie (Lesbos) przebywała i zmarła, podobno z nędzy i głodu, słynna cesarzowa Irena [17].

Wbrew temu co się nieraz myśli ucieczka z tych wysepek była bardzo trudna: przede wszystkim na tak małej przestrzeni wszyscy mieszkańcy doskonale się znali. Nowy przybysz wzbudzał zaciekawienie i był obserwowany. Ukrycie więc jakichkolwiek przygotowań do ucieczki było bardzo trudne. Co najmniej do połowy VII w. nawigacja była skrupulatnie kontrolowana przez urzędy morskie. Nie tylko porty ale zwykłe przystanie a nawet poprostu miejsca do których mogłaby przybić barka lub jakaś łódź, znajdowały się pod ścisłym nadzorem policji morskiej.

Należy teraz zadać sobie pytanie na czym polegały te «formy» zesłania w Bizancjum i jaka była ich specyfika?

Przede wszystkim polegały na tym, że zesłaniec polityczny nie tylko nie był zmuszany do żadnej bardziej lub mniej ciężkiej pracy, ale że był jej wogóle pozbawiony. Jak było wspomniane wyżej nikt w jego miejscu zesłania nie odważył by się go zatrudnić, a że jednocześnie pozbawiony był wszelkich środków do życia, przeto skazany był na nędzę, która go niszczyła pod względem fizycznym. Drugą — może jeszcze bardziej dotkliwą udręką — było nie tylko oderwanie go od dotychczasowego środowiska, ale kompletna izolacja, całkowite osamotnienie. Był — żeby tak się wyrazić — absolutnie sam wśród ludzi. Nie miał bowiem towarzyszy niedoli a ludność miejscowa lękała się jakichkolwiek z nim

[15] Constantin évêque d'Irenopolis, Ἡ Πρίγκηπος, Ὀρθοδοξία (1959), II, 162-166.

[16] Constantin évêque d'Irenopolis, Ἡ μεγάλη μονὴ τῆς Πριγκήπου, Ὀρθοδοξία (1956), pp. 285-287.

[17] Constantin évêque d'Irenopolis, Ὀρθοδοξία (1956), pp. 285-287.

kontaktów. Do tych udręk przyłączała się inna, jeszcze gorsza: przymusowa bezczynność i niemożność zaspokojenia jakichkolwiek potrzeb umysłowych. To tłumaczy czemu ci ludzie częstokroć o wybitnej inteligencji i gruntownym wykształceniu nie wywarli żadnego wpływu na życie tych opuszczonych, na poły dzikich połaci kraju, w których spędzili tyle długich i ciężkich lat.

Uniwersytet Łódzki

Die Testamente des Abtes Gregor von San Filippo di Fragalà

VERA VON FALKENHAUSEN

Die Ruine des ehemals griechischen Klosters San Filippo di Fragalà liegt im Nord-Osten Siziliens (Provinz Messina) an den Hängen des Monte Crasto, etwa 20 km südlich von Capo Orlando, zwischen den Ortschaften Mirto und Frazzanò [1]. In den mittelalterlichen Quellen läuft das Kloster unter den Namen Ἅγιος Φίλιππος τοῦ Μελιτύρου [2] oder τῶν Δεμέννων bzw. ἐν τοῖς Δεμέννοις [3], wobei sich ersterer auf den unmittelbaren Standort der Klostergebäude bezieht [4], letzterer dagegen auf die das nord-östliche Sizilien umfassende Provinz Val Demone. Über die Identität des Klosterpatrons scheint schon im Mittelalter eine gewisse Unklarheit geherrscht zu haben: nach einigen Zeugnissen des ausgehenden 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhunderts war das Kloster dem Apostel Philippus geweiht, der am 14. November gefeiert wird [5], nach anderen — gleichzeitigen — Urkunden dagegen dem heiligen Philippus von Argira, einem lokalen, in Sizilien und Kalabrien hoch verehrten Wundertäter, dessen Fest auf den 12. Mai fällt [6]. Über Gründung und Frühzeit des

[1] A. Salinas, »Escursioni archeologiche, III. Il monastero di San Filippo di Fragalà«, *Archivio stor. siciliano* 12 (1887): 385-393; C. Filangeri, »Monasteri basiliani di Sicilia«, in *Mostra dei codici e dei monumenti basiliani siciliani (Messina, 3-6 dicembre 1979)* (Palermo, 1980), S. 36-54.

[2] S. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Palermo, 1868), S. 383, 385f., 394, 409; E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1848), S. 396ff.

[3] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 386, 387, 389, 391, 393, 394, 396, 400, 406, 409, 414, 422; R. Cantarella, *Codex Messanensis Graecus 105. Testo inedito con introduzione, indici e glossario* [R. Deput. di Storia Patria per la Sicilia] (Palermo, 1937), S. 32-37, et passim.

[4] Heute Limitirò < μελιτηρός: G. Alessio, »L'elemento greco nella toponomastica della Sicilia«, *Bollettino del Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* 3 (1955): 234.

[5] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 383: μονὴν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου.

[6] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 400: τοῦ καθηγουμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀργυρίου τῶν Δεμέννων; C. Pasini, *Vita di S. Filippo d'Agira attribuita al monaco Eusebio* [Orientalia Christ. Analecta 214] (Roma, 1981).

Klosters ist nichts überliefert; es steht allerdings fest, daß es schon während der arabischen Herrschaft bestanden hat, denn der erste namentlich bekannte Abt, Gregor, der in jungen Jahren in San Filippo Mönch wurde, schreibt 1096/97 in seinem Testament, daß er dort viel erduldet habe ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν [7].

Nach der normannischen Eroberung erlebte das Kloster unter dem genannten Abt Gregor einen gewaltigen Aufschwung: Graf Roger I., der, sei es aus persönlicher Frömmigkeit, sei es aus Gründen der politischen Opportunität, die griechischen Kirchen und Klöster Siziliens und Kalabriens unterstützte, um unter den einheimischen Christen Bundesgenossen für den Kampf gegen die Araber zu gewinnen, erließ ab 1090 auch Privilegien zugunsten von San Filippo di Fragalà [8]. Mit seiner politischen Protektion und finanziellen Hilfe konnte Abt Gregor die Hauptkirche und daneben eine Michaelskirche, die Zellen für die Mönche und die Verteidigungsbauten des Klosters errichten [9]. Allerdings findet sich an dem heutigen Bau, der im 18. Jahrhundert vollständig renoviert wurde, von den mittelalterlichen Strukturen kaum noch eine Spur [10]. Die Glanzzeit des Klosters fällt in die Jahre kurz nach Rogers I. Tod, als während der Vormundschaftsregierung seiner Witwe Adelasia für die minderjährigen Söhne Simon (1101-1105) und Roger II. (1105-1112) der normannische Hof hauptsächlich in Ostsizilien, in Messina oder in dem San Filippo benachbarten San Marco d'Alunzio, residierte. Damals flossen dem Kloster nicht nur von Seiten der Regentin zahlreiche Schenkungen zu, sondern auch von Seiten einiger in der Nähe begüterter normannischer Feudalherren, wie Eleazar Mallabret oder der Brüder Matthäus und Hugo de Craon [11]. Außerdem erfreute sich Abt Gregor der Protektion einiger hoher Verwaltungsbeamter griechischer Herkunft, z.B. der des Logotheten Leo, des Notars — später Admirals — Eugenios

[7] Siehe Anhang, Zeile 6.

[8] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 383-394. Kaum eine dieser Urkunden ist im Original erhalten, da ein großer Teil der frühnormannischen Privilegien auf Papier geschrieben wurde und oft schon nach wenigen Jahren erneuert werden mußte; einige der Rogerurkunden sind vermutlich gefälscht oder zumindest interpoliert, aber trotz der fragwürdigen Authentizität einiger Stücke besteht kein Grund daran zu zweifeln, daß der normannische Graf das Kloster tatkräftig gefördert hat.

[9] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 396f.

[10] Filangeri, *Monasteri basiliani*, S. 41ff.

[11] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 411-415; L.-R. Ménager, »Inventaire des familles normandes et franques emigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XI^{e}-XII^{e} siècles)«, in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo. Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle Prime Giornate normanno-sveve (Bari, maggio 1973)* (Roma, 1975), S. 369f.

und des Kämmerers (καπριλίγγας) und Mystolekten Nikolaos [12]. Sichtbarer Beweis der Prosperität waren neun Metochia, die San Filippo 1105 unterstanden [13].

In den Zwanziger Jahren wird es stiller um das Kloster, vielleicht weil es mit der Verlegung des Hofes nach Palermo für die Äbte schwieriger geworden war, ihre Wünsche an den Herrscher heranzutragen. Allerdings sind aus dieser Zeit, in der Roger II. im wesentlichen von seiner expansiven Italien- und Königspolitik absorbiert war, kaum Privilegien für sizilianische Klöster erhalten. 1133 unterstellte König Roger San Filippo als μοναστήριον κεφαλικὸν καὶ αὐτοδέσποτον — also nicht als Metochion, sondern als ein Kloster, das unter der Leitung eines eigenen Abtes eine gewisse Selbständigkeit behielt — zusammen mit zwölf weiteren griechischen Klöstern in Sizilien und drei in Kalabrien dem neugegründeten königlichen Archimandritat San Salvatore in Messina [14]. Gelegentliche königliche Schenkungen und Interventionen bezeugen, daß San Filippo trotz des Verlustes seiner Autonomie auch im späten 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert noch nicht ganz in Vergessenheit geraten war, und daß seine Äbte bei Hof noch etwas zu erreichen vermochten [15]. Ein langsamer Niedergang wird wie in den meisten griechischen Klöstern Siziliens etwa in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts eingesetzt haben, als die sizilianische Oberschicht im wesentlichen latinisiert war, so daß die griechischen Kirchen und Klöster weder geeigneten Nachwuchs fanden, der ihren Besitz hätte vermehren, verteidigen und sinnvoll verwalten

[12] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 399f.; G. Cozza-Luzi, »Del testamento dell'abate fondatore di Demenna«, *Archivio stor. siciliano* 15 (1890): 35-39; V. von Falkenhausen, »I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia«, in *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, a cura di G. Rossetti (Bologna, 1977), S. 352-354. — Was den Kämmerer Nikolaos angeht, so wird er in T^3 μυστολέκτης genannt, wie Cozza-Luzi richtig gelesen hat (S. 38), während Cusa (S. 401) μυστόλογος liest und C. A. Garufi, »Censimento e catasto della popolazione servile. Nuovi studi e ricerche sull'ordinamento amministrativo dei Normanni in Sicilia nei secoli XI e XII«, *Archivio stor. siciliano* 49 (1928): 32-36, die Lesung μυστόκλετος vorschlägt. Aber das Amt des μυστολέκτης, das im wesentlichen Juristen vorbehalten war, ist im 11. Jahrhundert in Byzanz gut belegt (R. Guilland, »Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Le mystique, ὁ μυστικός«, *Revue des études byzantines* 26 [1968]: 288 ff.; N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* [Paris, 1972], S. 325, Anm. 223; V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin, II: L'administration centrale* [Paris, 1981], S. 70-76), kann also leicht im normannischen Sizilien imitiert worden sein.

[13] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 397, 401; Cozza-Luzi, *Del testamento*, 38.

[14] Der nur abschriftlich erhaltene griechische Text (cod.Vat.Lat. 8201, f. 130r-132v) ist noch unediert; die bei R. Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, vol. 2, (Palermo, 1733³), S. 974-976, veröffentlichte lateinische Übersetzung enthält zahlreiche Fehler und Interpolationen.

[15] Cusa, *I diplomi*, 421-434, 438-456; G. Silvestri, *Tabulario di San Filippo di Fragalà e Santa Maria di Maniaci. Parte I: pergamene latine* (Palermo, 1887), Nr. 1, S. 1-3, Nr. 2, S. 4-9, Nr. 30 a, c, g, S. 102ff., 106ff., 111.

können, noch interessierte Gönner bei Hof. Nach den Visitationsberichten der Archimandriten von San Salvatore aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts besaß San Filippo 1329 nur noch zwei der ehemals neun Metochia, aber mit dem Besitz einer Walkmühle und zweier weiterer Wassermühlen, Einnahmen aus Grundbesitz und Marktrechten und einem Viehbestand von immerhin 500 Ziegen und Schafen, 13 Ochsen und fünf Eseln [16] stand es wirtschaftlich besser da als viele andere griechische Klöster Siziliens in diesen Jahren. Für 1334 und 1336 wird vermerkt, daß Abt Johannes in königlichem Auftrag in die 'Romania' gereist sei [17]. Aber dann scheint der Verfall nicht mehr aufzuhalten gewesen zu sein: 1490 wurde das Kloster von Papst Innozenz VIII. dem 'Ospedale Grande' in Palermo unterstellt [18], und sieben Jahre danach erlaubte Papst Alexander VI., die Basilianermönche durch Benediktiner zu ersetzen, denn »quasi impossibile est, monachos ordinis sancti Basilii hujusmodi, qui bone, honeste et exemplaris vite ... existant, ad praesens reperire« [19]. Die erhaltenen Urkunden von San Filippo liegen heute größten Teils unter der Signatur 'Tabulario dell'Ospedale Grande' im Staatsarchiv von Palermo, wohin sie nach der Säkularisation im Jahre 1866 überführt wurden.

Die vergleichsweise gut dokumentierte Geschichte von San Filippo di Fragalà bietet zahlreiche Ansatzpunkte zu Untersuchungen über das griechische Mönchtum im mittelalterlichen Sizilien; hier soll jedoch nur auf eine Episode aus der Frühgeschichte des Klosters eingegangen werden, und zwar auf die Nachfolgeregelung des schon genannten Abtes Gregor, von dem drei Testamente erhalten sind, die hier der Einfachheit halber T^1, T^2 und T^3 genannt werden. Das erste, bisher unbekannte Testament (T^1), das im Anhang zu diesem Artikel veröffentlicht wird, stammt aus dem Jahre 1096/97. Es liegt nicht wie die übrigen Urkunden des Fonds von San Filippo di Fragalà im Staatsarchiv von Palermo, sondern als Einzelstück im 'Fondo pergamenaceo. Archivio privato

[16] Cantarella, *Codex Mess. Graecus 105*, S. 34. Im Jahre 1168 waren es 2000 Schafe, 200 Kühe, 100 Maultiere und 500 Schweine: Silvestri, *Tabulario*, Nr. 30c, S. 106f.

[17] Cantarella, *Codex Mess. Graecus 105*, S. 122, 156. Nach den lateinischen, von Silvestri, *Tabulario*, Nr. 10-16, S. 34-56, veröffentlichten Urkunden war zwischen 1335 und 1342 Abt von San Filippo ein gewisser Annichius Longus; dieser vermeintliche Widerspruch könnte sich mit der Hypothese, daß Annichius eine Kurzform von Joannikios ist, lösen, denn der Familienname des in den Visitationsberichten genannten Abtes Johannes ist Μακρός (= *longus*): Cantarella, *Codex Mess. Graecus 105*, S. 156-158.

[18] Silvestri, *Tabulario*, Nr. 36, S. 137-140.

[19] Silvestri, *Tabulario*, Nr. 38, S. 149.

Raddusa', der im Staatsarchiv von Catania deponiert ist[20]. Nach der Überschrift Γρηγόριος εὐτελὴς μοναχὸς, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος, καθηγούμενος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φιλίππου τοῦ ἐν Δεμέννοις (von der Hand des Schreibers) gibt Abt Gregor eine kurze Darstellung seines Lebens seit dem Eintritt ins Kloster: er hatte schon in frühester Jugend der Welt entsagt und war in dem damals ganz verlassenen Kloster San Filippo Mönch geworden, wo er von Seiten der damals regierenden Sarazenen viel hatte erdulden müssen (Zeile 2-6). Später, das heißt nach der normannischen Eroberung Siziliens, war es ihm mit Hilfe des Grafen (Rogers I., der 1096/97 noch lebte) gelungen, das Kloster zu erweitern, Kirchen und Wohngebäude zu bauen, und Grundbesitz zum Unterhalt von Mönchen und Gästen zu erwerben (Zeile 6-10). Er gab seinen Mönchen eine Regel (κανών), die er nicht nach eigenem Gutdünken, sondern in der Nachfolge der Väter verfaßt hatte. Auf zwei Punkte der Regel, die das Fasten und die Heiligung von Sonn- und Feiertagen betreffen, wird im Testament ausführlich eingegangen: die Mönche dürfen überhaupt kein Fleisch essen und sollen außer der großen Tessarakoste das Advents- und das Apostelfasten einhalten, ebenso wie das allwöchentliche Mittwochs- und Freitagsfasten. Als Feiertage, die mit Psalmieren und absoluter Arbeitsruhe begangen werden sollen, gelten die vierzehn Festtage des Kirchenjahrs, die Apostel- und Marienfeste und die Gedenktage der wichtigsten Heiligen (Zeile 6-17). Alt und schwach geworden, macht Abt Gregor jetzt sein Testament. Nach dem Vorbild von Theodoros Studites und anderer heiliger Väter hat er eine Versammlung der Mönche einberufen und seinen Jünger, den Priestermönch Blasios, der von klein auf im Kloster lebt, zu seinem Nachfolger erwählt. Blasios solle die ihm anvertraute Herde als ein guter Hirte betreuen, wird einigermaßen wortreich ausgeführt; er solle die Postulanten nach einem dreijährigen Noviziat zu Mönchen scheren, die Klostergemeinde nach Möglichkeit vergrößern und die Klosterregel einhalten. Die Mönche ihrerseits sollen dem Abt gehorchen, nicht über ihn murren oder sich gegen ihn verschwören. In einer

[20] Ich danke dem Direktor des Staatsarchivs von Catania, Professor G. Nigro, und seinen Mitarbeitern, die meine Arbeit mit großzügiger Hilfsbereitschaft unterstützt haben. — Schon L.-R. Ménager hatte die Urkunde in Catania eingesehen, sie jedoch, erstaunlicherweise, für den zweiten Teil des zweiten Testaments von Abt Gregor vom Mai 1105 (T^2) gehalten: L. R. Ménager, *Amiratus* — ἀμηρᾶς. *L'émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1960), S. 27, Anm. 2: »Original, composé de deux parchemins aujourd'hui détachés, dont le premier est conservé à Palerme, Archivio di Stato, Ospedale Grande di Palermo, Abbazie di San Filippo di Fragalà e Santa Maria di Maniace, perg. 8, et le second à Catane, Archivio Provinciale, Fondo Raddusa, n. 22«.

Randnotiz — vielleicht von anderer Hand — wird den Mönchen untersagt, privates Eigentum zu besitzen (Zeile 17-42). Wer das Testament, das Gregor im Vollbesitz seiner geistigen Kräfte verfaßt hat, nicht respektiert, soll verflucht werden (Zeile 44-46). Als Schreiber der Urkunde zeichnet Lukas ἐπίσκοπος Σύλων (Zeile 47). Nach dem Datum wird in einer kurzen Zusatznotiz darauf hingewiesen, daß die Kirche des heiligen Nikolaus τοῦ Καστέλλου nicht vom Hauptkloster getrennt werden dürfe (Zeile 48)[21]. Die Namen von sechs Zeugen, die alle von derselben Hand, aber nicht von Bischof Lukas geschrieben sind, beschließen den Urkundentext (Zeile 49-50).

Abt Gregors Testament weist weder in Aufbau und Stil noch im Inhalt bemerkenswerte Eigenheiten gegenüber anderen griechischen Abtstestamenten des Mittelalters auf. Daß der Klostergründer oder -neugründer seinem Testament einen Lebenslauf voranstellt, in dem er besonders sein segenreiches Wirken für das Kloster hervorhebt, ist die Regel[22]. Ebenso gehören die zitierten Bibelverse ins gängige geistliche Zitatenrepertoire der Zeit: Psalm 88,49 »Wo ist jemand, der da lebt und den Tod nicht sähe ...?« ist — fast könnte man sagen — ein fester Bestandteil der Einleitung byzantinischer Testamente, und zwar sowohl geistlicher als auch weltlicher[23]. Das Wort aus dem Hebräerbrief 13, 17 »Gehorchet euren Lehrern und folget ihnen ...« wird auch im Typikon des Euergetes-Kloster in Konstantinopel zitiert, das aus der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts stammt[24]. In demselben Typikon wird auch wie in Gregors Testament mehrfach mit dem nahe liegenden Vergleichspaar Abt-Hirte und Mönche-Herde gespielt[25].

[21] Es handelt sich um das Metochion S. Nicola di Scala in Palaiokastron, südlich von Alcara li Fusi, das Roger I. im Dezember 1094 San Filippo geschenkt hatte: Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 389f.; Filangeri, *Monasteri basiliani*, S. 62, Karte auf S. 55.

[22] K. A. Manaphes, Μοναστηριακὰ τυπικά - διαθῆκαι [»Ἀθηνᾶ«. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπιστημονικῆς ἑταιρείας, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων 7] (Athen, 1970), S. 148, 150-152, 154, 158, 163.

[23] K. Sathas, Παράρτημα, Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 6 (Venedig, 1877), Nr. 22, S. 634; G. Ferrari, »Formulari notarili inediti dell'età bizantina«, *Bullettino dell'Istituto stor. ital.* 33 (1913): 51; R. Browning, *Notes on Byzantine Prooimia* [Wiener byzant. Studien, I, Supplement] (Wien, 1966), Nr. 30, S. 22-24; G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of S. Elias and S. Anastasius of Carbone* [Orientalia Christiana, 15, 2] (Roma, 1929), Nr. II-54, S. 138; F. Miklosich — J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 6 (Vindebonae, 1890), 81; S. G. Mercati — C. Giannelli — A. Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès (1054-1264)* [Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile. Recherches d'histoire et de géographie 5] (Città del Vaticano, 1980), Nr. 14, S. 102, Nr. 41, S. 212; Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 351.

[24] P. Gautier, »Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis«, *Revue des études byzantines* 40 (1982): 59.

[25] P. Gautier, »Le typikon«, S. 57, 59, 65.

Die im Testament erwähnten Bestimmungen aus dem Klosterreglement entsprechen gleichfalls der damaligen byzantinischen Norm: das gilt für das dreijährige Noviziat, die Gehorsamspflicht gegenüber dem Abt und die Besitzlosigkeit der Mönche nach dem Eintritt ins Kloster [26] ebenso wie für die Fastengebote, die sich mit den im Testament des heiligen Paulos vom Berge Latros aufgezeichneten decken und anscheinend der um die Wende vom 11. zum 12. Jahrhundert in Konstantinopel gültigen Ordnung folgen [27]. Wenn Abt Gregor den Priestermönch Blasios zu seinem Nachfolger ernennt, so macht er nur von einem seiner Rechte als κτήτωρ Gebrauch. Seit dem beginnenden 6. Jahrhundert sind nämlich griechische Testamente bekannt, durch die der sterbende Abt, der sich als Eigentümer des Klosters betrachtet, seinem Nachfolger die Abtswürde zugleich mit dem Besitz des Klosters vermacht [28], und zahlreiche spätere Urkundenbeispiele belegen die Kontinuität dieses Brauches in mittel- und spätbyzantinischer Zeit [29]; vermutlich besonders in kleinen Klöstern, wo es für die wenigen Mönche schwieriger war, sich gegen den Willen ihres Abtes durchzusetzen.

Abt Gregor hat sein Testament weder selber geschrieben noch unterschrieben. Das ist nicht weiter erstaunlich, denn eigenhändige Unterschriften wie die des Christodulos vom Johannes-Kloster in Patmos unter Testament und Kodikellos [30] sind relativ selten. Die meisten Abtstestamente aus Süditalien — soweit sie überhaupt unterzeichnet sind — tragen nur die Unterschriften des Schreibers und der Zeugen [31]. Lukas, ἐπίσκοπος Σύλων, der im Mai 1105 auch die beiden späteren

[26] P. De Meester, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam Byzantinam*, [Sacra congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale. Codificazione can. orient. Fonti, ser. II, fasc. X] (Città del Vaticano, 1943), S. 356ff., 376-379.

[27] »Διαθήκη Παύλου τοῦ Λατρηνοῦ«, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 12 (1915): 201f., K. Holl, *Die Entstehung der vier Fastenzeiten in der griechischen Kirche* [Abh. der preuss. AW, Jhg. 1923, phil.-hist. Kl., No. 5] (Berlin, 1924), S. 38.

[28] A. Steinwenter, »Byzantinische Mönchstestamente«, *Aegyptus* 12 (1932): 60-63; M. Krause, »Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben«, *Mitteilg. des Deutschen Arch. Instituts. Abtg. Kairo* 25 (1969): 57-67.

[29] Manaphes, Μοναστηριακὰ τυπικὰ-διαθῆκαι, S. 126-128.

[30] Miklosich—Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 6, S. 84ff., 89; E.L. Branouse, Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου, ἱδρυτοῦ τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς. Φιλολογικὴ παράδοσις καὶ ἱστορικαὶ μαρτυρίαι (Athen, 1966), S. 27f.

[31] G. Ferrari, *I documenti greci medioevali di diritto privato dell'Italia meridionale e loro attinenze con quelli bizantini d'Oriente e coi papiri greco-egizii* [Byz. Archiv 4] (Leipzig 1910), S. 109; Robinson, *Carbone*, S. 144, 170; Mercati—Giannelli—Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès*, Nr. 5, S. 68, Nr. 14, S. 103. In dem heute verlorenen Testament des Abtes Gerasimos von SS. Pietro e Paolo di Spanopetro aus dem frühen 12. Jahrhundert fehlen sowohl der Name des Schreibers als auch die Zeugenunterschriften: B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Parisiis, 1708), S. 403-407.

Testamente Abt Gregors schrieb, ist von Bruno Lavagnini mit dem bekannten Bischof Lukas von Isola Capo Rizzuto in Kalabrien identifiziert worden, der in seiner Heimat als Heiliger verehrt wird[32]. In der Unterschrift von T^2 nennt er sich γραμματικός[33], und tatsächlich schreibt er sehr gewandt und flüssig und fast ohne orthographische und grammatische Fehler. In seiner *Vita* heißt es, daß er in Sizilien gepredigt und Priester geweiht habe[34]. Aus den Daten der von ihm geschriebenen Testamente kann man schließen, daß Lukas entweder sehr lange — mindestens acht Jahre lang — in Sizilien gewirkt hat, oder daß seine Beziehungen zum Abt von San Filippo di Fragalà so eng waren, daß er ihn auch nach seiner Rückkehr nach Kalabrien hin und wieder in Sizilien besucht hat. Lukas' Diözese wird in den italienischen Quellen der Zeit normalerweise τὰ Ἄσυλα genannt[35], und im Mai 1105 beschließt der Bischof eigenhändig den Text von T^3 mit den Worten, das Testament sei παρὰ Λουκᾶ ἐπισκόπου Ἀσύλων geschrieben worden[36]. Beruht die Form ἐπισκόπου Σύλων, die Lukas in T^1 gebraucht, auf einem Schreibfehler, oder kann man sie auf eine Namensform Σύλα zurückführen, die vielleicht mit dem heutigen Toponym Sila in Verbindung zu bringen wäre?[37]

Nach einer achtjährigen Periode als offiziell designierter Nachfolger entschloß sich der Mönch Blasios 1105 dazu, eine Pilgerfahrt nach Jerusalem zu unternehmen. Eine Wallfahrt ins Heilige Land bedeutete seit der Spätantike die Krönung eines byzantinischen Mönchslebens,

[32] B. Lavagnini, »S. Luca, vescovo di Isola, e la data del suo viaggio in Sicilia (1105)«, *Byzantion* 34 (1964): 69-76; abgedruckt in idem, *Atakta. Scritti minori di filologia classica, bizantina e neogreca* (Palermo, 1978), S. 654-662.

[33] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 400. Auch in einem Kommemorationsvermerk im cod. Messan. Gr. 103 wird er so genannt: *Vita di S. Luca, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, testo e traduzione a cura di G. Schirò [Istituto sic. di studi biz. e neogreci. Testi 2] (Palermo, 1954), S. 1, Anm. 1.

[34] *Vita di S. Luca*, S. 90. Damals war ihm wohl auch das Kloster St. Konstantin in Maletto (Erzdiözese Messina) geschenkt worden: V. von Falkenhausen, »I monasteri greci dell'Italia meridionale e della Sicilia dopo l'avvento dei Normanni: continuità e mutamenti«, in *Il passaggio dal dominio bizantino allo Stato normanno nell'Italia meridionale. Atti del secondo Convegno intern. di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medioevale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (Taranto-Mottola, 1973)* (Taranto, 1977), S. 216, Anm. 69.

[35] Vita di S. Luca, S. 86; G. Garitte, »Deux manuscrits italo-grecs«, in *Miscellanea G. Mercati* [Studi e Testi 123] (Roma, 1946), S. 34; F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum* (Neapoli, 1865), Nr. 106, S. 140, Nr. 111, S. 146, Nr. 292, S. 407.

[36] Cozza-Luzi, *Del testamento*, S. 39.

[37] G. Rohlfs, *Dizionario toponomastico e onomastico della Calabria* (Ravenna, 1974), S. 142, leitet den Namen der Stadt Isola von ἀήσυλος = 'kriminell' ab, während der Name Sila »apparentato al greco ὕλη 'selva'« sei: ibidem, 322. J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), notice 7, Zeile 677, not. 9, Z. 448, not. 10, Z. 658, not. 13, Z. 725, gebraucht regelmäßig die Form Ἀείσυλα.

und in dem Drang, an den heiligen Stätten der Christenheit zu beten, standen die süditalienischen Mönche denen aus anderen, weniger entlegenen Reichsteilen nicht nach. Der heilige Sabas der Jüngere erreichte sein Ziel nur nur in einer Vision[38], aber im Jahre 1058/59 verließ z.B. Abt Lukas II. von S. Anastasio di Carbone sein Kloster in der Basilicata, um nach Jerusalem zu pilgern[39]. Mit dem ersten Kreuzzug, bei dem die süditalienischen Normannen eine entscheidende Rolle spielten, nahmen diese Wallfahrten vermutlich noch zu: am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts war der Mönch Pankratios von St. Johannes Theristes bei Stilo in Kalabrien sogar dazu bereit, in einem Prozeß um den Besitz eines Grundstückes zu Ungunsten seines Klosters auszusagen, weil die Gegenpartei ihm eine kostenlose Reise nach Jerusalem versprochen hatte[40]. Um 1123 gab die Nonne Aloysia ihr Amt als Äbtissin des Bartholomäus-Klosters in Tarent, der Stadt Boemunds, auf, um ihren Lebensabend im Heiligen Land zu verbringen[41].

Blasios' Aufbruch zwang Abt Gregor dazu, ein neues Testament aufzusetzen[42]. Der erste Teil von T^2, Gregors Biographie, die Bestimmungen der Klosterregel, die Einsetzung des Nachfolgers (ἀφηγούμενος) und die Betrachtungen über dessen Pflichten, entsprechen in langen Passagen wörtlich dem Text des älteren Testaments, so daß man einige zerstörte Stellen in T^1 nach T^2 ergänzen kann (Zeile 26-27). Allerdings wird, abgesehen von einigen stilistischen Korrekturen, auch der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung von San Filippo in den letzten Jahren Rechnung getragen: in dem Bericht über die Bautätigkeit Gregors und die Expansion des Klosters werden acht neue Metochia erwähnt, die der Abt zwischen 1096/97 und 1105 gegründet oder erworben hatte. Im Zusammenhang mit der Klosterregel enthält der Text einige unwesentliche Modifikationen: Gregor bezieht sich jetzt nicht allein auf den κανών des Theodoros Studites, sondern auch auf den Basileios' des Großen; außerdem wurde die Randnotiz über die Besitzlosigkeit der Mönche in den Haupttext aufgenommen. Dieser wiederholende Teil, der ungefähr zwei Drittel des Textes ausmacht, läßt erkennen, daß T^2 das vorausgegangene Testament ersetzen und damit ungültig machen sollte;

[38] *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii iuniorum e Sicilia auctore Oreste patriarcha Hierosolymitano*, ed. G. Cozza-Luzi (Roma, 1893), S. 59-61.

[39] Robinson, *Carbone*, Nr. 7, S. 169.

[40] Mercati—Giannelli—Guillou, Saint-Jean-Théristès, Nr. 3, S. 55.

[41] Robinson, *Carbone*, S. 258f. Das Typikon von San Salvatore in Messina aus dem Jahre 1132/33 schreibt ausdrücklich vor, daß kein Mönch ohne die Erlaubnis seines Abtes ins Heilige Land ziehen dürfe: S.G. Mercati, »Sul tipico del monastero di S. Bartolomeo di Trigona«, *Archivio stor. per la Calabria e Lucania* 8 (1938): 219, Kap. 23.

[42] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 396-400. Die Urkunde liegt im Staatsarchiv von Palermo unter der Signatur: Tabulario dell'Ospedale Grande, perg. 8.

ein Zufall hat die wertlos gewordene ältere Urkunde außerhalb ihrer Archivheimat erhalten.

In dem neuen Teil des zweiten Testamentes kommt dann die Rede auf Blasios' Wunsch, eine Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land zu unternehmen. Abt Gregor gibt seine Zustimmung und präzisiert, daß der ἀφηγούμενος, wenn er, wie versprochen, innerhalb von drei Jahren zurückkehre, seine ποιμαντικὴ ἀξία übernehmen dürfe; andernfalls darf Gregor, wenn er noch lebt, nach Ablauf der Dreijahresfrist einen anderen Nachfolger ernennen; ist er dagegen dann schon tot, so sollen die Mönche einen neuen Abt wählen. Der Schlußteil von T^2 zeigt, daß seit 1096/97 die Beziehungen zwischen San Filippo di Fragalà und dem normannischen Hof noch enger geworden waren: Abt Gregor gedenkt ausdrücklich seiner Wohltäter, des Grafen (Rogers I.), der ἄρχοντες, Nikolaos καπριλίγγας, Leon λογοθέτης und Eugenios, und der Gräfin Adelasia, für die ohne Unterlaß gebetet werden solle. Schließlich werden alle die mit geistlichen Sanktionen bedroht, die es wagen sollten, das Hauptkloster seiner Metochia zu berauben, den von Gregor ernannten Nachfolger abzusetzen oder die Klosterregel umzustoßen; ebenso sollen Gregors Verwandte und Erben verflucht werden, falls sie Ansprüche auf seinen San Filippo geschenkten elterlichen Besitz erhöben.

T^3, erheblich kürzer als die beiden ersten Testamente, stellt wohl eine Art Kodizill zu T^2 dar. Es ist zwar gleichfalls auf Mai 1105 datiert, muß aber nach dem zweiten redigiert worden sein, auf das es mit den Worten μεγάλη διαθήκη Bezug nimmt[43]. Während sich die beiden ersten Testamente im Wesentlichen an die Klostergemeinschaft richten, scheint der Text des dritten Testaments eher für die Außenwelt und die hochmögenden Gönner bestimmt gewesen zu sein. Hier ist nicht mehr die Rede von klösterlicher Disziplin, sondern von der Dankbarkeit gegenüber dem verstorbenen Grafen Roger (τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖνον Ῥωκέριον κόμιτα),[44] seiner Frau Adelasia und ihren Kindern, dem

[43] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 400-402; Cozza-Luzi, *Del testamento*, S. 35-39. Die Urkunde, die aus dem Fonds von San Filippo di Fragalà verschwunden war, gelangte auf Umwegen ins Staatsarchiv von Palermo, wo sie heute unter der Signatur: Pergamene varie, Nr. 73 liegt; eine Photographie befindet sich in dem schon zitierten Aufsatz von B. Lavagnini, siehe Anm. 32.

[44] Soweit ich feststellen konnte, führt der sogenannte Großgraf Roger I. in keiner der wenigen im Original erhaltenen Urkunden zu seinen Lebzeiten den Titel μέγας κόμης oder *magnus comes*: H. Enzensberger, »Cancelleria e documentazione sotto Ruggero I di Sicilia«, in »*Ruggero il Gran Conte e l'inizio dello Stato normanno*«. *Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle Seconde Giornate normanno-sveve (Bari, maggio 1975)* (Roma, 1977), S. 20. In T^3 findet sich wiederholt die Gegenüberstellung von μέγας ἐκεῖνος Ῥωκέριος κόμης und dem νέος κόμης Simon einerseits und dem μικρὸς Ῥωκέριος andererseits. Das entspricht dem byzantinischen Sprachgebrauch, nach dem der Ausdruck μέγας βασιλεύς

jungen Grafen Simon (τοῦ νέου κόμιτος καὶ αὐθέντου Συμεωνίου) und dem kleinen Roger (τοῦ μικροῦ Ῥωκερίου), die ebenso wie Nikolaos, der μυστολέκτης sowohl des verstorbenen als auch des jungen Grafen, das Kloster gefördert und die Kosten für den Bau der namentlich aufgezählten Metochia getragen haben[45]. Gregor betont, daß die genannten Metochia unlösbar mit dem Hauptkloster verbunden seien, und daß er seinen Nachfolger auf Befehl der Gräfin und ihres Sohnes ernannt habe. Offensichtlich will er sich mit der Berufung auf seine gräflichen Protektoren gegenüber der normannischen Verwaltung und vielleicht auch gegenüber dem Bischof absichern. Mit dem Versprechen, unaufhörlich für die hohen Wohltäter zu beten, und Drohungen gegen alle Zuwiderhandelnden, endet das Testament.

Abt Gregor hielt sich nicht an seine Abmachung mit dem Mönch Blasios. Das geht aus einer äußerst ungeschickt formulierten und ungelenk geschriebenen Dorsalnotiz auf T² hervor, die bisher noch nicht gelesen wurde:

† Γρηγορι(ος) καθηγοῦμε(νος) μονης του ἁγίου Φιλ(ί)ππ(ου) ἐκδεχθην τοῦ ἀνηψιου μου ἕως Γ̄ ἔτη (καὶ) οὐκ ηλθ(εν)· (καὶ) ἀρτίως ἔφθασα εἰς τὰς πύλας τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἀντὶ ἐκεῖνω ἔβαλα τοῦ ανηψιου μου τοῦ κυροῦ Γρηγορίου[45a] ἵνα ἔχει ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια ὅλα ὅσα ἐστιν γεγραμμένα εἰς τὴν διατύπωσιν ταύτην. (Καὶ) ὅστις δ᾽ἄν θέλη εἶναι εἰς τὴν μονην, ἵνα ἔνε εἰς τὴν εξουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα εχουσιν τὴ[ν] εὐλογίαν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ (καὶ) ἀκοῦσαι τὴν δικαίαν φωνήν· Δεῦτε, οἱ εὐ(λ)ο(γήμενοι) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς μου[46], (καὶ) τὰ ἑξῆς. Καὶ ὅστις θέλη ἐξελθειν, ἵνα μη ἔχει ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια, ἅπερ ἔκτισα, καθὼς ἔστι γεγραμμένα. (Καὶ) ὅστις φανῆ εἴτε μικρὸ(ν) εἴτε

sowohl im Sinne von 'Hauptkaiser' gegenüber den Mitkaisern als auch von 'verstorbenem Kaiser' gebraucht wird, oder aber, um bei Kaisern mit gleichem *praenomen* den älteren von dem jüngeren (νέος oder μικρός) zu unterscheiden: P. Schreiner, »Zur Bezeichnung 'megas' und 'megas basileus' in der byzantinischen Kaisertitulatur«, Βυζαντινά 3 (1971): 175-192. Roger I. ist also vermutlich der Titel μέγας κόμης, den er in später neu ausgefertigten oder auf seinen Namen gefälschten Urkunden führt, erst nach seinem Tode beigegeben worden.

45 Was die Metochia von San Filippo di Fragalà angeht, so besteht eine Unstimmigkeit zwischen den Angaben in T² und T³. Nach T² waren die Kirchen den heiligen Michael, Johannes Prodromos, Philadelphoi, Thalelaios, Nikolaus, Markus, und je zwei der Theotokos und dem Apostel Petrus geweiht. Eine Theotokoskirche und die dem Prodromos geweihte fehlen in der Liste von T³. Vermutlich handelt es sich um ein Versehen; man könnte sich allerdings auch vorstellen, daß Gregors Besitztitel für die beiden in T³ ausgelassenen Kirchen so schwach waren, daß er es vorzog, sie nicht in das für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmte Testament aufzunehmen. Die erhaltenen Urkunden von San Filippo liefern keine Lösung zu diesem Problem.

45a Die Genitive an Stelle der zu erwartenden Akkusative könnten unter dem Einfluß der Endungen auf *-u* | in den süditalienischen Dialekten entstanden sein: cf. A. Jacob, »Une fondation d'hôpital à Andrano en Terre d'Otrante«, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge-Temps modernes* 93 (1981): 689.

46 Matth. 25, 34.

μέγαν ἀντιλέγοντ(α), σχείη τὴν ἀρὰν τῶ(ν) ἁγίων $\overline{\text{ΤΙΗ}}$ π(ατέ)ρων (καὶ) ἡ μερὶς ʹαὐτοῦ μετα τῶ(ν) στ(αυ)ρωσαντ(ων) τῶ(ν) κ(ύρι)ω(ν). Ἐγράφη μη(νὶ) Ιαννου(αρίου) ϊ ἐτ(ει) ͵ςχιεʹ. Und weiter unten, in derselben Schrift: Και ὅστις δ᾽ αν ποιησει μαγία εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππου καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφους ἢ εἰς τὸν ηγού(μενον), ἵνα εχει τὸ ανάθεμ(α).

† »(Ich) Gregor, Abt des Klosters St. Philipp, habe drei Jahre lang auf meinen Neffen gewartet, und er kam nicht. Und jetzt kam ich an die Pforten des Todes und ernannte statt seiner meinen Neffen, Herrn Gregor, daß er Gewalt habe über alle Klöster, die in diesem Testament aufgeschrieben sind. Und wer im Kloster bleiben will, der soll ihm untertan sein, und sie sollen den Segen Gottes haben und die gerechte Stimme hören: 'Kommt her, ihr gesegneten meines Vaters', und so weiter. Und wer weggehen will, der soll keinen Teil an den Klöstern haben, die ich gebaut habe, wie geschrieben ist. Und wer, ob klein oder groß, etwas dagegen einwendet, der soll den Fluch der 318 heiligen Väter haben und sein Los sei mit denen, die den Herrn gekreuzigt haben. Geschrieben am 10. Januar im Jahre 6615 (1107); und wer Zauberei betreibt gegen das Kloster St. Philipp und gegen die Brüder und gegen den Abt, der sei verdammt«.

Diese Notiz ist offensichtlich von Abt Gregor selbst verfaßt worden, der in Anbetracht seines gestörten Verhältnisses zur griechischen Grammatik und Orthographie gut daran getan hat, die offiziellen Testamente von dem sprach- und schreibgewandteren Bischof Lukas aufsetzen zu lassen. Im Januar 1107, ungefähr zehn Jahre nach Ausstellung des ersten Testaments, scheint sich Gregor dem Tode so nah gefühlt zu haben, daß er entgegen seinem Versprechen an Blasios in T^2 und auch entgegen seiner Behauptung in der Notiz selbst, nicht drei Jahre lang auf die Rückkehr des Jerusalempilgers wartete, sondern schon nach zwanzig Monaten einen neuen Nachfolger ernannte. Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang, daß die beiden designierten Nachfolger Gregors Neffen sind, was in den offiziellen Testamenten verschwiegen wird.

Da sich die byzantinischen Äbte, wie schon gesagt, normalerweise als Besitzer der von ihnen gegründeten Klöster betrachteten, war es eine natürliche Konsequenz, daß sie, wenn möglich, versuchten, die Abtswürde mit dem Besitz des Klosters an ein Familienmitglied, meist einen Bruder oder Neffen, zu vererben. Daß weitsichtige Äbte ihre Verwandten entweder aus Prinzip[47], oder weil sie sie für nicht geeignet hielten, von der Nachfolge ausschlossen, ist selten. Zu diesen Aus-

[47] So der koptische Abt des Epiphanius-Klosters bei Theben, der seinen Nachfolgern grundsätzlich verbietet, das Kloster ihren Verwandten zu vermachen: *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 2: *Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*, ed. W. E. Crum (New York, 1932), App. 3, S. 344-348.

nahmen gehört z.B. der schon genannte Abt Christodulos von Patmos, der in seinem Testament von 1093 ausdrücklich erklärt, daß keiner seiner drei Neffen, von denen einer immerhin Mönch und παροικονόμος des Studitenklosters in Konstantinopel war, irgendwelche Rechte auf das Johannes-Kloster geltend machen dürfte[48]. Ja, er verbietet sogar seinem präsumptiven Nachfolger, dem πατριαρχικὸς νοτάριος Theodosios, Verwandte ins Kloster aufzunehmen[49]. Wie tief jedoch das Erbprinzip in der byzantinischen Klostertradition verwurzelt war, geht aus einer süditalienischen Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1050 hervor: Abt Theodor vom Kloster τοῦ κῦρ Ζωσίμου (Cersosimo in der Basilicata) hatte in seinem Testament nicht seinen Bruder, sondern den Priestermönch Theophylakt zum ἐξουσιαστὴς καὶ καθηγούμενος seines Klosters ernannt; der von der Nachfolge ausgeschlossene Bruder Lukas gab daraufhin eine offizielle Verzichtserklärung ab mit der Begründung, er sei aus gesundheitlichen Gründen nicht dazu in der Lage, die Abtswürde und die damit verbundenen Pflichten zu übernehmen[50]. Lukas betrachtete sich also als den legitimen Nachfolger seines Bruders und war es auch in der Sicht seiner Zeitgenossen. Dabei ist nicht einmal gewiß, ob der verstorbene Theodor überhaupt der κτήτωρ war; der Name des Klosters τοῦ κῦρ Ζωσίμου läßt eher auf einen Herrn Zosimos als Gründer schließen.

Die Stifterfunktion war wohl in der Regel die Voraussetzung, aber keinesfalls conditio sine qua non für einen Abt, der sein Kloster einem Verwandten hinterlassen wollte. Als der schon genannte Abt Lukas II. von S. Anastasio di Carbone 1058/59 sein Kloster in der Basilicata verläßt, um ins Heilige Land überzusiedeln, zählt er in seinem Testament seine Vorgänger auf: der Gründer, Lukas Karbounes, hatte das Kloster dem Priestermönch Blasios hinterlassen und der dem Priestermönch Menas; Menas bestimmte seinen Verwandten Theodulos zum Nachfolger, von dem Lukas II. das Kloster übernommen hatte, das er seinerseits seinem Bruder, dem Priestermönch Blasios, vermacht[51]. Zwei von fünf Sukzessionen blieben also sozusagen in der Familie; und vermutlich hatte nicht jeder Abt passende Mönche in seiner engeren Verwandtschaft.

[48] Miklosich–Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 6, S. 83: τοὺς δὲ τρεῖς μου ἀνεψιούς ... ξένους παντάπασι ποιῶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς μάνδρας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν εἷς ἐκ τούτων πότε καιροῦ ἢ χρόνου κινεῖν τι ἢ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν χαριστικάριον καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ διαφερόντων.

[49] Miklosich–Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 6, S. 82f.

[50] Trinchera, *Syllabus*, Nr. 37, S. 45-47.

[51] Robinson, *Carbone*, Nr. VII-56, S. 166-170.

Wir haben es dabei keinesfalls mit einer süditalienischen Sonderentwicklung der byzantinischen Klostertradition zu tun. Im Osten und Westen des Reiches vermachten Väter ihren Söhnen ungehindert Kloster und Abatiat: so der Mönch Gerontios seinem Sohn, dem Mönch Gerasimos, das Kloster der heiligen Marina bei Smyrna [52], während in St. Johannes Theristes bei Stilo mit dem Enkel Pankratios 1102 sogar noch die dritte Generation ans Ruder kam [53]. Diese Praxis wird im 12. Jahrhundert in Ptochoprodromos' Satire auf das —natürlich erfundene — Kloster des Philotheos gegeißelt, in dem Vater und Sohn gleichzeitig Äbte sind [54]. Trotzdem galt auch strengen Asketen das Prinzip der Erblichkeit von Klöstern nicht etwa als anrüchig. Als der heilige Neilos von Rossano von den Mönchen eines Nachbarklosters nach der Flucht des Abtes gebeten wurde, ihnen einen neuen Abt zu geben, entschied er sich für den Bruder des Verschwundenen, obwohl der in der Heiligen Schrift nicht sehr bewandert war [55]. In der sizilianischen Dynastie der heiligen Christophoros, Sabas und Makarios, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts in Kalabrien und der Basilicata einen ausgedehnten Klosterverband aufgebaut hatten und kontrollierten, ging das Amt des »Generalabtes« vom Vater nacheinander auf die beiden Söhne über [56]. Etwa um dieselbe Zeit bestimmte der georgische Adelige Johannes, Mitgründer und Abt des Athos-Klosters Iviron, auf dem Totenbett seinen Sohn Euthymios zum Nachfolger mit der Auflage, bei Ausscheiden oder im Todesfall den Abatiat an einen Verwandten namens Georgios weiterzugeben, was auch pünktlich geschah [57]. Neophytos, Abt des Athosklosters Docheiariou und seit etwa 1118 Protos des Heiligen Berges [58], hatte Kloster und Abtswürde durch

[52] Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, vol. 4, 201-203. Die Urkunde, die nur abschriftlich erhalten ist, wird auf September, Indiktion 8 und das Weltjahr 6700 datiert; da das Datum in sich nicht stimmig ist und einige der Zeugen in den Jahren zwischen 1240 und 1250 mehrfach belegt sind (ibidem, 196f., 205), muß das Weltjahr wohl auf 6743 oder 6758 emendiert werden.

[53] Mercati-Giannelli-Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès*, Nr. 5, S. 65-68.

[54] D.C. Hesseling-H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam, 1910), S. 50, Vers 32-37.

[55] Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου, ed. G. Giovanelli (Grottaferrata, 1972), S. 72f; E. Follieri, »La vita inedita di S. Fantino il giovane nel codice Mosquensis 478«, in *Atti del 4º Congresso storico calabrese* (Napoli, 1969), S. 21f., 26.

[56] *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii iuniorum*, S. 85, 87, 92.

[57] »Vita beati patris nostri Johannis atque Euthymii et oratio de probatis eorum moribus conscripta a pauperculo Georgio presbytero et monacho«, in *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes*, ed. P. Peeters, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 36/37 (1917-1919): 30ff., 63.

[58] *Actes du Prôtaton*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou [Archives de l'Athos 7], (Paris, 1975), S. 133, Anm. 215.

eine Abdankungsurkunde seines Vorgängers und Onkels erlangt [59]. Ein anderer, bekannterer Neophytos, der asketische Klausner auf Zypern, bestimmte in der revidierten Fassung seines Typikons (1214) seinen Neffen und amtierenden Ökonom des Klosters, den Priestermönch Jesaias, zu seinem Nachfolger [60]. In vielen Klöstern galt das Amt des Ökonoms als Sprungbrett zum Abatiat.

Es war wohl nicht nur ein stark entwickelter Familiensinn, der die byzantinischen Äbte zu einer solchen Nachfolgepolitik trieb; hinter dieser Praxis steckten häufig handfeste wirtschaftliche Interessen. Es ist verständlich, daß eine Familie, die einen großen Teil ihres Vermögens in eine Klostergründung investiert hatte, nicht schon nach dem Tode des ersten Abtes die Kontrolle darüber verlieren wollte. Manchmal legten wohl zwei oder mehrere Brüder ihr Erbteil zusammen, um ein gemeinsam gegründetes Kloster mit einem größeren Anfangskapital auszustatten. Unter einer geschickten Führung konnte nämlich ein in ein Kloster umgewandelter Gutsbetrieb durch Schenkungen und Steuernachlässe erheblich mehr Gewinn abwerfen als in seinem alten Zustand [61]. Auch bäuerliche Familien richteten anscheinend recht häufig auf ihren Höfen solche klösterlichen oder auch nur monastisch getarnten Familienunternehmen ein, die ihnen zudem durch ihren geistlichen Anstrich einen größeren öffentlichen Schutz verhießen. In solchen Fällen war es sinnvoll, daß möglichst viele Familienmitglieder mittaten, denn Aussteiger wären wohl leer ausgegangen. Oft sind gemeinsame ökonomische Interessen und gemeinsame religiöse Erweckung nicht voneinander zu trennen. In diese Kategorie gehört z.B. das Christus-Kloster im thrakischen Philea, das die Brüder Matthäus und Kyrill bei einem verlassenen Kirchlein auf eigenem Boden und mit eigenen Mitteln gegründet hatten; Kyrills junger Sohn und ein Neffe schlossen sich ihnen an. Die Brüder stammten aus ganz ärmlichen Verhältnissen, aber dank ihrem heiligmäßigen Leben gelangte ihr Kloster alsbald in den Gunstbereich des kaiserlichen Hofes [62]. Auf ähnliche Weise mochte das

[59] Ch. Ktenas, Ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Ἄθω καὶ ἡ »Μεγάλη Μέση«, ἡ »Σύναξις«, Ἐπετ. Ἑταιρείας Βυζ. Σπουδῶν 6 (1929): 255.
[60] I. P. Tsiknopoulos, Κυπρικὰ Τυπικά (Leukosia, 1969), S. 87; C. Mango—E. J. W. Hawkins, »The Hermitage of St. Neophytus and its Wall Paintings«, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 126.
[61] Über Klöster als Kapitalanlage siehe C. Mango, »Les monuments de l'architecture du XIe siècle et leur signification historique et sociale«, *Travaux et mémoires* 6 (1976): 353-356.
[62] *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (+ 1110)*, ed. E. Sargologos [Subsidia hagiographica 39] (Bruxelles, 1964), S. 104ff., 107, 121-123, 245 et passim.

der Theotokos und dem heiligen Michael geweihte Kloster in Latinianon (Basilicata) entstanden sein, das Basileios von Armento 1041 testamentarisch seinem Bruder Sergios vermachte mit der Begründung: »Weil wir dort gemeinsam gewirkt haben«[63]. Allerdings erreichte diese Gründung nie die hohe Sphäre kaiserlicher Protektion.

Oft wurde eine solche familiäre Erbfolge dadurch erleichtert, daß viele dieser Klöster sehr klein blieben, so daß der Familienklan gegenüber den anderen Mönchen überwog. Denn nicht immer und überall gelang der wirtschaftliche Aufstieg. Ein Extremfall, der aber bestimmt nicht vereinzelt dasteht, ist das 1116 bei Lentini in Sizilien gegründete Kloster des heiligen Johannes Chrysostomos; während seines fünfundzwanzigjährigen Bestehens scheint es nie mehr als drei Mönche gehabt zu haben (das war nach der byzantinischen Gesetzgebung die Mindestzahl für ein Kloster)[64]: die Überlieferung kennt außer den beiden Gründermönchen, den Brüdern Elias und Paul, einen Neffen, der sich nach dem Tode der Onkel wegen der prekären Lage des Klösterchens dem Archimandritat von San Salvatore in Messina unterstellte[65].

Die Ärmlichkeit solcher monastischer Etablissements wird in vielen Fällen das bischöfliche Desinteresse an den Interna ihrer Regierung hervorgerufen oder gefördert haben. Denn wenn auch nicht a priori auszuschließen ist, daß manchmal der Bruder, Neffe oder Sohn des Abtes der würdigste oder geeignetste Kandidat für die Nachfolge war, so beweist doch eine derart verbreite Familienwirtschaft, wie wenig Gebrauch die Ortsbischöfe von dem ihnen vor der geistlichen und weltlichen Gesetzgebung eingeräumten Recht machten, die Wahl der Äbte in den Klöstern ihrer Diözese zu kontrollieren[66]. Eine Novelle Basileios' II. aus dem Jahre 996 hatte allerdings die bischöfliche Jurisdiktion über Kleinklöster (mit weniger als acht bis zehn Mönchen), die von Bauern auf eigenem Boden in ihrem Dorf gegründet worden waren, ausdrücklich auf den spirituellen Bereich beschränkt. Solche

[63] Robinson, *Carbone*, Nr. II-2, S. 140.

[64] *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage*, texte et traduction publiés par P. Noailles et A. Dain (Paris, 1944), Nov. 14, S. 57.

[65] Cod.Vat.Lat. 8201, ff. 125, 141; M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale* (Roma, 1947), S. 147-149.

[66] De Meester, *De monachico statu*, S. 219f. Allerdings sollte die bischöfliche Kontrollinstanz das Prinzip der Erblichkeit berücksichtigen: so hatte sich z.B. der Mönch Gregor beim Patriarchen Nikolaos Mystikos über den Metropoliten von Patras beschwert, der ihn willkürlich aus seinem Kloster vertrieben hatte, auf dessen Leitung er als Verwandter des Gründers berechtigte Ansprüche geltend machen konnte. In einem Mahnschreiben an den Metropoliten setzte sich der Patriarch für die Rechte des Vertriebenen ein: Nicolas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, ed. and transl. by R.J.H. Jenkins and L.G. Westerink [Corpus fontium hist. Byz. 6] (Washington D.C., 1973), S. 410.

Klöster, die im Gesetzestext als dörfliche εὐκτήρια definiert werden, sollten, so befand der Kaiser, unbehelligt bleiben von Zinsforderungen oder lästigen Verwaltungsmaßnahmen von Seiten der Ortsbischöfe oder Metropoliten; vor allem aber durften sie nicht als χαριστίκιον an hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten vergeben werden [67]. Und wo der materielle Anreiz ausblieb, wird bei vielen Bischöfen auch der disziplinäre Eifer erlahmt sein. Ein großer Teil der hier behandelten Klöster wird in die Kategorie der ländlichen εὐκτήρια gehört haben.

Im Falle von San Filippo di Fragalà kommt noch hinzu, daß nach der normannischen Eroberung in ganz Sizilien eine lateinische Hierarchie eingerichtet wurde, und daß die griechischen Klöster, soweit sie von der herrschenden Dynastie gegründet worden waren oder unter ihrem Schutz standen, wie gräfliche Eigenklöster behandelt wurden [68]. Sonst aber paßt die Nachfolgeregelung des Abtes Gregor genau in das hier gezeichnete Bild. Wenn San Filippo auch nicht Gregors eigene Gründung war, so hatte doch der Abt seinem Kloster Familienbesitz vermacht [69]; außerdem war der große Aufschwung, den das Kloster in den Jahren seines Abatiats genommen hatte, wohl hauptsächlich auf seinen persönlichen Einsatz und seine ausgezeichneten Beziehungen zum normannischen Hof zurückzuführen. Es lag also auf der Hand, daß er die Abtswürde innerhalb seiner Familie vererben wollte. Gegen die Nachfolge des Neffen Blasios, der auch von der Gräfin Adelasia bestätigt worden war, hatte anscheinend niemand etwas einzuwenden gehabt; aber als sich Abt Gregor Anfang 1107 dem Tode nahe fühlte, ohne daß der designierte Nachfolger aus dem Heiligen Land zurückgekehrt wäre, entschloß er sich, auf jeden Fall noch zu Lebzeiten einem anderen Familienmitglied die Leitung des Klosters zu sichern. Der zweite Neffe, Gregor, entsprach wohl weniger dem Geschmack der Klostergemeinschaft, wie man vielleicht aus den heftigen Drohungen schließen darf, die der sterbende Onkel gegen alle die ausstößt, die es — mit welchen Mitteln auch immer — wagen sollten, die Nachfolge des Neffen anzufechten. Daß in diesem Zusammenhang auch mit magischen Anschlägen gerechnet wurde, darf nicht verwundern, denn byzantinische Geistliche oder Mönche, die entweder selber ein bißchen zauberten oder sich als Kunden an tüchtige Magier wandten, sind keine Seltenheit [70]. Anscheinend

[67] J. und P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. I (Athen, 1931), S. 267-269.

[68] Von Falkenhausen, »I monasteri greci«, S. 212-217.

[69] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 400: τὰ ἐκ τῶν γονέων μου ἀφιερωθέντα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίαν κτήματα.

[70] C. Cupane, »La magia a Bisanzio nel secolo XIV: Azione e reazione. Dal registro del patriarcato costantinopolitano (1315-1402)«, *Jahrbuch der öster. Byzantinistik* 29 (1980): 247-262.

waren die angedrohten Sanktionen so abschreckend oder Abt Gregors Autorität und die von ihm geschaffene Tradition auch nach seinem Tode so stark, daß der gleichnamige Neffe tatsächlich die Nachfolge antrat, denn noch 1116 ist Abt von San Filippo di Fragalà ein Gregor[71], den man wohl eher mit dem Neffen als mit dem Onkel identifiziert.

Università degli studi di Pisa

[71] Cusa, *I diplomi*, S. 411ff.

ANHANG

Διαθήκη 5. Indiktion, 6605 (1096/97)

Testament des Abtes Gregorios vom Kloster San Filippo di Fragalà.

Text:
Das Original, eine recht gut erhaltene Pergamenturkunde, (680mm × 430-320mm) liegt im Staatsarchiv von Catania, Fondo pergamenaceo Archivio privato Raddusa, n. 22*. Die Urkunde ist mehrfach gefaltet worden. An einer der Faltstellen, etwa in der Mitte der Urkunde ist heute ein Loch. Auf der Rückseite, die ganze Länge der Urkunde ausfüllend, steht: †ὁ χάρτης οὗτος παρέχει ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ καθηγουμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππ(ου) τοῦ Ἀργυρίου τοῦ ἐν Δεμέν(νοις).

Die Urkunde ist unediert.

† Γρηγόριος εὐτελ(ὴς) μο(να)χ(ὸς) εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος καθηγούμενος τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Φιλίπ(που) τοῦ ἐν Δεμέννοις. //² Ὁ ἐν τῶι προγράμματι προταχθεὶς ταπεινὸς ἁμαρτωλὸς Γρηγορίος ἀπεταξάμην τῶι κόσμωι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῶι κόσμωι ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας, καὶ ἐπέδω- //³ κα ἐμαυτὸν τῆι μονῆι τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππ(ου) ἀοικήτωι οὔσῃ ἀκμὴν καὶ ἀφανεστάτηι καὶ οὔπω πεπυκνομένη πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καθ(ὼς) ὑπάρχει σήμερον. Θ(εο)ῦ (δὲ) βοηθείαι τοῦ //⁴ προνοοῦντος τὴν ἡμετέραν σ(ωτη)ρίαν καὶ προγινώσκοντος τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ πρεσβείαις πρὸ(ς) αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Φιλίππ(ου) ὑπομείν(ας) εἰς τ(ὸν) τόπον τοῦτον (καὶ) πολλὰ πυκτεύσας, εἰς ἐμ- //⁵ φάνειαν τὸ ἀοίκητον τοῦτο ἔργον ἐχώρησα. Καὶ δὴ ἄρτι τῆς Σικελῶν νήσου λωφισάσης ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν αἱματοχυσιῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωσιῶν, καὶ γ(ὰρ) πολλὰ καθ' ἑκάστην //⁶ ἔτλην δεινὰ καγὼ ἐν τῇ μονῇ ταύτηι ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν. Συνένεσει τοῦ γενναιωτάτου κόμιτος καὶ σπουδῆι ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ὑπακοῆι τῶν προλαβόντων ἐν τῇ //⁷ ἐμῇ ὑποταγῆι ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ βάθρ(ων) αὐτῶν ὁ ναὸς οὗτος ἠγέρθη καὶ ὁ πῦργος ὠικοδομήθη, καθ(ὼς) ὁρᾶται τοῖς

//² Γρηγορίος: leg. Γρηγόριος

* Das Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali — Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. Direzione Tecnologica Archivistica. Roma, gab die Erlaubnis zur Veröffentlichung der Urkunde am 12. Mai 1977 [n. 4. 1670/57.55 (21)].

ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν τεθεωμέν(ων). Οὐ μόνον γ(ὰρ) εἰς τ(ὴν) τοιαύτ(ην) //[8] τοῦ ναοῦ ἠσχολήθημεν οἰκοδομήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τ(ὴν) τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ ἐκλησίαν καὶ ἄλλων, ἃς ἡ μεγίστη μονὴ μετὰ τῶν δικαιωμάτ(ων) αὐτῆς ἐμπεδῶς διακατέχει καὶ //[9] ἐν ἀσφαλείαι διαλέγει. Ὠἰκοδόμησα καὶ τὰ κελλία, ἐν οἷς οἱ μοναχοὶ σχοῖεν τὴν οἴκησιν, ἀμπελῶνας τε καὶ χωρία προσήφερ(ον) πρὸ(ς) διατροφὴν αὐτῶν (καὶ) πάντων τῶν //[10] συρρεόντ(ων) ἐν τῆι θείαι ταύτηι μονῆ, καὶ ἁπλ(ῶς) εἰπεῖν, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν περιουσίαν αὐτῆς, ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν μοι, ἠγωνίσθην διὰ τὸν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ φόβον καὶ ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀδε(λφῶν). Καθο- //[11] δήγησα (δὲ) καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῆι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποκαρθέντας θείους μονάζοντας καὶ κανόνα παρέδωκα τούτοις οὐχ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιλογῆς τῶν ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων. Παρέδω- //[12] κα γ(ὰρ) αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι παντάπασιν κρεώς, ἐγκράτειαν ἀκριβῆ κ(α)ταστησάμενος· ἐνετειλ[ά]μην αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον νηστεύειν τὴν ἐξάκουστον τεσσαρακοστήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προ- //[13] καθάρσιμον τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσε(ως) (καὶ) τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλ(ων) καὶ τετράδα (καὶ) παρασκευήν, ὡς προείρητ(αι), παρέδωκαν οἱ ὅσιοι ἡμῶν π(ατέ)ρες· παρέδωκα αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ τηρεῖν //[14] οὐ μόνον κυριακάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς δεκατέσσαρ(ας) ἑορτὰς καὶ τὰς μνήμας τῶν δώδε(κα) ἀποστόλ(ων) καὶ ἐπισήμ(ων) ἁγί(ων)· τηρεῖν (δὲ) εἶπον, τοῦ φυλάττειν καὶ ἀργεύειν ἐν //[15] ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου, ὅπως ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις ἀρεμβάστ(ως) ἀναλωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται· συντιμᾶσθαι ταύταις καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς τῆς ἁ- //[16] γίας Θ(εοτό)κου ἐνετειλάμην, ὡς τεῖχος οὔσηι παντὸς τοῦ χριστιανικ(ω)τ(ά)τ(ου) γένους. Εἰ γ(ὰρ) τῶν ἀποστόλ(ων) τὰς ἑορτὰς προ(σ)ετάχθημεν φυλάττειν, πολλῶι μᾶλλ(ον) τῆς ὑπερ- //[17] αμώμου ἁγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρί(ας). Ἄρτι (δὲ) εἰς γῆρ(ας) καὶ ἀδυναμίαν ἐληλακότος, ἔκρινα τῶι διακριτικῶι μου //[18] λογισμῶι ἐγγὺς εἶναι τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἀπαραίτητον ποτήριον, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πολιὰν αἰδεῖται, οὔτε νέον οἰκτείρει, καὶ ὅτι ἐφίσης πᾶσιν ἐπέρχ(ε)τ(αι) //[19] κ(α)τὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν καλοκέλαδον· Τίς ἐστιν, φη(σίν), ἄν(θρωπ)ος, ὃς ζήσεται (καὶ) οὐχ ὄψεται θάνατ(ον)· ἢ τίς ῥύσεται τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αἵδου; //[20] Διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην τοίνυν ἐπιφορὰν καὶ ἀδηλότητα τοῦ θανάτου συμβουλίαν χρησάμενος τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου καὶ τέκν(ων) καλὴν (καὶ) ἐπίλεκτον σύνοδ(ον) //[21] κ(α)τὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ μακαρίτου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Θεοδώ(ρου) τῶν Στουδίτ(ων) (καὶ) τῶν προασκησάντ(ων) ἁγί(ων) π(ατέ)ρων, ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ἐκλεξάμην τὸν πανευλαβέστατ(ον) //[22] Βλάσι(ον), τὸν ἐμὸν μαθητήν, πρεσβύτερον, ὄντα ἐκ βρέφους τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς καὶ ἀκριβῆ μονάζοντα, τοῦ ἰθύνειν τοὺς οἴακας ἐπιστημόν(ως) τῆς αὐτῆς //[23] μονῆς καὶ καθ' ὁδηγεῖν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῆι προ(σ)καρτεροῦντας θείους μονάζοντας, εἰσελαύνειν καὶ διεξάγειν ὁσίως τε καὶ νομίμ(ως) κ(α)τὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, //[24] ὡς ποιμὴν πανάριστος καὶ θεοπρόβλητος τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθων ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτ(ων), καθ(ὼς) ὁ ἀρχιποιμὴν Χ(ριστὸ)ς ἐνε[τεί]λατ(ο)· Οὐδείς, γ(ὰρ) φη(σίν), μείζονα //[25] ταύτης ἀγάπην ἔχει, ἵ(να) τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῆι ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ. [Καὶ]· Ὁ καλὸς

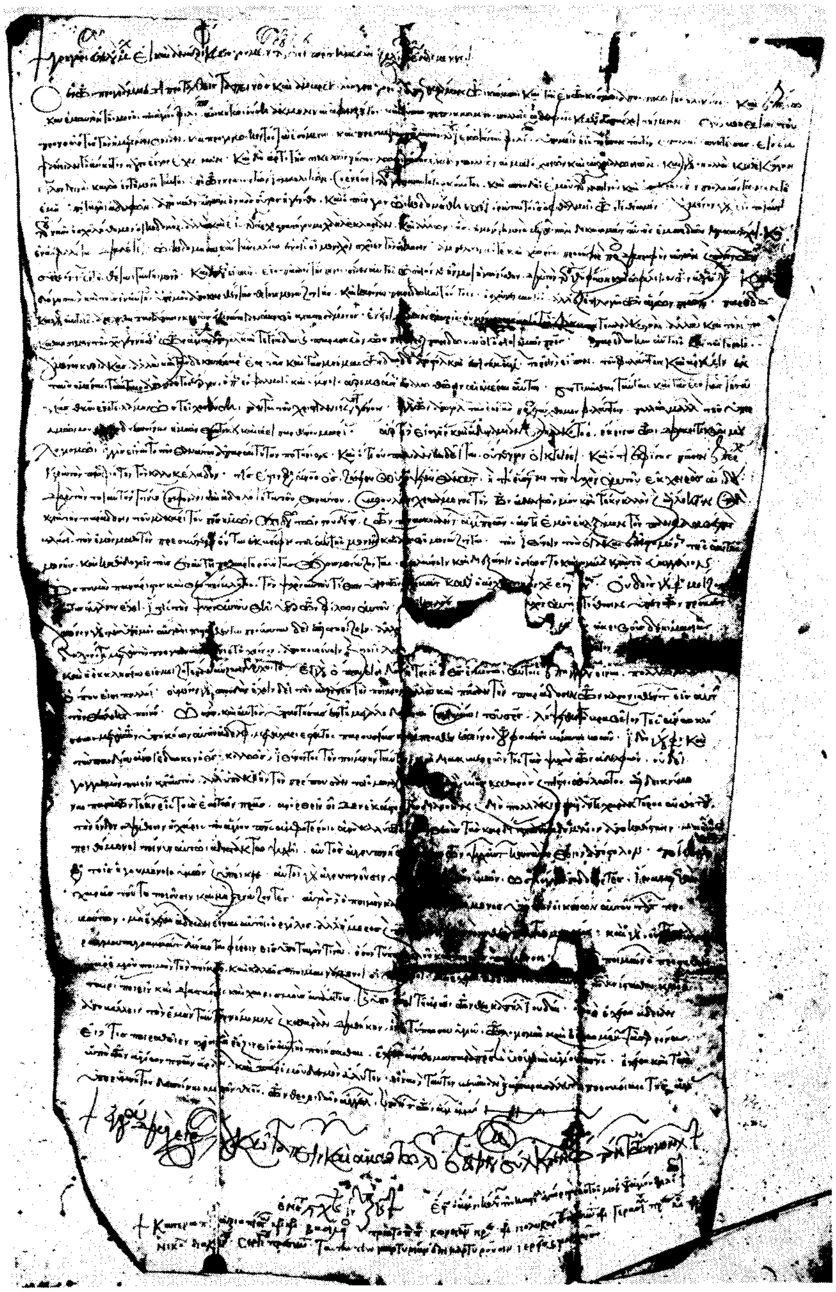
//[8] ἐκλησίαν: leg. ἐκκλησίαν //[12] κρεώς: leg. κρέως //[13] ὡς προείρηται: T[2] καθὼς προείρηται, ὅτι παρέδωκαν //[16] οὔσηι: leg. οὔση //[19] Ps. 88,49 //[24-25] Joh. 15,13 //[25] Joh. 10,11

ποιμ[ὴν τὴν ψ]υχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτ(ων). //[26] Οὐ μόνον γ(ὰρ) τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτῶι πιστευθέντα πρόβατα δεῖ ἐπιστηρίζειν, ἀλλὰ [καὶ τὰ διὰ παντὸς προσβάλλοντα εἰς τὴν ποίμνην αὐτὴν] μ[ετ]ὰ ἀκριβοῦς δοκιμασίας. //[27] Δηλονότι μετὰ τὸν προγυμνασίας τριετῆ χρόνον ἀποκουρεύειν (καὶ) τοῖς λο[ιποῖ]ς ἐν [± 20] θεῖον διὰ αὐτῶν θεραπεύετ(αι), //[28] καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία εἰς μειζοτέραν αὔξησιν ἔρχοιτο. Εἰ γ(ὰρ)· Ὅπου εἰσὶ δύ[ο] ἢ τρεῖς ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἐν μέσωι αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατ(ο) εἶναι, πολλῶ μᾶλλ(ον) //[29] ὅπου εἰσὶ πολλοί. Οὐ μόνον γ(ὰρ) σπουδὴν ἔχειν δεῖ τοῦ αὐξάνειν τὴν ποίμνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν κανονισθέντ(ων) εἰς αὐτ(ὴν) //[30] τὴν θεόλεκτ(ον) ποίμν(ην)· ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπαντήσας ἐν τῇ μεγάλη δευτέραι ἐπιδημίαι τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς, λήψεται τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλή- //[31] σεως μετὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ ἀδελφ(ῶν), μετὰ χαριεστάτης παρουσίας κ(α)τέμπροσθεν ἐκείνου τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος βοῶν· Ἰδού, γ(ὰρ) φη(σίν), καὶ //[32] τὰ παιδία, ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θ(εό)ς. Καλῶς (δὲ) ἰθύνοντος τὴν ποίμνην ταύτην, καὶ διακυβερνῶντος τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐ δεῖ //[33] γογγυσμὸν ποιεῖν κ(α)τ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπακοὴν τὴν πρέπουσαν τοῖς μοναχ[οῖ]ς, ἐπεὶ δὴ βίος καθαρὸς (καὶ) πίστις ἀθόλωτος ἐπιδεικνύμε- //[34] ναι παρὰ τῶν τέκν(ων) εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν π(ατέ)ρας. Ἀνόρθεῖν οἶδεν ἑκάστου τὴν διάνοιαν, διὸ πολλάκις καὶ ἀντι χαρακτῆρος αἰσθητοῦ //[35] τὴν ἔνδον διάθεσιν ἡ χάρις τοῦ Ἁγίου Πν(εύματο)ς ἀμφοτέροις ἀνακαλύπτει, καὶ θεοὺς τὰς καρδίας, κ(α)τὰ τὸ ἀδόμενον, ἀποκαθίστησιν. //[36] Πειθόμενοι τοίνυν αὐτῶι ἀδιστάκτω ψυχῆι, αὐτὸς ἀγρυπνήσει ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχ(ῶν) αὐτ(ῶν) κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον· Πείθεσθε, //[37] φη(σίν), τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν (καὶ) ὑπείκετε· αὐτοὶ γ(ὰρ) ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδόσοντες· ἵνα μετὰ //[38] χαρᾶς τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν καὶ μὴ στενάζοντες. Αὐτὸς (δὲ) ὁ ποιμὴν καλῶς θεραπευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ τούτ(ων) προ- //[39] βάτων, μὴ|ἐχέτω ἄδειαν εἶναι αὐτοῖς ὀργῖλος, ἀλλ' ἥμερος (καὶ) προσηνὴς κ(α)τὰ τὸν θεράποντα Μ[ωυσ]έα. Καὶ γ(ὰρ) οὐ τοσοῦτ(ον) χα- //[40] ράγματα γραμμάτ(ων) δύνανται φέρειν εἰς ὑποταγὴν τινά, ὅσον τύπος καλοῦ καὶ πράους ποιμένος. [Καλ]ῶς (δὲ) ποιμαίν(ων) ὁ προσταθεὶς //[41] παρ' ἐμοῦ ποιμὴν τὴν ποίμνην, καὶ καλῶς ποιμαινόμενοι οἱ ὑπήκοοι, μὴ ἐχέτω ἄδειάν τις κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ ἑ- //[42] ταιρί(ας) ποιεῖν καὶ διαστάσεις καὶ χωρισμοὺς ἀτάκτους, (καὶ) ὑποπείσει τῇ ἀρᾶι τῶν θεοκαπήλ(ων) Ἰουδαί(ων). Μὴ (δὲ) ἐχέτω ἄδειαν //[43] ἀποβάλλειν τὴν ἐμὴν ταύτην νόμιμον (καὶ) καθαρὰν διαθήκην, ἣν ἐτύπωσα ὑγιᾶι τῶ λογισμῶ καὶ|ἐρρωμέν(ος) τὰς φρένας. //[44] Εἰ (δέ) τις πειραθεῖεν σχῖσιν ἢ ῥῆξιν εἰς αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι, ἐχέτω ἀνάθεμα παρὰ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πν(εύματο)ς· ἐχέτω καὶ τὴν //[45] ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων ἀρὰν καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δεσμὸν ἄλυτον· εἶναι (δὲ) ταύτην βεβαῖαν κ(αὶ) ἀπαρασάλυτ(ον) πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγί(ας) //[46] ὑπερυμνήτου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θ(εοτό)κου, τῶν θεοειδῶν ἀγγέλ(ων) (καὶ) πάντ(ων) τῶν ἁγί(ων), ἀμ(ήν) †††

//[26] καὶ … ποίμνην: T^2 //[28] Matth. 18,20 //[31-32] Hebr. 2, 13 //[35] θεοὺς τὰς καρδίας: conf. *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, a cura di E. Follieri [Subsidia Hagiographica 63] (Bruxelles, 1980), vol. 2, S. 431: Ἄνθρωπος ὄψιν καὶ θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν — ἀδόμενον: leg. ᾀδόμενον — in margine dext. alia manu: μὴ πεκούλ(ιον) ἔχειν αὐτ(οῖς) ἐνετειλάμ(ην) //[36-37] Hebr. 13, 17

//47 † Ἐγρά(φη) διὰ χειρὸς Λουκᾶ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἐπισκόπ(ου) Σύλ(ων) κ(α)τενώπ(ιον) πάντ(ων) μοναχ(ῶν) †
//48 ἐν ἔτ(ει) ,ϛχε´ ἰνδ(ικ)τ(ιῶνος) ε̄ † Ἔστ(ω) ὁ ἅγι(ος) Νικόλα(ος) τοῦ Καστέλλ(ου) ἀχώριστος ἐκ τῆς μον(ῆς) τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλίππ(ου) † //49 † Κατενώπ[ιον] ἀξιοπίστ(ων) μ(α)ρ(τύρων), Βασίλειο(ς) πρωτοπαπᾶ(ς), Κωνσταντ(ίνου) πρεσ(βυτέρου) μ(ά)ρ(τυρος), Πολυκάρπου πρεσβυτ(έρου) μ(ά)ρ(τυρος), Γερασίμου πρεσ(βυτέρου) μο(να)χ(οῦ) μ(ά)ρ(τυρος), //50 Νικολ(άου) διακόνου, Σεργίου πρεσβυτ(έρου). Ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπιμαρτυροῦσιν ἱερεῖς (καὶ) μοναχοῖς.

//50 μοναχοῖς: leg. μοναχοί



A.S. Catania, Fondo perg. Archivio privato Raddusa, n. 22.

Stephanus, Proconsul of Asia, and Related Statues

CLIVE FOSS

It is a special pleasure and privilege to contribute the present study to a volume which honours Professor Ihor Ševčenko, since he himself wrote a masterful essay on a similar subject some fifteen years ago. He used his profound knowledge of late antique epigraphy and institutions to show, by analysis of an "épigramme du Bas-Empire," that two well-known statues from Aphrodisias in Caria represented governors rather than local magistrates.[1] My aim here is similar: I set out to demonstrate that a group of late antique statues from Ephesus represents not consuls or civic magistrates, but governors — proconsuls — of Asia; at the same time, I shall attempt to identify several other statues. If Professor Ševčenko believes the adage that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, he will accept this paper in the proper spirit. It was first delivered to the Byzantine Fellowship in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which Professor Ševčenko founded and has guided since his arrival at Harvard.

A series of statues from Ephesus constitutes a remarkable example of late antique monumental sculpture and portrays officials whose rank has not been satisfactorily determined.[2] The statues were found in the centre of the city, on the street which runs beside the Agora then turns to the east and rises to the Upper Agora, or civic centre. In the latter part of its course, the street was known as the Embolos, the "colonnaded street" *par excellence*. Lined with statue bases and dedications, as well as luxurious buildings public and private, the street formed the most active centre of the late antique city.[3] The statues have been dated by stylistic evidence: the earliest is from the beginning of the fifth century, the latest from the middle of the sixth, and the majority from the late fifth and

[1] Ševčenko (1968). (Please see the list of References and Abbreviations, pp. 217-18).

[2] Kollwitz (1941) 85-88, nos. 6-11; 99-113; cf. Bammer et al. (1974) 84f., 173, 178f. To the series of Kollwitz should be added the statue of Stephanus, discovered in 1956 and discussed here: Bammer et al., 85f., with full references.

[3] For this street and its monuments, see Foss (1979) 61-77.

early sixth centuries.[4] Although the number of surviving statues may seem small — there are seven — it represents the largest homogeneous group of late antique monumental statuary found in any city of the empire. The major group is from Ephesus, but other statues of officials with virtually identical dress and attitude have been found in Sardis, Aphrodisias, Constantinople, and Rome; they will be considered below.

The statues evidently represent magistrates of high rank, clad in an unvarying dress of inner tunic, outer tunic or *colobium*, toga, and high shoes (*calcei*). In the majority of cases, they wear the so-called broad East Roman toga, in which a wide piece of drapery descends from the right shoulder, forms a deep *sinus* in front, and is taken up on the left hand.[5] This different fashion of draping the toga, characteristic of the elaborations which the simpler Roman garment seems to have undergone in Late Antiquity when its use was highly ceremonial, produces a wider image.[6] In the statues in question, the rather stylised folds of the drapery give an impression of force and clarity.

Most of the officials are represented with a sceptre in their left hand and a *mappa*, the kerchief used to signal the start of the games, in their right. Where traces are visible, the sceptre ends in a bust, presumably of

[4] Oberleitner (1959) 95ff., cf. (1964) 14f.; much detailed chronology comes from the study of the portrait heads: see below, fn. 10. Note that these statues are dated by stylistic analysis, not documentary evidence. I follow the dating proposed in the most recent works, without wishing to imply that it is always firmly established, or that alternative possibilities do not exist.

[5] Identified and analysed by Delbrueck (1929) 49. This kind of toga appears on the statue of Stephanus and on Kollwitz (1941) nos. 7, 9, 10 and 11 from Ephesus, as well as on the three *togati* from Aphrodisias, the two from Constantinople, and the two from Rome: on these, see fns. 62, 63, 82, 84 below. The statue of Stephanus is among the best preserved. Statue no. 6 from Ephesus, however, has a more complex and realistic drapery (see below, fn. 32), while no. 8, dated to the fourth quarter of the fifth century, shows further variation. Its drapery is strikingly different, with a broad piece of material covering the whole upper part of the back and continuing to become the *sinus*: compare Kollwitz Taf. 28.1 with 28.4 and 25.2 (both from Ephesus) and the apparently more conventional drapery of the Probianus diptych (of 418, from Rome) analysed and illustrated by Delbrueck (1929) 45-48. Whether these variations in drapery represent different ranks or merely changes of style within time periods and thus might be evidence for dating seems not to have been considered; for their dating, see Oberleitner (1959) 95ff. and (1964) 14f.

[6] The complex question of how the toga was actually worn in this or earlier periods seems not to have found a resolution satisfactory to all: see Delbrueck (1929) 44-51 with bibliography 44 fn. 129. By far the most valuable among the works there cited is the careful and practical study of Lillian N. Wilson (1924), who makes full use of the visual material to analyse the changing styles of toga used by the Romans through Late Antiquity, and to present convincing reconstructions of them. An appendix even tells the reader how to make his own toga. See her chapter "Later Forms of the Toga," pp. 89-127 and especially 104-110 on the kind of toga which appears in these statues.

the emperor, and the *mappa* is folded into a ball, ready to be thrown into the arena.[7] Several have a bundle of scrolls by their feet. Apart from variations in execution, in the style of draping the toga, and in a raised or lowered right hand, the statues present an unchanging type.

The resemblance between the statues is not accidental, for the torsos were intended not to represent individuals, but their office. They could evidently be made in quantity or at leisure and stored, awaiting the time when a portrait head would be inserted to give them individuality. The heads, which were made separately, were attached by a dowel.[8] This method of production, and the relatively large number of surviving torsos, suggests that togate statues were in demand, either because this dress was in common use in Ephesus or because the office-holders who wore it followed each other in rapid succession. It also meant that the statues could be reused by the simple expedient of inserting a new head onto an old torso and carving a new inscription on the base.[9] Such reuse

[7] For the sceptre and *mappa* in general, see Delbrueck (1929) 61-63. Since so few of the statues have survived complete, the sceptre — the most fragile part — is usually missing, but traces of its tip are sometimes visible on the drapery of the left shoulder where that is preserved. On statue no. 7 from Ephesus, for example, a bust is clearly visible in the surviving traces of the end of the sceptre (Kollwitz 1941. Taf. 25.3) while that of no. 8 (ibid., Taf. 17) ended similarly, though the head is now missing. The sceptres of the Roman statues end in knobs, but here there has apparently been extensive restoration: Helbig (1963) 1419. Note that the absence of traces need not indicate that the figure did not carry a sceptre: the example of the statue of Palmatus from Aphrodisias (see below, fn. 62) shows that the sceptre could be held at an angle away from the body so that its end could disappear altogether. The statue of Stephanus shows the *mappa* held in his raised right hand, while nos. 8 and 11 apparently show it held against the body (right hand and *mappa* are missing from nos. 6, 7, 9, and 10). These variations seem to be of only stylistic significance. Although Delbruck (1929) 60 states that there is no evidence that the *mappa* was actually thrown, the story of its origin recounted by Cassiodorus (*Variae* III.51) would seem to remove all doubt: according to this Nero was so reluctant to leave the dinner table to start the games that he ordered his napkin thrown out the window to the impatient crowd as a signal to begin. Whatever the truth of this, it shows clearly that the *mappa* was thrown.

[8] See the remarks of Oberleitner (1959) 87f., and note the further examples of the statues from Istanbul (Kollwitz 1941. 84f.), Rome (Helbig 1963.1491), and Aphrodisias (Fl. Palmatus: Inan–Rosenbaum 1979. 236-238 with fig. 264). Another statue from Aphrodisias (ibid., no. 195) seems to present a similar phenomenon: the torso was found complete but the head was not yet finished. This led the authors to suggest that there had been different masters for the head and the body. Here, too, it might be possible to suggest that torsos were produced in quantity or in advance with the head only roughly blocked out, waiting for a commission to endow it with the features of a particular office-holder, and that a quantity of such torsos might be needed to accommodate a large number of officials who succeeded each other rapidly. This particular statue, however, presents special problems: see below, fn. 63.

[9] See below, fn. 12. For reused bases, note the example from Ephesus of the dedication to the proconsul Messalinus (of uncertain date: Malcus 1967. 138f. gives a chronology which

of old material was characteristic of the age and appears in monuments of all kinds.

In addition to the statues, most of which survive as headless torsos, many portrait heads of the period have been found at Ephesus. Several of them could belong with statues of the type considered. The heads represent a broader chronological span — from the Tetrarchy to Justinian — and suggest that a large number of statues once existed. Some of the heads may have belonged to busts which, together with the statues, adorned the city. Three busts may be considered with the present group of statues: one from the late fifth century and two assigned to the time of Justinian. The latter are certainly *togati*, whereas sufficient traces of the former remain to suggest that it, too, bore a toga.[10]

The headless torsos, of course, cannot be identified, nor has it been possible to associate most of the surviving portraits with known individuals. One of the statues and one bust, however, may be identified by the inscriptions which accompanied them. The statue, the best preserved of all, was found complete with its head on the Embolos near the baths of Scholastica, where it had evidently fallen from a base which stood about a foot away. The position of the find left no doubt that head, statue, and base belonged together.[11] Stylistic analysis of the portrait head, which depicts a rather simple-looking gentleman of middle years, has suggested a date early in the reign of Justinian. It has also demonstrated that the head has been reworked from a larger, earlier piece whose ears have left traces amid the locks of Stephanus's hair.[12] The base bears the following inscription:

is unconvincing because based on the supposed evidence of earthquakes, on which see Foss 1979.188-191), reusing the base which had borne the inscription and statue of Dulcitius, proconsul in the time of Julian (Malcus 1967.106ff.): Miltner (1959) B276 = *BullEp* 1961.536. As other examples in the region, note Robert (1948) 19 n. 1 (Hypaepa, fifth century) and ibid., 45 = *MAMA* VI.15 (here, a late antique *vicarius*, Constantine, replaced Docticius, apparently a governor of the same age: Robert 1969.339 = *MAMA*. VI.14).

[10] For description of the portrait heads found in Ephesus, see Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) nos. 182-189, 191-202 and (1979) 150-156. Their chronology and relation to the sculpture of the age are discussed in careful detail by Oberleitner (1959), (1964), and Sande (1975). The surviving busts are: Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) no. 187 (Constantinian), 194 (Eutropius), 201 (Justinianic); (1979) 156 (Justinianic). For Eutropius, see below; the rest are well preserved and clearly show the toga. Since they consist of head and shoulders only, the hands which would have held *mappa* and sceptre are naturally lacking, but their dress alone makes association with the togate statues plausible.

[11] Miltner (1959) 280f.

[12] Oberleitner (1959) 88-94, Sande (1975) 85-87. According to Sande 85, the statue of Stephanus, with its conservative execution of the drapery, shows that the stylistic development at Ephesus was slower then previously believed. He remarks also that there is

Εἰθυδίκῃ Στεφάνῳ καθαρῆς μετὰ μόχθον ἀπήνης
εἴκονα λαϊνέην στήσατο πᾶσα πόλις
ἔπρεπε Νάξον ἔχειν τέκος ὄλβιον, ἣ ῥα καὶ αὐτόν
θρέψατο κισσοφόρον Βάκχον ἐς εὐφροσύνην.[13]

The city thus honoured a certain Stephanus, a native of Naxos, who had given right judgements, and whose labours were symbolised by a mule-drawn carriage. It provides no date and appears not to specify what, if any, office Stephanus held. Although the words of the epigram may appear vague, the μόχθοι of Louis Robert and Ihor Ševčenko have shown that in fact the language contains technical terms of some precision which leave no doubt that Stephanus was a governor.[14] Four terms in particular are revealing: ἰθυδίκης, καθαρός, μόχθος, and ἀπήνη.[15] The first, "giving right justice," occurs over and over again in late antique verse dedications to denote a governor; it is used as a technical term and its appearance alone is sufficient to identify the office described.[16] Καθαρός, "pure," is likewise a virtual prerequisite to describe objects or offices associated with governors, and appears both in these rather stylised epigrams and in the official language of the laws.[17]

great similarity between the statue of Stephanus and that of a *togatus* from Aphrodisias (Inan–Rosenbaum 1966. no. 244) dated to the fifth century, and that, if both were lacking their heads, hardly anyone would believe that they had been a century apart. There is, of course, a simple resolution of the problem: the head of Stephanus could have been put onto an earlier torso. This phenomenon could have been more widespread than supposed, since heads and torsos were made separately, and might allow the Ephesian style to be seen developing at a normal rate.

[13] *IEph* IV.1310, incorporating the corrections of J. and L. Robert, *BullEp* 1961.536. Illustrated in Foss (1979) 68 (base only). The editors of *IEph*, misled by the conventional mythological allusion of the epigram, suppose that Stephanus must have been a pagan and is therefore to be dated to the fourth century. Such allusions, of course, are typical of the age (see the numerous examples in Robert 1948) and are of no chronological significance. There is thus no reason not to assign the inscription, like the head, to the time of Justinian.

[14] See, in general, Robert (1948) and Ševčenko (1968).

[15] J. and L. Robert in *BullEp* 1961.536 pointed out the importance of these terms for unambiguously identifying the office which Stephanus held.

[16] See the many examples assembled by Robert (1948) 13-37 and Ševčenko (1968) 31.

[17] See Robert (1948) 38-40 and the extensive additions of Ševčenko (1968) 35f. To these may be added numerous examples from the *Novels* of Justinian, which show that καθαρός, καθαρότης, and especially some form of the phrase καθαραὶ χεῖρες, were virtually formulaic in the legislation of the time. They occur in almost every law dealing with provincial governors, most notably in the admonition that they should keep their hands clean of any bribes. I have noted the following occurrences, all in the *Novels*: 8. praef., vii, viii.l, x, edictum i (especially abundant here, because the law ordains that governors should be appointed without bribery); 13. iii, iv, v, vi; 24. i, ii; 25. ii; 26, iii; 27. i; 28. v; 29. iii; 30. vi, ix; 102. i; Ed. 4. i. There are doubtless many more such occurrences.

The qualities of justice and purity were especially significant in an age when governors were notorious for the quite different qualities of rapacity and corruption. For an official on his way up to a higher post in the capital, a provincial governorship was an expensive but useful stepping-stone which could yield a good return on his investment in buying it and give him capital to bribe his way further up the administrative ladder. The greatest profits came from extortion and the sale of justice.[18] Hence, the constant admonition in texts of the age to retain pure hands and to govern with justice. It is, of course, not possible to tell whether the phrase of this and similar epigrams represents praise of an exceptionally honorable governor, or merely wishful thinking on the part of the civic officials who erected the statues.

Corrupt or not, the governors had real "pains" or "toil" since, in addition to their important duties of maintaining public works and public order, they had the unenviable task of reconciling the conflicting interests of the various government agencies and the locals, especially the large landowners on whose approval they depended for advancement.[19]

Among the various manifestations of their power, the governors had a state carriage, often elaborately decorated, called ἀπήνη in Greek and *carpentum* in Latin. Since the use of vehicles was highly restricted in Roman times and apparently in Late Antiquity, such a carriage was a real distinction and a valuable privilege of high office.[20] In the time of

[18] The corruption of the late antique government is well surveyed by Jones (1964) 391-401.

[19] See Jones (1964) 363-410 passim, and note the significant phrases of Cassiodorus *Var.* VI.12 who reproduces the words spoken when an honorary *Comitiva Primi Ordinis*, a title without the burdens of office, was bestowed (italics mine): "Magnum quidem multis et inter vices videtur esse geniatum publicae utilitati probis actionibus occupari: sed quanto felicius honorem splendidum sumere et *cogitationum molestias* non habere? interdum enim *assidui labores* et ipsas ingratas faciunt dignitates, dum imbecillitas humana cito solet sustinere *fastidia* et quod prius ambisse creditur, postea vitare velle sentitur. sed hos multo praestantius adesse conspectibus regiis et abesse *molestiis*, gratiam hebere loci et vitare *contumelias actionis*. dulce est aliquid sic mereri, ut nulla possit *anxietate* turbari." Note, in the case of this and other citations below, that although Cassiodorus lived in Italy under the Ostrogoths, he is reproducing documents from the archives which may be taken to represent formulas in use for much of Late Antiquity: see Chastagnol (1960) 18.

[20] See, in general, Mommsen (1887) I. 393-396 and Ensslin (1939) 89-105; cf. Chastagnol (1960) 203-205. For ἀπήνη, see Robert (1948) 42 fns. 3 and 4. Among the confusing and often ambiguous terminology of these carriages (discussed in detail by Ensslin, loc. cit.) the equivalence of ἀπήνη and *carpentum* is clearly established. The phrase ἡγεμονικὴ ἀπήνη of Synesius *ep.* 57 (*PG* 66.1393, cited by Robert), the official car of the *praeses* of Libya Superior, is plainly the equivalent of the *iudiciale carpentum* of the *consularis* of Pannonia II (Amm. Marc. 29.6.7, describing events of 374) and of the Prefect of Rome (*SHA Aurelianus* I.1; supposedly anachronistic: see Chastagnol, loc. cit.). Note that the ἀπήνη of Justinian, *Nov.* 70.1, appears in the Latin version as *carpentum*. Such carriages

Justinian, when Stephanus apparently held office, a particularly splendid *carpentum*, made of silver, is specifically attested as one of the signs of the office of proconsul.[21]

Ephesus was the capital of the province of Asia whose governor occupied an anomalous position in the administration by holding the ancient and exalted rank of proconsul. The statue of Stephanus was found on the Embolos, a street lined with statue bases which bear similar inscriptions in honour of governors. There is clearly sufficient evidence to identify Stephanus as proconsul of Asia.[22] Since he was dressed exactly like the other *togati*, they, too, were apparently proconsuls, and the toga would seem to have been their official dress.

The second identification is probable and lends some support to the association of office and dress. A head in a remarkable, expressionistic style was found on the street east of the Agora, near a stone console which bore a cutting suitable for insertion of a bust; it has been dated to the late fifth century.[23] Study of the head has shown that it formed part of a bust, not a statue, and the natural association has been convincingly made between the bust and the base, which bears the following inscription:

> Τῆνδε φιλαγρύπνων ὀλίγην χάριν εὕραο μόχθων
> Εὐτρόπιε, ζαθέης Ἐφέσου θάλος, οὕνεκα πάτρην
> μαρμαρέαις κόσμησας ἐϋστρώτοισιν ἀγυιαῖς.[24]

were used by the Praetorian Prefects (Just. *Nov.* 70.1 Cassiodorus, *Var.* VI.3; *Anth. Pal.* VII.698), by the prefects of Rome (Cassiod. *Var.* VI.4, cf. VI.18; Chastagnol, loc. cit), and Constantinople (Themistius, *Or.* 30 D427: a carriage decorated with silver: ἐπαργύρων ὀχημάτων; Just. *Nov.* 70.1), by the *Vicarius urbis Romae* (Cassiod. *Var.* VI. 15) and by provincial governors (as noted; Cassiod. *Var.* VI.20, *consulares*). For those officials who did not have the right to a carriage of their own, it was considered an honour to ride in that of higher magistrate: see Cassiod. *Var.* VI.18, where the *praefectus annonae* has such a privilege in the car of the prefect of the city. Special vehicles were also granted to the new Justinianic officials, the *praetores* of Pisidia and Lycaonia, both of whom received carriages of silver: Just. *Nov.* 24.4 (δίφρον ἐξ ἀργύρου = vehiculum ex argento) and *Nov.* 25.5 (ἀπήνης ἀργυρᾶς = argenteo vehiculo). The latter law, together with *Nov.* 30.6, make it clear that such carriages were a perquisite of civil officials and were only exceptionally granted to the *praetores*, whose duties were primarily military.

[21] Justinian, *Nov.* 30.6, establishing the proconsulate of Cappadocia: ὄχημα ἐξ ἀργύρου, using one of the many synonyms of ἀπήνη, rendered in the Latin as *carpentum ex argento*.

[22] Since the name is common, there is no reason to identify this governor with the Stephanus, presumably also a proconsul, who rebuilt the Library of Celsus next to the Agora of Ephesus, a work generally assigned to the fourth century. On that, see Foss (1979) 65 with references in fn. 38.

[23] Eichler (1939), establishing the association of bust and statue; for dating and description of portrait, see Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) no. 194.

[24] *IEph* IV.1304; this Eutropius is apparently not to be identified with any of his numerous late antique namesakes.

This records that Eutropius, a native of Ephesus, received a small reward (the dedication and bust) for his sleepless labours in adorning the city with streets paved with marble. Here again is the language typical of epigrams in honour of governors. The μόχθοι 'toils' are the same as the πόνοι of Stephanus and many others, while the adjective "sleepless" frequently occurs to describe the unceasing labours of high officials.[25] The reference in the last line to Eutropius's activity in adorning the city with streets paved with marble reveals another important aspect of the governor's role in the late antique city. In addition to being the chief judge of the province, the governor was responsible for the maintenance and construction of public works in its cities, a constant activity which is frequently commemorated in verse dedications.[26] Eutropius, then, may be regarded as another proconsul of Asia, and as one whose monument was in an especially appropriate place, since it stood on a street paved with reused marble; the bust thus adorned the work.[27] Traces of drapery represented on the neck and shoulder of the bust indicate that it was clothed in a toga.[28] This example, too, suggests the obvious and inevitable conclusion that the proconsul of Asia wore the toga.

Portrayal of the toga, however, has been taken to show that the statues do not represent proconsuls at all. In Late Antiquity, officials wore uniforms which distinctly indicated their rank and office, and whose details were the subject of government regulation. To some extent, therefore, it should be possible to determine office from the representation of dress, with the natural limitations that the sources do not describe the dress of each official and that relatively few representations have survived. In the case of the present group of statues, the

[25] For the μόχθοι, see Robert (1948) 21 fn. 3, and for the sleepless labours note the instructions given by Justinian to the *praetores populi*, *Nov.* 13.6, where he demands not only purity and clean hands, but ἀγρυπνία. Such unceasing work was characteristic not only of governors and praetors, but of the greatest of all officials, the emperor: see *Anth.Pal.* IX.689 on walls of Constantinople apparently built by Julian the Apostate and especially the preface to Justinian, *Nov.* 8: Ἁπάσας ἡμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας συμβαίνει μετὰ πάσης ἀγρυπνίας τε καὶ φροντίδος διάγειν ἀεὶ βουλευομένοις, ὅπως ἂν χρηστόν τι καὶ ἀρέσκον θεῷ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δοθείη. Καὶ οὐ πάρεργον τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τοιαύτας αὐτὴν ἀναλίσκομεν βουλὰς διημερεύοντές τε καὶ νυξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ ταῖς ἡμέραις χρώμενοι ....

[26] For the dedications, see Robert (1948) 60-89, and for the role of the governor in providing public works for the cities, Claude (1969) 146-149, Jones (1964) 757-759, Liebeschuetz (1972) 132-136 (Antioch), and Foss (1979) 25-28 (Ephesus).

[27] For the street, see Foss (1979) 61-63.

[28] Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) pl. 181. 1-2 shows folds of drapery over the left shoulder of the bust which would not occur if the portrayed were wearing a chlamys, but are typical of a toga: cf. pl. 178 which shows complete statues of both kinds.

conclusion has been drawn that they represent consuls who, as late as the sixth century, were nominally the chief magistrates of the empire. In fact, the role of the late antique consul was almost entirely ceremonial, and his chief function that of providing games and spectacles for the population of the capitals. The antiquity and importance of the office were expressed by its uniform. At a time when the civil service was called a *militia* and when most high officials wore the military cloak, or chlamys, the consul was distinguished by his use of the Roman toga, and so he appears in the numerous late antique representations on ivory diptychs. On his entry into office, the consul wore triumphal dress — an elaborately embroidered purple tunic and toga — and sat on an ivory throne holding a sceptre. As he presided over the games, he stood holding the *mappa* in his right hand.[29] This has seemed to be the costume of the *togati* of Ephesus; consequently, the only one identifiable has been known as the Consul Stephanus.[30]

This identification poses serious problems. Consuls spent their terms of office in Rome and Constantinople where they produced their spectacles; their activity did not extend to the provinces. It is difficult to understand how not one, but several consuls should adorn the main street of Ephesus. The question has another aspect: did the city decorate itself with statues of officials who could only be seen as representatives of the capital, and are the statues thus to be considered symbols of the overwhelming power of the distant central government? Moreover, such an abundance of consular statues finds no parallel in other cities (even the capitals), nor, more curiously, any reflection in the epigraphical record of the city. Numerous inscribed statue bases of the period have survived: not one names a consul — although members of the imperial family who could have held that office are represented — and the great majority clearly refer to governors.[31] It is of course possible that a consul could be honoured in Ephesus for a special reason: a native or

[29] For the peacetime and triumphal dress of the consul, see Mommsen (1887), I. 408-429 and Delbrueck (1929) 43-68, and for the similar dress of the emperor, Alföldi (1970) 121-186.

[30] Oberleitner (1959) 86 identifies the torso as that of a consul; Bammer et al. (1974) 85f., noting that the title can be derived from the inscription, call it the statue of the Consul Stephanus; while Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) no. 202, who curiously fail to connect the statue with the inscription (in spite of the unambiguous evidence of the excavation: see above, fn. 11), refer to it merely as the statue of a magistrate.

[31] Foss (1979) 67 (Embolos); *IEph* II.305-317 (imperial family), III.621, IV.1300-1312, 1319 (governors).

benefactor of the city, for example; but there could hardly be enough of these to explain the relatively large number of statues.[32]

The problems can be resolved simply by identifying the *togati* of the statues as proconsuls of Asia. This would be in complete accord with the epigraphical evidence which unambiguously shows that Stephanus and Eutropius were proconsuls, and where it is only natural to associate, without attempting any specific identifications, the epigrams to governors on statue bases with the other statues. Since proconsuls served short terms which rarely exceeded two years and were forbidden to hold the office more than once, the age would have produced vast numbers of them to be honoured.[33] Such a quantity of potential subjects would explain the method of manufacture of the statues in which, it appears, large numbers of bodies with the appropriate dress could be prepared in anticipation of honours being granted to an individual whose identity would be established by a specially carved head.[34] This identification has been rejected, however, on the grounds that proconsuls wore the chlamys, supposedly the dress of provincial governors, rather than the toga.[35]

[32] Kollwitz (1941) 86 suggested that these statues represented consuls. A few perhaps did, in spite of the lack of inscriptions mentioning consuls. Others could have represented members of the imperial family. Statue no. 6 (Kollwitz 1941.85f., Taf. 20) might be considered in this connection. It bears a toga quite different from the broad East Roman one (see above, fn. 5) of the rest. Instead, it has a broad *sinus* in front, and more lifelike folds of drapery. Stylistically, it stands apart and is closest to the statue of Valentinian II from Aphrodisias dated to 390 (Kollwitz no. 1, 81-83, Taf. 16; for the chronology of these statues see Oberleitner 1959. 95ff., 1964.14f.) which also has a bundle of scrolls at its feet. The stylistic evidence has indicated an early date for this statue, but the different style of toga may also suggest the statue represents an emperor or member of the imperial family. In fact, imperial relatives were honoured on the Embolos at precisely the time proposed for this statue, when proconsuls dedicated statues to Theodosius, the father, and Aelia Flaccilla, the wife of Theodosius I (*IEph* II.306, 314). Since Theodosius *pater* was a general who would probably have been portrayed in military dress, the statue may represent another member of the family. In any case, it seems likely that variations in draping the toga should be taken to indicate differences of rank as well as date.

[33] The list of known proconsuls of Asia shows that they rarely served even two years in office: see Malcus (1967). According to a law of Honorius, *Cod. Th.* IX.26.4 of 416, no one could hold the proconsulate more than once, but the example of Theodore *illustris*, who held the office twice, suggests that the prohibition was no longer enforced in the time of Justinian: see *Anth. Pal.* I.36 (= *IEph* IV.1354).

[34] Naturally, there is no reason to suppose that most, or even many of the proconsuls were represented in statues. It is more probable that only a governor who had conferred some special benefit on the city would have been so honoured. Nevertheless, the excess of surviving bases over statues shows, as might be expected, that many of the latter have disappeared.

[35] Kollwitz (1941) 86; cf. *Agora* I.80.

In the elaborately structured hierarchy of the late antique government, proconsuls occupied an anomalous and exalted place. The two proconsuls of Asia and Africa were survivors of an antique administrative system and had exceptional privileges. Alone among provincial governors, they were subject not to the praetorian prefects or their vicars, but directly to the emperor himself. Similarly, they bore the exalted title of *spectabilis* (περίβλεπτος), which put them above all other governors.[36] This preeminence would naturally be reflected in official dress, while the antiquity of the office appeared in the trappings of its power.

In spite of fundamental changes of organisation and style, the ceremonial of Late Antiquity preserved much from the early empire and even the republic. The consul, wearing the toga, seated in an ivory chair and holding a sceptre, was still attended by the traditional twelve lictors carrying the fasces. This retinue, as essential as dress in expressing rank, was the sign of the highest magistracy. As such, under the republic and early empire, it was the prerogative of other magistrates with consular *imperium*, and therefore of proconsuls who were in origin consuls with their year in office extended. When Augustus divided the provinces between senate and emperor, the senatorial provinces were to be governed by proconsuls who would wear civilian, not military, dress and who would be attended, like consuls, by twelve lictors.[37]

In Late Antiquity, the elaborate ceremonial of the proconsulate changed hardly at all. Legal texts show that proconsuls still used the ancient consular insignia and were preceded by lictors.[38] The rods and

[36] For the rank and constitutional position of the two proconsuls, see Jones (1964) 375, 378 and index s.v. proconsul. For the proconsul of Asia, see Eunapius, *VS* VII.5 (479) on Clearchus, promoted from vicar to proconsul, and note that in the list of governors appended to Justinian, *Nov*. 8, the proconsul of Asia is second in rank, preceded only by the *comes Orientis*. The proconsulate of Achaea, revived by Constantine, did not share the rank or privileges of the others: see below, p. 213.

[37] Dress and lictors: Dio Cassius 53.13. The number of lictors assigned to proconsuls varied according to their rank: those who had actually served as consuls governed Asia and Africa (Dio Cassius 53.14) and held the highest dignity, expressed by twelve lictors; others, who had only held the office of praetor, had six. Similarly, the governors of the imperial provinces who had been praetors had six lictors, while the rest, *legati pro praetore*, had only five. These complicated questions are discussed with full references by Mommsen (1887) I. 383-388.

[38] The number of lictors is not certain. The *Digest* of Justinian, I.16.14, quoting Ulpian, seems to state clearly that proconsuls should have no more than six: "proconsules non amplius quam sex fascibus utantur." Ulpian, however, lived in the early third century (d. 228), while *Ep*. 37 of Cyprian, a later writer (d. 257), indicates that the proconsul of Africa in his time had twelve: "eant nunc magistratus et consules sive proconsules, annuae dignitatis insignibus et xii fascibus glorientur." This suggests that the compilers of the *Digest* took the passage of Ulpian out of context, and that it may have referred more

axes which the lictors carried are specifically mentioned, and these fasces were considered as characteristic of the proconsular office as the silver carriage.[39] Similarly, the dress of the proconsul corresponded to his rank. Under the early empire, he wore the toga of a civilian official; proconsuls were, in fact, forbidden to wear military uniform or to carry a sword at their belt.[40] The normal toga of the proconsul was that of a curule magistrate, decorated with a purple band, the *toga praetexta*. When he presided at the games, however, he wore the triumphal regalia of the consul, with a toga entirely of purple.[41] The continuing importance of traditional dress in Late Antiquity meant that the toga was as inseparable from the office of proconsul as were the lictors, fasces, and carriage. The evidence is especially clear for the sixth century, the time of Stephanus of Ephesus.

Early in his reign, Justinian embarked on an ambitious series of administrative reforms which included the creation of the proconsulates of Armenia I, Palestine, and Cappadocia. In the laws of 536 which defined the duties of the new officials, the emperor specified the dress which they should wear. The governor of First Armenia was to wear the dress of the proconsul, without further details.[42] This shows that the proconsul had distinctive clothing; its nature appears in the case of the proconsul of Palestine. He was specifically ordered to wear "the reverend and ancient toga, the robe with a purple border"—that is, the *toga praetexta*—on festal occasions.[43] As for the proconsul of Cappadocia, he was to have a silver chariot, rods and axes, and "whatever ancient insignia may have been ordained by law."[44] From this, it is evident that

specifically to proconsuls who had not been consuls. The extract, however, does suggest that the number of lictors was limited to six in the time of Justinian.

39 For the curule insignia of proconsuls, see *Cod. Th.* VI.10.3 of 381 and VI.22.7 of 383. In the time of Justinian, the insignia of the proconsul of Cappadocia were a silver chariot (above, fn. 21) and the fasces, πέλεκυν καὶ ῥάβδους: *Nov.* 30.6; cf. *Nov.* 24.4 and 25.5 (above, fn. 20) on the praetors of Pisidia and Lycaonia who were exceptionally given the insignia of consular administration, the silver chariot: and the rods and axes.

40 Dio Cassius 53.13; Mommsen (1887) I.432, 435.

41 For the purple toga of magistrates giving games, especially the consul, see Mommsen (1887) I. 408-416, and, for the *praetexta* as their normal dress except when entering office, holding a triumph, or giving games, ibid., 418-423. For detailed descriptions of the various togas, see Delbrueck (1929) 43-68.

42 Just., *Nov.* 31.i.praef.: στολῇ τε γὰρ αὐτὴν (the office) κατεκοσμήσαμεν ἀνθυπάτου.

43 Just., *Nov.* 103.1: χρήσεται δε καὶ τῇ σεμνῇ καὶ ἀρχαίᾳ τηβέννῳ (φαμὲν δὲ τῇ περιπορφύρῳ στολῇ) ἐν ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις αὐτὴν περιτιθέμενος = utatur nobili et antiqua toga (dicimus autem purpuream stolam) sacris mensibus eam circumamictus.

44 Just., *Nov.* 30.6. In this case, it is possible that the proconsul did not wear the toga, since he alone, unlike the others, had military as well as civil power.

the toga was the dress of the proconsul in the time of Justinian, as it had been for many centuries. It appears, however, that this was not the triumphal toga of the consul, purple in color and adorned with gold embroidery, but the more modest *praetexta*. Hence, the togas of the Ephesian statues are notably different from those portrayed in the consular diptychs, and far less elaborate.[45] In general, however, the dress and attributes of the proconsul would have been strikingly similar to those of the consul.[46]

The toga was the official and especially the ceremonial dress of the proconsul. Although specifically forbidden to wear military clothing, proconsuls of the early empire would certainly have assumed it outside their capital cities when commanding troops.[47] As purely civil officials, however, the late antique proconsuls of Asia would never have had such an occasion. Nevertheless, some proconsuls might have been represented in military dress when they also held high military rank. Such might have been the case of two proconsuls of Asia, Phlegethius in 449 and Johannes of uncertain date, who both had the title *comes domesticorum*, one of the great military commanders of the empire who ranked even higher than the proconsul.[48] An official who possessed both titles might therefore have preferred to be represented in the dress of the higher rank. These two, however, appear to have been rare exceptions, for they alone among the long series of known proconsuls have a military title.[49]

The statue of Stephanus, therefore, is to be considered as representing the proconsul of Asia in his festal dress as president of the games. He wears the tunics and toga of his office, holds the sceptre which symbolised his power, and raises the *mappa* to start the provincial games. In Late Antiquity, Ephesus continued to be the site of the games of Asia which were held in the provincial assembly, at which regional dignitaries met to praise or condemn the governor, and to send petitions to the emperor.[50] This interpretation removes the problems which

[45] The triumphal *tràbea* of the consul, as shown by the vast majority of the diptychs, is of a stiff heavy material quite unlike the flowing robes of these statues, and includes an extra piece of material, the so-called Brücke, over the right shoulder; on that, see Delbrueck (1929) 46f., and note his remarks about the East Roman toga, ibid., 49, and the clear statement of the differences by Miss Wilson (1924) 112 fn. 9.

[46] Note, incidentally, that the sceptre which these statues bear is similar to that of the consul, ending in an imperial bust (see above, fn. 7), showing that the consuls were not the only officials to use such elaborate sceptres, as implied by Delbrueck (1929) 61f.

[47] Mommsen (1887) II.260 fn. 4.

[48] Proconsuls: *IEph* IV.1336, 1352; *comes*: Jones (1964) 143 and index *s.v.*

[49] I hope to discuss the titles of the proconsuls of Asia in more detail elsewhere.

[50] Foss (1979) 19f.

consular identification had introduced and suits the language of the inscriptions. The other *togati* may also be seen as proconsuls and their statues, like the numerous inscriptions, may be taken to reflect the well-known prominence of governors in their capital cities. The relative abundance of statues, and their technique of production, is suitable for officials who succeeded each other rapidly. Henceforth, the only identifiable statue from Ephesus may be known as that of the proconsul Stephanus.

In Late Antiquity, the toga was a relatively rare object: only consuls, magistrates of consular or senatorial rank, and senators wore it.[51] Even they donned this bulky and elaborate dress only on official occasions and seem generally to have preferred the simpler military cloak, or chlamys. In 382, a law had to be passed specifically ordering senators to doff the chlamys in Rome and to wear the toga to meetings of the senate.[52] Some togate officials, of course, would also have ranks or titles for which the toga was appropriate and *vice versa*. These are thus sometimes represented in both kinds of dress, notably in the consular diptychs. Such is the case of consuls who were also patricians—they wore the chlamys—and of a vicar of the city of Rome who is shown both in his official chlamys and in the toga of a senator.[53] Most officials, however,

[51] Delbrueck (1929) 44, 51-58. Kollwitz (1941) 85, maintained that only the *praefectus urbi* among the magistrates of Late Antiquity wore the toga, and has generally been followed, e.g., *Agora* I.80 and Alföldi (1964) 6 (for this and a few other references I am indebted to a reader of an earlier version of this paper who provided them amidst a peculiarly inaccurate and disagreeable commentary). This seems to have been based on a misreading of his source, Stein (1928) 184, who noted that, beside the republican magistrates of Rome, the Prefect of the City wore the toga (the key phrase here is "abgesehen von den republikanischen Magistraturen der Stadt Rom"); the republican magistrates, of course, include the proconsul and many others. Mommsen (1887) I.409 n.l., refers to the toga of the *praefectus urbi* as "der letzte Überrest" of the ancient official dress. The source for the dress of the *praefectus urbi*, Cassiodorus, *Var.* VI.4.7, *Formula praefecturae urbanae*, does indeed describe him as wearing the toga, but nowhere states or implies that he alone has this distinction.

[52] *Cod. Th.* XIV.10.1. This was probably the case for magistrates also, but does not affect the question of their statues or other official representations.

[53] These examples appear in the consular diptychs: Delbrueck (1929) N2 and N3, which respectively show Constantius III (?) and Felix, consul in 428, as both consul and patrician (for the chlamys of the latter, see Lydus, *de Mag.* I.17). The case of N6, which is supposed to represent Basilius, consul in 480 in both toga and chlamys, raises problems of dating and interpretation which cannot be considered here. For the opposite case, see N65, the diptych of Probianus, *vicarius urbis Romae* in 416. The natural interpretation of Delbrueck followed here seems superior to that proposed by Chastagnol (1960) 222 (he is shown exercising his duties within and outside Rome), especially when compared with Cassiodorus, *Var.* VI.15 which emphatically shows that the dress of the vicar was the chlamys: "Additur quod nec salutari te sine chlamyde iura voluerunt, scilicet ut sub veste

would hold one office and be portrayed in the dress which represented it, whatever they might choose to wear on less formal occasions.

The militarised administration of the age naturally showed itself in the chlamys, which was the dress of the vast majority of officials. The emperor normally wore a chlamys, donning the toga only when he assumed office, celebrated a triumph, or held the consulate. The head of the civil administration, the praetorian prefect, wore a chlamys, as did his subordinates in the provinces, the vicars, and virtually all government officials.[54] Use of the chlamys was so widespread that it has been considered the normal dress of provincial governors.[55] While this is generally true, there was an important exception in addition to the proconsuls.

Most provincial governors were *praesides*, equestrian officials who had obtained senatorial rank by the fifth century. They wore the chlamys.[56] The best known examples are the *chlamydati* of Aphrodisias, whom Professor Ševčenko has identified as *praesides* of Caria. They wore the military cloak over a tunic, and the *cingulum* or belt of office which indicated active duty, rather than an honorary post. These statues have been dated to the fourth or early fifth century.[57] This military dress had its origins in the reforms of Augustus, who ordained that governors of imperial provinces, *legati pro praetore*, as distinct from proconsuls, should wear military uniform and a sword and be attended by life lictors.[58] The late antique *praeses*, who was of a lower rank than the

militari semper visus numquam credideris esse privatus." The same passage also states that the vicar acquired senatorial dignity and would attend meetings of the Senate: "Praeneste ludos edis in vicem consulis in honorem positus dignitatemque senatoris adquiris ... hinc est quod in aula Libertatis locum patrium tenes at ibi mereris consessum."

54 Delbrueck (1929) 32-40; cf. Mommsen (1887) I.429-433 on the war uniform of emperors and magistrates. Note that this dress was never characteristic of proconsuls: see above, fn. 40. For the praetorian prefect, see Lydus, *de Mag.* II.13; vicar of Rome: above, fn. 53; provincial governors: below, fn. 56. See also Mommsen (1887) I.388, who shows that magistrates of the praetorian prefect and others of equestrian rank never had the insignia of senatorial magistrates. Because of the widespread use of the chlamys, it is not possible to identify with certainty a statue which stood in the theatre of Ephesus: Bammer et al. 179. It showed the chlamys over a tunic, and the left arm stretched forth; it is not clear whether or not the *cingulum* of office was portrayed. The statue has been dated to the early fifth century by its resemblance to the *chlamydati* of Aphrodisias, on which see below. It could represent a praetorian prefect or one of the proconsuls who held military rank (see above, p. 208).

55 Ševčenko (1968) 37; *Agora* I.80.

56 Cassiodorus, *Var.* VI.21, *Formula rectoris provinciae*: "chlamydis tuae procul dubio inter alia clavos intende."

57 Ševčenko (1968); Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) nos. 242, 243; Kollwitz (1941) 83f.

58 Dio Cassius 53.13.

old *legatus*, apparently had no fasces, but purely military trappings of office.[59]

Between the *praeses* and the proconsul was another kind of governor with the title of *consularis*. This post was of senatorial rank and, as its name indicates, was originally held by men who had been consul. In Late Antiquity, the term *consularis* had two meanings: a grade of provincial governor, and a member of the upper echelon of the Senate, an ex-consul. Classical and late antique *consulares* wore the toga, a dress attested specifically for the ex-consuls but plainly also that of the governors.[60] Like consuls and proconsuls, these were attended by lictors, and the fasces they bore were considered to symbolise the office of *consularis* in the language of the imperial court.[61] Since they had the attendants of the consul, it is only natural that they should have worn the toga, as did their namesakes in the senate.

A recently published statue from Aphrodisias confirms the dress of the *consularis* and explains another statue from the same site. The new statue was found complete with its base, which bears a dedication to Fl. Palmatus, τὸν περίβλεπτον ὑπατικὸν καὶ ἐπαίχοντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου βικαρίου, a *consularis* with the rank of *spectabilis* who occupied the position of the *magnificentissimus* vicar of Asia. Palmatus is portrayed in the familiar broad East Roman toga, holding the *mappa* in his lowered right hand, and the sceptre in his left. The work has been dated to the late fifth century, and is in any case not later than 536, when the office of vicar of Asia was abolished.[62] Combination of the statue and inscription show clearly that the *consularis* wore a toga, and enable a similar statue from Aphrodisias to be identified. This shows an official in the same toga, holding the *mappa* in his raised right hand. It has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century and

[59] *Cod. Th.* IX.26.4, a law of 416 which distinguished between the fasces of a *consularis* and the *vexilla*, or military insignia, of the *praeses*.

[60] Classical *consulares*: Mommsen (1887) I.418f.; late antique *viri consulares*: Delbrueck (1929) 52f.

[61] *Cod. Th.* IX.26.4 (of 416); Cassiodorus, *Var.* VI. 20; *Formula consularitatis*: "Quamvis dignitatem tuam a consulibus descendere nominis ipsius videantur testimonia declarare, tamen et insignia tanta circumstant, ut nullus possit ambigere te de illius lampadis claritate lucere. secures enim et fasces, quos illi dicavit genio antiquitatis, tuis videntur phaleris deputata." *Consulares* were apparently attended by five, or exceptionally six, lictors: Mommsen (1887) I.385, with reference to *CIL* VIII, p. xviii, a fourth-century inscription of a *consularis* of Numidia.

[62] Statue: Inan–Rosenbaum (1979) no. 208; the inscription is treated in more detail by Roueché (1979).

would normally be taken to represent a governor.[63] In fact, the rank of the governor of Caria was raised from *praeses* to *consularis* between about 400 and 480, so that both the *chlamydati* and the *togati* can be seen as representations of the same office and as reflections of its increased rank and prestige.[64]

The governors of Lydia also bore the title of *consularis*, and fragments of statues found in their capital, Sardis, seem to show that they were represented in togas. One of these consists of an expressionistic, almost grotesque, head from the early sixth century found near a lime kiln which the Byzantines had installed in the ruins of a large Roman gymnasium adjacent to the Pactolus river. Traces of drapery on the left shoulder suggest that the figure wore a toga, while a dowel-hole shows that the head was attached to a ready-made torso like those of Ephesus.[65] The toga and the apparent multiple production of statues would be appropriate to *consulares* who, like proconsuls, followed each other in rapid succession. Fragments of another statue, including a marble hand holding a *mappa*, were found in the bedding of a Byzantine road which partially covered the late antique colonnaded street adjacent to the gymnasium. They have been tentatively dated to the fifth century A.D.[66] These could represent pieces of another statue of a *consularis*, in his role as president of the games, and make it possible to suppose that the main street of Sardis, like that of Ephesus, was decorated with statues of governors among the colonnades. The head, which implies the existence of other statues, could easily have been brought from the ruins of the nearby street to the kiln by medieval lime-burners.

A group of similar statues from Greece raises problems of identification which can only be partially resolved. This consists of four

[63] Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) no. 244. A third statue from Aphrodisias poses more complicated problems: Inan–Rosenbaum (1979) no. 195. This shows a *togatus* of similar kind with his right hand outstretched and a bundle of rolls at his feet; both hands are missing. The torso of this statue was finished, but the head was not. Nevertheless, analysis of the portrait has suggested a date in the late Constantinian period, a time when the governor of Caria was a *praeses* and would have worn the chlamys. It is therefore possible that the statue represents some other dignitary, perhaps a member of the imperial family, or that the dating proposed for this unfinished head is incorrect.

[64] For the titles of the governor of Caria, see Roueché (1979) 174f.

[65] Hanfmann and Ramage (1978) 102 no. 95. Sande (1975) 81-83 dates the head to ca. 520 and notes that the folds of cloth visible on the neck show that it was part of a *chlamydatus*. Since these folds appear on the left shoulder, however, it is more likely that they are the remnants of a toga. The toga had several folds of material on the left shoulder, while the material of the chlamys, which was attached by a fibula on the right shoulder, was usually smooth here: see Inan–Rosenbaum (1966) pls. 178 and 184.

[66] Hanfmann–Ramage (1978) 114 no. 133.

chlamydati from Corinth, a *chlamydatus* from Megara, and two *togati* from Athens.

The Corinthian *chlamydati*, who wear the *cingulum* of active office, pose a special problem. Two, like the similar statues from Aphrodisias, hold scrolls in their left hands; one holds a *mappa* against his breast, like some of the statues from Ephesus; the fourth is fragmentary.[67] The first seems to date from the fifth century; the other three are from the sixth.[68] The statues bear the attributes of high officials, presumably governors, and one evidently appears as president of the local games. They have naturally been identified as governors of the province whose capital was at Corinth — that is, proconsuls of Achaea.[69]

This identification raises a serious problem, not previously considered, whose resolution is uncertain: if these statues represent proconsuls, why are they wearing the chlamys? There seem to be two possible answers: either they are not proconsuls, or the proconsuls of Achaea did not wear the same dress as those of Asia. The statues could portray prefects of Illyricum, or their subordinates the vicars of Macedonia, or other high dignitaries who were benefactors of Corinth. In such cases, the chlamys would be appropriate, but the *mappa* would be difficult to explain, since the proconsul presided at the games. Consideration of the second possibility suggests a different solution. The proconsulate of Achaea had disappeared in the reforms of Diocletian, who assigned the province to a *corrector*; Constantine raised the office again to a proconsulate.[70] This, however, unlike those of Asia and Africa, did not enjoy exceptional privileges, but was subordinate to the vicar of Macedonia and his superior, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum.[71] It is likely, therefore, that the proconsul of Achaea had a lower rank than the others and wore the chlamys of a *praeses* rather than the toga of a proconsul. If this were the case, Late Antiquity would have been following the precepts of Augustus, who granted consular insignia and privileges only to those proconsuls who had actually served as consuls — that is, the governors of Asia and Africa. The rest were treated as praetors, had fewer lictors,

[67] Kollwitz (1941) 89-91, nos. 13-16.
[68] Ibid., 100f., 109, 112f.; for the dating, see Sande (1975) 84f., following, for nos. 15 and 16, F. P. Johnson in *Corinth* IX. nos. 327-328.
[69] Kollwitz (1941) 89, cf. 86. Johnson, *Corinth* IX. no. 328, suggests an identification as governors or emperors.
[70] Jones (1964) 45, 106f.
[71] See the *Notitia Dignitatum*, *Occ*. II.xx (Africa), *Or*. II.xxiv (Asia), III.viii (Achaea) and the tabulations in Jones (1964) 1453, 1456, 1457.

and wore military dress.[72] Very few late antique dedications to officials have been found in Corinth, but among them are three bases which bore statues of governors, and none of vicars or praetorian prefects.[73] Such evidence, though certainly meagre, may support the suggestion that these statues represent proconsuls, and that these proconsuls, unlike the others, wore the chlamys.

A statue from Megara poses a similar problem. Dated to the mid-fifth century, it portrays a figure wearing tunic and chlamys, but is too deteriorated to provide details of dress.[74] It may represent a praetorian prefect of Illyricum, who had authority over all the Balkan provinces. One prefect, famous for his benefactions to Athens, built city walls and an aqueduct at Megara; the citizens, in return, honoured him with a statue whose base and dedicatory inscription survive. This prefect, Herculius, held office from 408-412, a period which seems not to correspond with the date proposed for the statue.[75] His example, however, shows that praetorian prefects, like governors, were honored in the cities of Achaea.[76] On the other hand, the statue could represent a proconsul of Achaea if they wore the chlamys. Inscriptions from Megara also include dedications to proconsuls which show that statues of governors were set up in the city.[77]

The case of two *togati* from Athens also involves some speculation. One of them is represented by a bust of a bearded man wearing a toga; it has been dated to about 440.[78] The beard and the reputation of Athens at this time as a centre of learning suggest that this represents a philosopher who had gained senatorial rank or something similar manifested in the toga. In the fourth and fifth centuries, teachers were often rewarded with high distinctions and honorary ranks. At Athens, for example, Prohaeresius, who flourished before the date assigned to this bust, received an honorary prefecture, and both he and Plutarch, a sophist of the early fifth century, were honoured with statues.[79] The

72 Dio Cassius 53.13; Mommsen (1887) I. 382f.

73 Statues of proconsuls: *Corinth* VIII/l. 89,92; VIII/3.503.

74 Kollwitz (1941) 91, 109.

75 Epigram: *IG* VII.93, cf. Robert (1948) 60f. For Herculius at Athens, see Frantz (1965) 190, 192. Kollwitz (1941) 109 notes that a definite dating of the statue is difficult to establish because of its condition.

76 Praetorian prefects were likewise honoured at Athens: *IG* II^2. 4224, 4225, 4226.

77 At Megara, statues were naturally also dedicated to proconsuls: *IG* VII.94, 95, 96; cf. Robert (1948) 60, 94-102.

78 Kollwitz (1941) 91 no. 18; dating: Oberleitner (1959) 95.

79 See, in general, Jones (1964) 997-1002 with 1002 fn. 42. Prohaeresius: Eunapius, *VitSoph* X.7 (492); Plutarch: Robert (1948) 95f.

other *togatus* is a headless statue with both hands missing dressed in a tunic, colobium and toga, dated to the last quarter of the fifth century.[80] If, as it appears, the proconsul of Achaea wore a chlamys, this also could portray a high-ranking benefactor of Athens or a famous sophist.[81]

The final group of statues to be considered comes from the two capitals, which have each produced two *togati* of the kind now familiar. All wear tunic, colobium, and the broad East Roman toga. The two from Rome are strikingly similar, each holding the *mappa* in the raised right hand, and a sceptre in the left.[82] They appear to date from the late Constantinian period, perhaps the third or fourth decade of the fourth century.[83] If this dating is correct, they will be the earliest of all these statues and may be taken to show that this distinctive toga was in use throughout Late Antiquity.

The statues from Constantinople are similar, though less well preserved. The earlier, dated to the third quarter of the fourth century, has a toga with a broad *sinus* and bears traces of the tip of a sceptre on its left shoulder.[84] The other, apparently from ca. 450, has no trace of a sceptre, but a bundle of rolls stands by its feet.[85] In both cases, the heads are set in with dowels and the hands are missing, so that it is not possible to tell whether or not they held a *mappa*.

Since these statues were found in the capitals, it is unlikely that they represent provincial governors, while their distinctive togas seem to preclude identification as consuls or emperors.[86] In theory, they could represent anyone of senatorial rank, and thus offer a vast range of possible identifications. Their attributes, however, suggest that a more specific definition may be possible. The *togati* of Rome hold the sceptre of high office and the *mappa* of the president of the games. Those of Constantinople, with their sceptre and bundle of rolls, respectively, should represent high officials. In all cases, in fact, there appear to be relatively few possibilities.

[80] Kollwitz (1941) 91 no. 19 = *Agora* I.79f.

[81] E. Harrison in *Agora* I.80, supposing from the absence of a sceptre (which could have disappeared without leaving a trace) that the statue could not be that of a *vir consularis*, concluded that it was "perhaps safer to assume an unidentified senator."

[82] Description and bibliography in Helbig (1963) 1491. For the toga, see Delbrueck (1929) 49. Note that the sceptres are at least partially restored, so that the knobs in which they end need not be considered significant: cf. fn. 7 above.

[83] Dated by Oberleitner (1959) 94f. and (1964) 14f. on the basis of the style of the portraits; they had previously been assigned to the early fifth century.

[84] Kollwitz (1941) 84 no. 4, dated by Oberleitner (1959) 95ff.

[85] Kollwitz (1941) 85 no. 5, dated by Oberleitner (1959) 95.

[86] See fn. 45 above.

In the two capitals, one magistrate, the *praefectus urbi*, was preeminent. He was one of the great officials of the empire, equal in rank to the Praetorian Prefect; he served as president of the senate in both Rome and Constantinople.[87] His dress was the toga.[88] The statues of Constantinople could well represent such officials.[89] Those of Rome, however, are less likely to have been Prefects of the city, since they are portrayed as givers of games. The Prefect of Rome seems rarely to have organised or presided over games: he is known to have directed only the *Ludi Castorum* of Ostia.[90] In the capital, however, there was another group of officials, the praetors, whose main duty was that of giving games. After the middle of the fourth century, they were appointed far in advance of the year in which their games were to be held; they formed colleges of three and were chosen from the ranks of the richer senators.[91] In classical times, the *praetor urbanus* gave games and presided over them in triumphal dress; his colleagues in Rome normally wore the *toga praetexta*.[92] For Late Antiquity, the evidence is less abundant, but includes a rare labelled representation: a silver plate bearing the figure of Aspar, consul in 434, shows him with his young son Ardaburius Junior, who is clearly labelled as praetor. Ardaburius holds the *mappa* and wears a toga.[93] It is therefore clear that the praetor wore a toga, as would be natural for a senatorial official. An ivory diptych seems to offer confirmation by showing three togate officials presiding over a hunt of wild stags; since they served in colleges of three, the natural identification as praetors has been made.[94] It is therefore possible that the two statues from Rome represent praetors in their role as patrons of games, or perhaps less probably, urban prefects on the rare occasions when they, too, presided over games.[95]

[87] See Jones (1964) 143, 375, 528, and particularly the detailed study of Chastagnol (1960).

[88] Cassiodorus, *Var.* VI.4; cf. Chastagnol (1960) 197-205 for the dress, office and *carpentum* of the Prefect.

[89] Since they seem to be later than 359, the statues cannot represent proconsuls of the city, who were replaced by prefects in that year: see Dagron (1974) 215-226.

[90] Chastagnol (1960) 280.

[91] Jones (1964) 132, 219, and 537-542 on the expenses of the games; cf. Chastagnol (1960) 74, 280-282. The games of the praetor were, of course, secondary to those of the consuls and emperor. In the East, the imperial government apparently took over most of the games after the middle of the fifth century: Jones (1964) 706.

[92] Mommsen (1887) I. 412, 418, II. 236f.

[93] Delbrueck (1929) N35.

[94] Ibid., N58.

[95] Identification as praetors raises one problem. In the cases cited in the two previous notes, the figures do not hold a sceptre, a fact particularly notable in the case of

For the most part, then, the late antique *togati* and *chlamydati*, as Professor Ševčenko long ago suggested, may be identified with known kinds of officials. The most important group, those of Ephesus, are plainly proconsuls, and those of Aphrodisias likewise represent governors. For the rest, certain identifications are not possible, but at least a limited range of probabilities may be suggested: in Greece, proconsuls, praetorian prefects and philosophers; in the capitals, urban prefects and praetors. Most of the statues reflect the overwhelming importance of the governor in the life of the city and so confirm the evidence of the inscriptions and other texts. In particular, the series of proconsuls of Asia is one of the most impressive groups of monumental statuary found in a late antique city. With the office they represent established, they may be seen to embody the characteristic relation between city and central government. There are doubtless other statues and representations which may be identified by considering their dress; they, too, will then take their place in the artistic expression of late antique society.

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Ardaburius, whose father and ancestors are shown with consular sceptres in their hands. Whether this means that praetors did not have the right to a sceptre (and that these statues are therefore of another official), or whether for some reason they are represented differently in statues, ivories, and plates, does not seem resolvable.

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Statue of Stephanus, Proconsul of Asia, from Ephesus

Secular Jurisdiction over the Armenian Church (Fourth-Seventh Centuries)

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Various aspects of the early Armenian church, from the consecration of its first patriarch, Saint Gregory the Illuminator, at Caesarea of Cappadocia in 314[1] to the period of the Arab invasions of the mid-seventh century, have been the subject of numerous studies to date.[2] Because of Armenia's precarious position between the major powers of Byzantium and Sasanian Persia and its own early assertion of ecclesiastical autonomy, this autonomy has been both affirmed and questioned.[3] The precise date of Armenia's rejection of the Council of Chalcedon and consequently of its dogmatic break with Constantinople is still open to question,[4] and the nuances of its own Christology are insistently debated.[5] In view of these and other unresolved problems, the time has

[1] P. Ananian, "La date e le circostanze della consecrazione di S. Gregorio Illuminatore," *Le Muséon*, vol. 84 (1961).

[2] It is impossible, of course, to provide a complete bibliography of the early Armenian church here. Two major surveys, both in Armenian, are M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, vol. 1 (Constantinople, 1912), and H. S. Kogean, *Hayoc' ekelec'in* (Beirut, 1961). Among the earlier western works, see: H. Gelzer, "Die Anfänge der armenischen Kirche," *Berichte der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft* (1895); S. Weber, *Die katolische Kirche in Armenien* (Freiburg i/B, 1903); J. Markwart, *Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer*, ed. J. Messina (Rome, 1932); as well as the numerous articles by P. Peeters. The relations between the Armenian church and the contemporary social structure of the country were first analyzed in N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, ed. and trans. N.G. Garsoïan (Louvain, 1970), ch. xii. The period preceding the Armeno-Georgian schism was studied by N. Akinean, *Kiwrion kat'olikos Vrac'*... (*k'ařasnameay šrjan Hayoc' ekelec'akan patmut'enēn*, 574-610) (Vienna, 1910). Finally references will continually be made here to G. Garitte's masterly analysis, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (Louvain, 1952). Also see below, fns. 4, 5.

[3] See, e.g., Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 254, for the opposing views of K. Tēr Mkrtč'ean and N. Marr.

[4] *Inter alia*, V. Inglisian, "Chalkedon und die armenische Kirche," in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, eds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, vol. 2 (Würzburg, [1953]), pp. 361-417; K. Sarkisian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London, 1965).

[5] In addition to the general works listed in fn. 2 above, see J. Gat'rc'ean, *Himnakan tarberut'iwn kat'olikē ew Ējmiacnakan dawanut'eanc'* (Constantinople, 1864); A. Balgy, *Historia doctrinae catholicae inter armenos* (Vienna, 1878); F. Tournebize, *Histoire*

obviously not yet come to attempt a new synthesis, nor is it my intention to pursue theological discussions in the present brief exposition. The question on which I should like to focus here is not one of doctrine, but of jurisdiction.

Pursuing the question of Armenian ecclesiastical autonomy, Gérard Garitte, in his major study of this period, maintained the accepted position that Armenia had remained under the jurisdiction of the see of Caesarea until the middle of the fifth century, when it became autocephalous after its rejection of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.[6] Much earlier, however, Nicholas Adontz, in his study of the relationship between the Armenian church and the characteristic "para-feudal" *naxarar* social structure of early Armenia, had posited that "the heads of the [Armenian] Church changed in accordance with political influence," Roman or Persian.[7] He argued further that the patriarch (or *kat'olikos*) of Armenia, because of his position as bishop of the royal domain and court, was appointed by the native Arsacid kings and that this prerogative passed to Persia after the downfall of the Armenian dynasty.[8] In light of these disagreements, and of the indefinite character of the "political influence" exerted over the Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy, a closer look at the activities of the secular powers of the day is not unwarranted.

For all of the elaboration of the interior hierarchy of the Christian church culminating in the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon,[9] the question of secular interference in church affairs remained a crucial one throughout the period under consideration. In Constantinople, from the very period of its founder, the emperor, *isapostolos*, *Christomimetes*, earthly icon of the divine perfection according to the Eusebian theory, accepted few limitations to his authority in ecclesiastical affairs.[10] In matters of dogma, Maximus Confessor, at

politique et religieuse de l'Arménie (Paris, 1910), pp. 86-99, fns. 312-14, 320-23, 333-35, 346-48, 350-51, et passim; V. Hacuni, *Karewor Xndirner Hay ekelec'woy patmut'enēn* (Venice, 1927); M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia catholica dissidentium*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1935), pp. 478-543. Given the subject, it is not surprizing that much of the analysis is contaminated with polemics.

6 Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 56-57.

7 Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 275; cf. pp. 269, 271-72.

8 Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 287-88.

9 Inter alia, F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 3-105.

10 Eusebius, *Oratio de laudibus Constantini*, iii [= H. A. Drake tr. *In Praise of Constantine* (Los Angeles, etc., 1976), pp. 86-88]; cf. F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, vol. 2 (Washington, 1966), pp. 611sqq., esp. 616-622.

his own bitter cost, or John of Damascus, safe beyond the imperial frontier, might assert that the emperor, as a layman, could not meddle in the church.[11] In the preface to his *Sixth Novella*, Justinian might differentiate between ἱερωσύνη (*sacerdotium*) and βασιλεία (*imperium*), though he went on to legislate on episcopal appointments.[12] Nevertheless, the emperor, and only he, summoned œcumenical councils and promulgated their decisions as law. The fates of John Chrysostom, Popes Virgilius and Martin, or the numerous bishops exiled or recalled at the will of the successors of Constantine during the crises of the fourth and fifth centuries testify all too eloquently to the heavy hand laid by the emperor over ecclesiastical hierarchs, as would his control of patriarchal elections.[13] Even in the distant west, Gregory the Great seems to have conceded to Maurice some say over his accession to the papal throne.[14]

The Zoroastrian king of kings exercised the same prerogatives equally effectively, although perhaps less extensively, over the Christian church within his realm. The Council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon of 410 recognized his right to call ecclesiastical councils and promulgate their decisions, and to designate or ratify the election of patriarchal or episcopal candidates. Similarly, it set the order of precedence for Persian metropolitans according to the status of their cities, as would later be done at Chalcedon.[15] Thus, on both sides of the Armenian borders, the ruler's

[11] For Maximus Confessor, see *Patrologia Graeca* (hereafter *P.G.*), XC, col. 117B-C. For John of Damascus, *P.G.*, XCIV, cols. 1295, 1297, 1302. Cf. H. Yedin, ed., *History of the Church* (New York, 1980), pp. 460-61.

[12] *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, III: *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll (Berlin, 1899), pp. 35-36.

[13] For John Chrysostom, Virgilius and Martin, see Yedin, *History of the Church*, 2: 89, 128, 257-58, 452-55, 491. For the patriarchal designation at Constantinople, see *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, vol. 4, pt. 2, ed. J. Hussey (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 10-11, 109-110, etc.

[14] The salutation of Gregory's Letter to Maurice, *MGH*, *Epistulae*, I, 220, 2, "Indignus pietatis vestrae famulus," may be no more than current rhetoric on the part of the "Servus servorum Domini," although the dominus here is unquestionably an earthly one; however, the commentary of Gregory of Tours, "Historiarum Libri X," *MGH*, *Scriptores*, I, pt I, fasc. ii, X, i, 9-17, pp. 478-479 ("... hoc apicem adtentius fugire temptans [Gregorius] ... Unde factum est, ut epistulam ad imperatorem Mauricium dirigeret, ... coniurans et multa praece deposcens, ne umquam consensum praeberet populis, ut hunc huius honoris gloria sublimaret. ... At ille [Mauricius] gratias Deo agens pro amicitia diaconi, quod repperisset locum honoris eius, data praeceptione, ipsum iussit institui"), clearly indicates the imperial jurisdictional prerogative in this matter.

[15] *Synodicon Orientale*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1902), pp. 254-273; cf. J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie des Sassanides* (Paris, 1904), pp. 92-100, 119-25, 139, 327-28, 333-34, etc.; N. G. Garsoïan, "Armenia in the Fourth Century: An Attempt to Redefine the Terms 'Armenia' and 'Loyalty,'" *Revue des études arméniennes* (hereafter *REArm*), n.s. 8 (1971): 347-351 and footnotes.

jurisdiction over his own church and its hierarchy *de facto*, if not always *de jure*, was generally accepted as common practice.

Imperial control over the Armenian church both before and after the Council of Chalcedon has long been amply documented, and I have attempted elsewhere to trace the correlation between Armenian and imperial religious policies in the fourth century.[16] The consecration of the Armenian patriarchs at Caesarea of Cappadocia from Gregory I to the murder of Nersēs I (314-ca. 374) has never been challenged.[17] In the provinces of Armenia Minor west of the Euphrates, bishops conformed fully to the imperial norms. As the Byzantine frontier moved eastward after the partition of the Armenian kingdom ca. 387 and again in 591, these norms were apparently extended to the newly annexed territories. Their bishops attended the œcumenical councils of Chalcedon and Constantinople (553, 680, 692);[18] the bishops of Roman Armenia dutifully came to the council of union summoned by Maurice in 591 that was spurned by their eastern colleagues.[19] It is particularly interesting to observe in this connection that, with the exception of the sees of Daranałik'/Daranalis, Tarōn, and perhaps Derǰan/Derxenē,[20] these bishops were identified with cities according to common ecclesiastical practice (Gregory of Justinianpolis, Marianos of Kitharizon, Theodore of Karin/Theodosiopolis),[21] and not with noble clans or domains

[16] N. G. Garsoïan, "Politique ou orthodoxie? L'Arménie au quatrième siècle," *REArm*, n.s. 4 (1976): 297-320.

[17] Ananian, "La date." The one exception seems to be Aristakēs, who was consecrated by his father Gregory; see Agat'angelos, *Pamut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. G. Tēr Mkrtč'ean and S. Kananeanc' (Tiflis, 1909), dccclxii [= *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Albany, 1976), p. 397]. But, as observed by Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 285, this probably occurred before the regularisation of episcopal ordinations at the Council of Nicaea. The question of Armenian patriarchal and episcopal consecrations after 374 will be discussed later.

[18] Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 73, 284.

[19] *Narratio*, § 103-105, pp. 40-41: "103 Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσπουρακὰν χώρας οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ ὅσοι ὑπῆρχον ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀπελθεῖν. 104 Οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ Ταρών, καὶ ὄντες ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπῆλθον εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν. 105 καὶ μεγάλως ἐρευνήσαντες ἐπείσθησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἐγγραψάμενοι μεθ' ὅρκου συνωμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς." Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 227, for the parallel ninth-century version of the Georgian kat'ołikos Arsēn, and p. 245.

[20] Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, IX, 645, 613, 993. "Γεωργίου ἐπισκόπου Δαρανάλεως τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας"; Koriwn, *Vark' s. Maštoc'i*, ed. N. Akinean (Vienna, 1952), xiv, p. 38, "*եպիսկոպոս Դերջանայ, որում անուն կոչէր Գինթ.*" See preceding note for Tarōn.

[21] Mansi, IX, 391, "Gregorius ... ep. Iustinianopolitarum civitatis magnae Armeniae" ibid., XI, 1005, "Μαριανὸς ἄναξ επ. Κιθαρίζων τῆς πρώτης τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐπαρχίας." Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 284 and 474, fn. 69. Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i "Letter," *apud* Movsēs Kałankatwac'woy, *Patmut'iwn Ałwanic' ašχarhi*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow, 1860),

(Meršapuh bishop of the Mamikonean; Xabbay bishop of the Arcruni, Šahē bishop of the Amatuni), as was the characteristic Armenian custom.[22]

Even after the partition of Armenia and the subsequent breach between the Greek and Armenian churches, the emperors seem to have considered themselves entitled to summon all Armenian bishops both within and without their territories to councils of union. In 572, Justin II exploited the asylum sought by the kat'ołikos John II Gabełean in Constantinople to force him into communion with the Greeks.[23] Twenty years later, in 591, Maurice summoned the then kat'ołikos Movsēs II Ełivardec'i to a second council for the same purpose.[24] In

pp. 212-213 [= *The History of the Caucasian Albanians of Movsēs Dasxuranc̣i*, trans. C. J. F. Dowsett (London, 1961), p. 172]: "T'ēodoros, bishop of Karin (Theodosiopolis), called 'the chief philosopher.'" Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 247, 251-52. Havuk of Kukayaṙič mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Abełean and S. Yarut'iwnean (Tiflis, 1913), III, lxv [= Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1978), p. 342, fn. 2], may have been another bishop of Kitharizōn, and was in any case an urban bishop, cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 13-16, 18-20, 308 n. 27, 207* on Kitharizōn. All the bishops of Armenia Minor are, of course, urban bishops on the normal pattern; ibid., pp. 73-74, 48*-61*, for the various conciliar lists.

22 In general Armenian bishops signed conciliar acts with their name and that of their clan, which coincides with the name of its domains, e.g., for the council of 505/6: «*ի Մերշապուհ Մամիկոնէից եպիսկոպոս* ... *ի Խաբբայ Արծրունեաց եպիսկոպոս, ի Շահէ Ամատունեաց եպիսկոպոս* ...»; Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 94*-102*, especially 95*-96*. See also, Sebēos, *Patmut'iwn Sebēosi*, ed. G. V. Abgaryan (Erevan, 1979), xxiiii, p. 95 [= *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebèos*, trans. F. Macler (Paris, 1904), p. 41]: "Stephannos de Siunie ... scella de son sceau, de celui de l'évêque de sa maison et de ceux d'autres princes de Siunie, ..."

23 *Narratio*, §80-81 = Arsēn kat'ołikos, ibid., pp. 326-327, who is more accurate than the *Narratio* in that he does not confuse the Armenian Council of Union of 572 with the Fifth Œcumenical Council of 553. He exaggerates, however, as we shall see, in the assertions that "tous unanimement, ils reçurent le concile de Chalcédoine; d'elle même, toute l'Arménie anathématisa et condamna celui qui le critique et ils s'unirent avec eux [les Grecs]." There is no doubt in either text, however, that the order to hold the council emanated from the emperor, although this order is direct in Arsēn, but channeled through the Armenian commander Vardan II Mamikonean in the *Narratio*. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 175-202, for additional relevant sources and the attendant circumstances; also N. G. Garsoïan, "Le Rôle de l'hiérarchie chrétienne dans les rapports diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sassanides," *REArm*, n.s. 10 (1973-1974), especially p. 136 and fn. 73, for the attempts to mask the communion of the Armenian patriarch with the Greeks. The Armenian source closest in point of time, the *History* of Sebēos, is significantly silent about this entire episode.

24 *Narratio*, § 101: "Καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεύς [Μαυρίκιος] διὰ γραμμάτων πάντας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους Ἀρμενίων καὶ τὸν καθολικὸν Μωσῆν σὺν τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι εἰς Κωσταντινούπολιν." Arsēn kat'ołikos, ibid., p. 328, is equally categorical: "Alors le roi ordonna au catholicos d'Arménie Moïse (*mose*) et à tous les évêques de venir a Constantinople, d'examiner de nouveau (la question) et d'établir la verité." As

632/33 Heraclius convoked the katʿołikos Ezr to Karin/Theodosiopolis and compelled a third reaffirmation of the union.[25] Even after the beginning of the Arab invasions, Constans II pressured the katʿołikos Nersēs III into accepting communion with the Greeks during the imperial residence in the Armenian capital of Dwin in the winter of 652-653,[26] and Justinian II, in the fifth year of his reign, briefly extorted the same results from the katʿołikos Sahak III and the Armenian princes at a probable council that the Armenian sources describe as a captivity.[27]

noted earlier, the bishops from imperial Armenia attended the council and signed the act of union (see above fn. 19, for the text). Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 225-226; Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I: cols. 579-581; and P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, vol. 1: *Byzance et l'Orient* (Paris, 1951), pp. 191-218, for the background of these events. There is no question as to the presence of Chalcedonism in Armenia during the sixth to eighth centuries, but the problem under consideration in the present study is that of imperial interference.

[25] *Narratio*, § 121-122: "Καὶ ἐν τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς τελευτῆς Χοσρόου [II] καὶ τῷ κγ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου, ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἐκέλευσε σύνοδον γενέσθαι μεγάλην ἐν πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ διδασκάλων σὺν τῷ καθολικῷ Ἔσδρᾳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀζάτοις ἐν Θεοδοσιουπόλει ἔρευναν ποιῆσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν περὶ ... τῆς συνόδου Χαλκηδόνος. 122 Ἠρεύνησαν οὖν διὰ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἐπείσθησαν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ὤμοσαν ἐγγράφως ἰδιοχείρως μηκέτι ἀντειπεῖν περὶ τούτου." In the parallel passage, pp. 329-330, Arsēn katʿołikos gives substantially the same account, and notes that it was the "third time" that the matter had been discussed between the Armenians and the Greeks. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 278-337, esp. 302-311. Only Sebēos, *History*, xli, pp. 131-132 [= trans. Macler, pp. 91-92] speaks of a meeting rather than a council and suggests that the katʿołikos had gone to meet Heraclius because of the threats of the Armenian commander Mžēž Gnuni: "il dit au catholicos Ezr d'aller dans la région des frontières et de communier loyalement avec l'empereur, 'sinon, nous nous ferons un autre catholicos, et toi tu exerceras ton pouvoir sur les régions perses' ... Le catholicos se rendit en Asorestan [sic] et négocia [sc. communia] avec lui ...." Even the historian Yovhannēs Drasχanakertcʿi [the Katʿołikos], *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ* (Tiflis, 1912), xviii, p. 77 [= *Histoire d'Arménie par le Patriarche Jean VI*, trans. M.J. Saint-Martin (Paris, 1841), p. 66], who follows Sebēos almost verbatim, states that Mžēž Gnuni had been sent by Heraclius. Cf. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, 1, cols. 687-693.

[26] *Narratio*, § 138, "Ὅτε δὲ ὁ Νορσέσης ἔτυχε τοῦ θρόνου, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐταράχθη· ἔβλεπε γὰρ συγκοινωνοῦντα αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων." The *Narratio* is less precise than usual concerning this episode, as is also the case of the parallel text of the katʿołikos Arsēn, ibid., p. 331; cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 282, 340. However, Sebēos states clearly in his *History*, xlv, p. 148 [= trans. Macler, p. 112] that the katʿołikos Nersēs III and the Armenian clergy had not accepted the union with the Greeks. But when the emperor "se rendit lui-même avec 20.000 hommes dans l'Ararat et, arrivé à Dwin il s'installa dans la maison du catholicos ... le jour de dimanche, dans l'église de saint Grégoire, le concile de Chalcédoine fut prêché; la messe fut célébrée à la romaine par un prêtre romain; l'empereur, le catholicos et tous les évêques, les uns de gré les autres malgré eux, communièrent; ...," xlviii-xlix, pp. 166-167 [= trans. Macler, pp. 135-136]. Cf. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 712-15, 717-20.

[27] *Narratio*, § 144: "Ὁ δὲ τῷ ε' αὐτοῦ [Justinian II] ἔτει καλέσας τὸν καθολικὸν Ἰσαὰκ συν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις εἰς Κωσταντινούπολιν, ἥνωσεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσι τὰς δύο φύσεις τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἥμῶν, ... καὶ ἐγγράφως ὤμοσαν μηκέτι

Finally, on a more individual basis, the emperor Constantius, late in the fourth century, did not hesitate to send the Armenian patriarch Nersēs I into exile together with Byzantine anti-Arian bishops.[28] Two centuries later, Maurice may have forced the installation of John of Bagaran as Chalcedonian anti-katʿołikos in the newly acquired imperial portion of Armenia, as is asserted by most Armenian sources, although the nearly contemporary *Letter* of the controversial theologian John Mayragomecʿi and the pro-Chalcedonian account known as the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* attribute the schism to the initiative of Theodore of Karin and other local bishops.[29]

Under these circumstances, occasional cases of high-handed imperial interference in Armenia cannot be denied. They do not prove, however,

ἀντιλογῆσαι." Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 350-356; Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 766-767. As Garitte observes, the fact that the *Narratio* is the only source to mention this summons to Constantinople does not invalidate its accuracy. Nor is the locus of the union, Constantinople or Armenia, relevant to the present discussion. What is important here is the emperor's right to summon the Armenian katʿołikos in the eyes of the Chalcedonian author of the *Narratio*, and the view of the Armenian church that this was an act of oppressive tyranny, to be equated with coercion and captivity rather than lawful practice, as is evident from the account of Stephen of Tarōn [Asołik], *Patmutʿiwn Tiezerakal*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1885), pt. 2, pp. 100-101 [= Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 351-352]: "Or, au cours de la quatrième année, Yustinianos lui-même, faisant irruption avec une puissante armée, vint dans une région d'Arménie, ... il manda alors tous les princes de ces pays, et ils se rendirent auprès de lui, non pas de bon gré, mais par contrainte. Alors l'empereur ayant pris avec lui quelques-uns des princes et ayant exigé les fils de quelques autres comme ôtages, et avec eux également le catholicos d'Arménie Sahak avec cinq évêques, il les détint auprès de lui. Et ayant honoré certains princes de cadeaux royaux, il les établit princes de ces pays ... ; (il laissa) une armée de 30.000 hommes comme aide pour ces princes, et lui-même retrourna à Constantinople."

[28] N. G. Garsoïan, "Quidam Narseus — A Note on the Mission of St. Nersēs the Great," *Armeniaca* (Venice, 1969), pp. 148-164.

[29] *Narratio*, § 107: "ἐποίησαν [the Armenian Chalcedonians] δὲ ἑαυτοῖς καθολικὸν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τοῦ Κοκοβτᾶν Πακρὰν τῆς χώρας." Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 251. Movsēs Kałankatwacʿi/Dasχurancʿi, II, xlvi, pp. 303-304 [= trans. Dowsett, p. 172]: "Then, at the time of the schism in the Armenian patriarchate, a great dispute broke out between Movsēs [the Armenian katʿołikos] and Tʿēodoros, bishop of Karin ... Movsēs summoned a synod of the doctors of divinity [*vardapets*] of his region and instructed them not to commune with the Greeks who submitted to the Council of Chalcedon ... Tʿēodoros then ordered the bishops in his part of Armenia to assemble in the town of Karin, saying: 'We must elect a catholicos'; and the Greeks [Romans] saw fit to establish Yohan's [the Chalcedonian katʿołikos'] patriarchal residence nearby in Awan [on the imperial side of the border], and there was discord between them, for those consecrated by Yohan were not recognized by Movsēs." The importance of Theodore's rôle is supported by the fact that the Georgian version of the *Narratio* names him, rather than John, as the Chalcedonian anti-katʿołikos; Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 412: "Quant à eux [the Chalcedonian Armenians] ils se donnèrent comme catholicos Théodore kokusteli du pays de Paprantis."

that this interference was warranted or in any way acceptable to the Armenians, and considerable evidence suggests that the position of Byzantine secular authorities in Armenian ecclesiastical affairs may have been considerably overstated. Three significant factors are already manifest. In the kingdom of Greater Armenia, as opposed to the imperial provinces of Armenia Minor and the annexed territories, a gap of two centuries separated the imperial intrusions of the fourth century from those of the late sixth and seventh. Moreover, after the fourth century overt imperial jurisdiction or coercion over Armenian ecclesiastical authorities could be exercised only at times of major Armenian crises: in 572, as a result of the flight to the imperial capital of the kat'ołikos John II following the failure of the Armenian revolt against Persia; in 591, upon Xusrō II's cession of a large portion of Persarmenia to Byzantium; under Heraclius, Constans II, and Justinian II, when large imperial armies were stationed on Armenian territory.[30] Indeed, in the *List of Armenian Councils* attributed to the early eighth-century kat'ołikos John Ōjnec'i, these councils, with the sole exception of the Council of Dwin of 555, have no reference to the imperial authorities and are dated according to the regnal year of the Persian king of kings.[31] Even more significantly, the *List* stresses twice that the pro-Chalcedonian kat'ołikos Ezr "was not acceptable to the holy church because he had received the patriarchate at the order of Heraclius king of the Romans," and it goes on to elaborate that Ezr had received the patriarchal authority from Heraclius at the Council of Karin under exceptional circumstances, since Heraclius, "was ruling over the Armenians and the Romans only because King Xosrov had been killed and lost his sovereignty, for until

[30] See above, fns. 26-27, for the evident coercion used on some of the Armenians to force them into communion with Constans II and Justinian II, as well as for the size of the army brought to Armenia by Justinian II and left behind to enforce his policies. The taking and razing of the Armenian capital of Dwin by Heraclius in 623, and his use of the country as winter quarters during his war with Persia, undoubtedly taught the natives a sharp lesson; the emperor seems to have been present at Karin/Theodosiopolis at the time of the council of union to support its authority. See, e.g., G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, 1969), p. 102, and above fn. 25. On the invasion and forces of Constans II, see A. Ter Ghewondyan, *Armeniia i Arabskiĭ Khalifat* (Erevan, 1977), pp. 36-39.

[31] "Yovhannu Imastasiri Hayoc' kat'ułikosi saks žołovoc' or ełen i Hayk'," *Girk' T'łtoc'* [*The Book of Letters*, hereafter *BL*] (Tiflis, 1901), p. 221. The actual "Oath of Union" of the Council of Dwin, however, dates it merely in "the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov, king of kings," *BL*, p. 72, without the reference to Justinian's regnal year given in the "List"; while the Chalcedonian *Narratio* understandably puts Justinian in first place. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 35, 131-32, 159-160, and N.G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (Paris and The Hague, 1967), pp. 88-89, 236-238.

that time the Armenians were subject to the hand of Xosrov, king of Persia."[32] Finally, all the forced unions between the Armenian church and the Orthodox empire proved abortive. Like their designation of Armenian anti-patriarchs, imperial summons to joint councils were regarded by the Armenians as abusive compulsions to be equated with imprisonment rather than as acceptable jurisdictional rights vested in the emperor.[33] Force would always have the last word where circumstances permitted, but the curt answer returned by the katʿołikos Movsēs II to Maurice's convocation to the council of 591:

> "I shall not cross the Azat river — that is the Persian border — to eat the *pʿurnid* [oven baked bread] of the Greeks, nor will I drink their *tʿermon* [hot water]"

with its famous liturgical and theological jibe,[34] all too clearly manifested the Armenian church's contempt for the imperial authority.

If after the fourth century the Romans had little legitimate authority over the Armenian church in normal times, the situation within the autonomous Arsacid kingdom of Greater Armenia during the century that the native dynasty survived the official Christianization of its realm (314-428/9) was likewise less straightforward than Adontz would have us believe.[35] A state of tension prevailed between the crown and the church

[32] *BL*, pp. 221-223: | « *Եզր կաթուղիկոս քաղկեդոնիկ, որ ոչ ընդունի սուրբ եկեղեցի, վասն զի այս Եզր ընկալաւ զհայրապետութիւնն հրամանաւ Հերակղի թագաւորին Հոռոմոց,* ··· » (221) « *եւ առ* [*Եզր*] *զաթոռ տէրութեան իւրոյ ի ժողովոյն Կարնոյ ի թագաւորէ Հերակղէ, որ տիրելով թագաւորեաց Հայոց եւ Հոռոմոց, վասն զի սպան զԽոսրով արքայն Պարսից եւ եբարձ զթագաւորութիւն նորա, քանզի զայն վայր հնազանդեալ էին Հայք ընդ ձեռամբ Խոսրովու արքայն Պարսից :* » (223). Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 286-287, who omits the second quotation as a repetition, "sans données nouvelles" (p. 287, fn. 1) without noting the stress laid in the second passage on Xusrō II's suzerainty over Armenia and Heraclius's intrusion as a result of the murder of the Persian king.

[33] See above, fn. 27.

[34] Arsēn katʿołikos, *apud* Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 226-227, "Or Moïse le Catholicos n'obéit pas, mais il parla ainsi aux envoyés: 'Je ne passerai pas le fleuve Azat (*azacʿ*) — qui est la frontière des Perses —, je ne mangerai pas le *pʿurnid* des Grecs, ni non plus je ne boirai leur *tʿermon*'; et de même les évêques du Vaspourakan (*vaspuragan*) qui étaient sous la puissance des Perses ne voulurent pas partir." Cf. ibid., pp. 225-244. *Narratio*, § 102, is a trifle shorter, but its intent is precisely the same: "Ὁ δὲ καθολικὸς Μωσῆς οὐ προσέσχε τοῖς προσταχθεῖσι, λέγων· Οὐ μὴ παρέλθω τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀζὰτ οὐδ᾽ οὐ μὴ φάγω φουρνιτάριν οὐδ᾽ οὐ μὴ πίω θερμόν'." The references to *pʿurnid* and *tʿermon* are unquestionably to the Greek use of leavened bread rather than the Armenian azymes for the host, and to the admixture of hot water in the chalice of communion. According to Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 243, this is apparently the earliest reference to the Greek practice of mixing wine and water — symbolizing Christ's two natures — in the chalice.

[35] See above, p. 221, and fn. 8.

through much of this century and the undoubted royal prerogatives were never absolute.

Insofar as its dogmatic assemblies were concerned, the Armenian church seems to have shown a remarkable degree of autonomy from early times. The summoning of Armenian bishops to imperial councils may be presented as a normal occurrence by the pro-Chalcedonian *Narratio*, loyal to the Byzantine point of view, but its attitude is hardly representative of the general position of the Armenian church. Despite the persistent anachronistic tradition that the patriarch Nersēs I had been present at the Council of Constantinople in 381, there is not the slightest evidence that Armenia Magna — as against Armenia Minor and the annexed territories — was represented at any œcumenical council after Nicaea.[36] Even on a lesser occasion, the exceptional presence of the mysterious "Isakokis of Greater Armenian" at the synod of Antioch of 364[37] came at a time of total chaos in the Armenian kingdom, which had then been surrendered to the Persians by Jovian's "ignobile decretum" and deprived of its exiled patriarch.[38] As such, his attendance was no more normative than the forced imperial councils of the sixth and seventh centuries already discussed. Within the country, Armenian

[36] See Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 74-75, for the texts attesting Nersēs's presence at the Council. It is not altogether correct, however, to assert that "la tradition arménienne unanime le [Nersēs] fait ... assister à ce concile." The *Epic Histories* attributed to P'awstos Buzand, probably the closest source in point of time, does not mention Nersēs's presence in Constantinople; [Ps.] P'awstos Buzandac'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 4th ed. (Venice, 1933), IV, xiii; V, xxix, etc. [= J.-B. Emine, "Faustus de Byzance, Bibliothèque historique," in V. Langlois, ed., *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie* (hereafter *CHAMA*) vol. 1 (Paris, 1867), pp. 248, 290-91]. Even in the case of Armenia's representation at Nicaea, it is interesting that Movsēs Xorenac'i, II, lxxxix [= MK, Thomson tr., p. 245] states that both King Trdat of Armenia and the patriarch St. Gregory refused Constantine's summons to the Council and independently chose Aristakēs to represent the kingdom of Greater Armenia, although the earlier *History* of Agat'angełos, dccclxxxiv [= MK, Thomson tr., pp. 414/5] does not mention this refusal.

[37] Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, xxv: Ἰσακόκις Ἀρμενίας μεγάλης. This personage is perhaps the same as the Ἰωσάκης listed among the orthodox bishops in St. Basil of Caesarea's *Epistula* xcii, "To the Italians and the Gauls." Chronologically he may perhaps be identified with the Č'unak imposed as Armenian patriarch during the exile of St. Nersēs, who may also be the Šahak sometimes given as the successor of Nersēs (Ps. P'B, IV, xv). In any case, Ps. P'awstos reiterates that Č'unak was an anti-patriarch, irregularly consecrated, a man of nothing (Arm. *č'unak*, "one who has nothing"), and the "slave of the slaves of the king." If so, he can hardly be taken as an official representative of the Armenian church. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 274-275; Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 87-88, 406, 415-21, especially 418 on the elusive Šahak and the succession of St. Nersēs I; also see below, pp. 231-32, and fns. 45, 49, for Č'unak's irregular consecration.

[38] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXV, vii 12-13. On Nersēs's exile, see Garsoïan, "Quidam Narseus," pp. 149-156.

councils from the time of Nicaea until at least the Council of Dwin of 555, if not the Council of Manazkert of 725/26 well into the Arab period, were in the main convoked by ecclesiastical rather than secular authorities, as against Byzantine custom.[39] When the patriarchal throne was vacant, the Armenian bishops even tried on occasion, albeit with little success, to gather spontaneously without awaiting higher summons,[40] and they met together with the lay magnates to advise the king on the choice of a suitable patriarchal candidate.[41]

In these cases of patriarchal elections, a fixed protocol was evidently observed through much of the fourth century, and the royal prerogatives were carefully safeguarded. The king met with the assembled bishops and magnates, selected a candidate, and sent him to Caesarea for consecration. There is no evidence that such assemblies were anything more than advisory: unlike dogmatic councils, they normally met at the king's summons, and never openly forced an unacceptable candidate on him. From the time of this baptism, King Trdat the Great took it upon himself to send a reluctant St. Gregory to Caesarea and to request his consecration. The same initiative was taken by his successors: Tiran for the patriarchs Yusik, P'arēn and Šahak and Aršak II for St. Nersēs

[39] See the "List of Armenian Councils," *BL*, pp. 220-233; Ps. P'B, IV, iv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 239] and MX III, xx [= MK Thomson tr., p. 274] on Nersēs I's calling of the Council of Aštišat; MX III, lii [= MK, p. 319], on the council held by Sahak I and Mesrop concerning the creation of the Armenian alphabet during King Vramšapuh's absence from his realm. Joseph, Sahak I's *locum tenens*, is said to have called the Council of Šahapivan in 444; see Asołik, II, ii, p. 78 [= Dulaurier, p. 111] and below, fn. 89. For Nersēs II's Council of Dwin of 555, see *Narratio*, § 68-70, and the *Treatise* in Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 131-132; Asołik, II, ii, pp. 82-83 [= Dulaurier, p. 115], also fn. 31 above and fn. 64 below. On the later councils, see also fn. 29 above for Movsēs II's calling of an anti-Chalcedonian council; on Nersēs III, see *Narratio*, § 140-141, and pp. 282-283, 298, 337, 340; as well as Łewond, *Patmut'iwn Łewonday* ..., 2nd ed., vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 14 [= Ghewond, *Histoire des guerres ... des Arabes en Arménie* ..., trans. G. Chahnazarian (Paris, 1856), p. 13; Asołik, II, ii, p. 91 [= Dulaurier, p. 122]. For John Ōjnec'i's calling of the Council of Manazkert, see ibid., pp. 102-103 [= Dulaurier, p. 131]. See also Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 169-170, 330, 478 (a possible council of John I Mandakuni), 502-504, 545-52, 712-15, 717-20, 828-33, 838-44.

[40] Asołik, II, ii, p. 78 [= Dulaurier, p. 111]: "Sourmag étant mort, les évêques d'Arménie se rassemblèrent, et, s'étant mis en quête pour lui trouver un successeur, choisirent un prêtre nommé Joseph ... et avec l'assentiment de Vartan, ils le placèrent sur le siège patriarcal." A similar gathering took place after the death of the kat'ołikos Movsēs II. See below, fns. 74, 86.

[41] Ps. P'B, III, xiii-xv, xvii; IV, iii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 224-25, 227-28, 236, 238]; MX, III, xvi [= MK, pp. 269-270]. Movsēs Dasχuranc'i, I, xxvi [= trans. Dowsett, p. 50], also shows the Ałbanian king Vačagan convoking a council to deal with matters of administration and jurisdiction.

the Great.[42] Significantly, the candidate was accompanied on these journeys by secular nobles rather than bishops and the king formally received the new patriarch upon his return.[43] In general practice as well, the royal will usually prevailed within the church. No royal patriarch was ever driven from his throne, despite the complaints of ecclesiastical writers on the unworthiness of some of the royal choices;[44] nor did the king fail to appoint his own candidate without consultation, when an occasion presented itself. Not only did Aršak II impose the dubious Č'unak during St. Nersēs's long exile, although the patriarch had designated a vicar of his own choice, and did King Pap install Yusik or Šahak, unacceptable to Caesarea, after Nersēs's death,[45] but the

[42] Agat'angełos, dccxciv-dccciv [= trans. Thomson, pp. 332/3-342/3] for St. Gregory; Ps. P'B, III, xii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 221-222] for Yusik; ibid., III, xvi [=*CHAMA*, 1: 227] for P'arēn; III, xvii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 228] for Šahak; IV, iii-iv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 236, 238] for Nersēs I. This practice came to an end with the murder of Nersēs I, when Caesarea refused to consecrate his successor; see below, fn. 59.

[43] Agat'angełos, dccxcv-dccxcvi [= trans. Thomson, pp. 332/3-334/5]; Ps. P'B, III, xii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 221-222], who stresses that this was "according to the customary usage"; ibid., III, xvi-xvii; IV, iv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 227-28, 238]. The first meeting of the returning patriarch and the king was not altogether successful, according to Agat'angełos, dcccxvii-dcccxix [= trans. Thomson, pp. 354/5-356/7], but in both the cases of Yusik and Nersēs I, the king went out to meet the patriarch, exchanged greetings with him and brought him to the country and to his cathedral church, Ps. P'B, III, xii; IV, iv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 222,238]. In the case of P'arēn, Ps. P'awstos III, xvii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 228] specifies that the new patriarch had been brought back "to the *king*" [italics mine].

[44] See above, fn. 37, for Pseudo P'awstos opinion of Č'unak. After the pejorative comments cited, Ps. P'awstos closed with the evaluation that "Č'unak was a mild man, having no capacity to reprove ... and he was in accord with the king in whatever he might do," IV, xv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 254]. Yusik, Šahak, and Aspurakēs were similarly depicted as mild men incapable of leadership. V, xxix; VI, iii-iv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 294, 308], whereas Zavēn was characterized as a "man of evil, harsh and envious nature ... [who] spent all the days of his life in gluttony, greed, and depravity," VI, ii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 307]. The disapproval of the royal appointees is characteristic of the *Epic Histories*, since MX, III, xxxix-xli [= MK, pp. 300-303] has little to say concerning these patriarchs and even reverses the order of the last group; cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 415-421. It should be noted that despite the low opinion expressed about the "royal" patriarchs, the sources invariably give the length of their pontificate without any suggestion that it ended earlier than their natural life.

[45] See above, fns. 37 and 44, and see below, fn. 49 for Č'unak and the successors of St. Nersēs. Nersēs had ordained his deacon, Xad of Marag, bishop of Bagrewand and left him behind as vicar to supervise all the Armenian ecclesiastical foundations. He was still fulfilling his duties when the patriarch returned from exile, so that Aršak's appointment of Č'unak was clearly separate and contrary to Nersēs's will, Ps. P'B, IV, xii-xiii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 247-248]; MX, III, xxxixxxii [= MK, pp. 288-290]. Irrespective of the name they give him, the sources agree that the immediate successor of St. Nersēs was a purely royal appointee: According to the *Epic Histories*, Ps. P'B, V, xxix [= *CHAMA*, 1: 294], Yusik held his dignity "from the king's will alone"; whereas MX, III, xxxix [= MK, p. 300] stresses that "King Pap ... sought out and found ... Shahak ...

undeniably canonical and holy Sahak the Great is said to have been "appointed" to the patriarchal throne by King Xosrov III/IV, according to the *History* of Movsēs Xorenacʿi.[46] Finally, the kings invariably resorted to force in the face of ecclesiastical opposition, and the violent deaths of the patriarchs Yusik, Daniēl, and St. Nersēs himself testify unequivocally to the danger of thwarting the royal will.[47]

Despite his undoubted prerogatives and the king's occasional blatant display of his power, royal authority was not unlimited in fourth-century Armenia. At the international level, the Armenian Arsacid court was rarely in a position to pursue an ecclesiastical policy independent of that of its powerful western neighbour. Thus, the occasional alternation of the houses of St. Gregory and of Ałbianos of Manazakert on the patriarchal throne were less a see-saw between pro-Roman and pro-Persian parties, as argued by Adontz, than the result of the Armenian kings' attempts to follow the zig-zags of imperial policies, which often brought them into conflict with their own church and local traditions.[48] Within his realm, the Armenian ruler was bound to consult, formally or not, with the secular and ecclesiastical nobles on all matters of importance, and breaks with this tradition were clearly perceived as abusive. According to the *Epic Histories* attributed to Pʿawstos Buzand, Aršak II's unsanctioned appointment of Čʿunak was rejected by all the Armenian bishops, thus forcing the king to turn for support to the bishops of Ałjnikʿ and Kordukʿ outside his realm. True or not, this episode was clearly intended to demonstrate the uncanonical character of the candidate forced on Armenia by the king. All the more so since

and set him in Nersēs's place without [the permission] of the great archbishop of Caesarea." MX, III, iii [= MK, p. 256] also says that "The blessed [king] Trdat ... gave them [the Albanians] as bishop the young Grigoris ... Although he thought the matter uncanonical, considering his young age," but Ps. PʿB, III, v-vi [= *CHAMA*, 1: 212-214] does not mention the king's role in the appointment. Finally, Asołik, II, i, p. 73 [= trans. Dulaurier, p. 106] also says that Šahak's successor Zawēn was in turn set on the patriarchal throne by King Varazdat.

46 MX, III, xlix [= MK, p. 313], "After ... Archbishop Aspurakēs died; to succeed him Khosrov appointed Sahak, son of Nersēs the Great ...." This statement is repeated almost verbatim in the *History* of John the Katʿołikos, xiv, p. 53 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 45], as well as by Asołik, II, i, p. 73 [= trans. Dulaurier, pp. 107]. See below, p. 242, and fn. 79.

47 Ps. PʿB, III, xii, xiv; V, xxiv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 222-23, 226-27, 290-91]; MX, III, xiv, xxxviii [= MK, pp. 267, 298-99]. Movsēs Xorenacʿi, III, xxxii [= MK, pp. 289-290] also says that Aršak II had ordered Nersēs's vicar, Xad of Marag, stoned to death, albeit the order could not be carried out. Ps. PʿB's parallel narrative, IV, xii-xiii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 247-248] does not contain this episode, but does stress that the royal patriarchs were ineffective men incapable of reproving or opposing the king; see above, fn. 44.

48 Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 275, 281; Garsoïan, "Politique ou orthodoxie."

the *Epic Histories* stress that only two bishops were present at Č'unak's consecration, thus highlighting the fact that it was patently invalid under the terms of the recently promulgated Nicaean regulations mandating the presence of a minimum of three bishops on such occasions. The same intent seems evident in the comment that Pap's candidate Yusik, appointed without the calling of an advisory council and rejected by Caesarea, "held his dignity from the king's will alone."[49] The king's use of force was perceived as equally illegitimate even if it usually went unopposed. Disapprobation may not have been as extensive as ecclesiastical moralisers would have us believe,[50] but the sources emphasize King Pap's efforts to distance himself from the murder of St. Nersēs, and the king may well have paid with his own life for that of the patriarch.[51]

The greatest obstacle to royal interference in the ecclesiastical hierarchy came, however, not so much from the church and its ordinances, as from the fundamental social structure of Armenia. Conforming to an earlier Iranian tradition that all the offices of the realm, from that of the king on down, were the hereditary prerogatives of certain noble houses,

[49] Ps. P'B, IV, xv [=*CHAMA*,1: 254]: «*Ապա Հրաման տայր Թագաւորն՝ կոչել զամենայն եախսկոպոս Հայոց աշխարՀին, զի եկեսցեն ձեռնադրեցին զՉունակն ի կաթողիկոսութեան Հայոց : Եւ ոչ մի ոք ոչ Հաւանեաց գալ. բայց միայն Աղձնեաց եւ Կորդուաց եախսկոպոսք եկին, եւ զՉունակն ձեռնադրեցին ի կաթուղիկոսութիւն ըստ Հրամանի Թագաւորին :* » Cf. above, fn. 45, for both Č'unak and Yusik. The fourth canon of the Council of Nicaea had decreed that the three bishops were the minimum number required for an episcopal ordination, Mansi, II, col. 669. Adontz's hypothesis that the reason for the appeal to Ałjnik' and Korduk' was that there were no other bishops in Armenia (*Armenia*, pp. 285-286) seems unlikely, especially since a bishop P'awstos had conferred the diaconate on Nersēs I, the ordination of Xad of Marag as bishop of Bagrewand in precisely the same period is depicted as an entirely normal occurrence in the contemporary sources, and other bishops are also mentioned: Ps. P'B, IV, iii, xii, and VI [= *CHAMA*, 1: 237, 247, 307-310].

[50] According to the *Epic Histories*, Ps. P'B, III, xiii, xx [= *CHAMA*, 1: 223, 230], Armenia was plunged in darkness and divine vengeance overtook King Tiran for the murders of Yusik and Daniēl; MX, III, xv [= MK, p. 267], though not the *Epic Histories*, says that the nobles murmured after the murder of Daniēl, and "all Armenia" mourned for Nersēs the Great, Ps. P'B, V, xxx [= *CHAMA*, 1: 294] and MX, III, xxxix [= MK, p. 300]. Nevertheless, no action was taken except perhaps in the case of Nersēs (see fn. 51 below). Only Daniēl reproved the king for the murder of Yusik and was killed for his pains, Ps. P'B, III, xiv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 225-226]. Even in the case of St. Nersēs, the king was able to destroy all of the saint's philanthropic foundations without meeting with opposition; ibid., V, xxxi [= *CHAMA*, 1: 294-295]. The only royal failure seems to have been the intended stoning of Xad of Marag (see above, fn. 45), but it is known only to Movsēs Xorenac'i.

[51] Ps. P'B, X, xxiv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 290-291] MX, III, xxxviii [= MK, p. 299]. See also Garsoïan, "Politique ou orthodoxie," especially pp. 313-320.

Arsacid Armenia viewed the patriarchate as inherent in the house of St. Gregory. Again and again, contemporary sources insist that this prerogative was inalienable and that other candidates might lawfully be considered only when no members of the Gregorid family were available. Even in such a case, when the Armenian sources themselves admitted that there was no suitable Gregorid candidate after the murder of the patriarch Yusik and his sons' sinful refusal to assume the duties of their house, the *Epic Histories* go on to comment:

They took counsel as to whom they should choose [find] as their leader, and all were unanimous that they should find someone from the house ruled by Gregory who might ascend the throne of his fathers.[52]

Even more explicitly, the *Epic Histories* record that after the accession of King Aršak II, all the magnates:

came together in a council to King Aršak ... in a single unanimous agreement that they might gather, consider, and take counsel concerning their [spiritual] leader, that is, who would be worthy to sit on the patriarchal throne.... Then this common counsel prevailed over all those present: that they should find as patriarch one of the descendants remaining from the house of Gregory. "For," they all said to the king, "just as God renewed your kingdom, so it is right that the spiritual leadership should be renewed by such a descendant. For," they said, "with the renewal of this throne [the patriarch's], the moral lustre of this land of Armenia shall be renewed."[53]

[52] Ps. P'B. III, xv [= *CHAMA*, 1: 227]: « *Բայց յայնմ ժամանակի ոչ ոք գոյր, որ առաջնորդէր նոցա զքահանայապետութիւնն : Ապա խորհուրդ արարին՝ թէ զո գտցեն իւրեանց առաջնորդ. ապա կամ եղեւ ամենեցուն առ հասարակ, զի ի նմին տանէ իշխանութեանն Գրիգորի գտցեն, որ կալցի նա զաթոռ հարցն :* » Cf. MX, III, xvi [= MK, pp. 269-270]. These hereditary responsibilities could not be set aside lightly. The refusal of Yusik's sons Pap and At'anakinēs to assume the spiritual duties of their house brought swift divine punishment on both, Ps. P'B, III, xiii, xv, xix [= *CHAMA*, 1: 224, 227, 229]; MX, III, xvi [= MK, p. 269].

[53] Ps. P'B, III, iii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 236]: « *Ապա ի մի ժողով կուտեցան առ արքայն Արշակ մեծամեծք նահապետք* ···, *ի մի հաւանութիւն միաբանական խորհուրդք. զի եկեսցեն տեսցեն եւ խորհեսցին վասն իւրեանց առաջնորդի, թէ ում արժան իցէ նստել յաթոռ հայրապետութեանն* ··· : *Ապա յաղթեաց կալաւ այս բան խորհրդի ամենեցուն առ հասարակ որ անդ էին, զի ի մնացորդաց տանն Գրիգորի, յայնմ զաւակէ գտեցեն զառաջնորդութիւն : Զի ամենեքեան ասէին ցարքայն վասն զի նորոգեաց Աստուած զթագաւորութիւն ձեր, սոյնպէս պարտ է ի յայնմ զաւակէ նորոգել զհոգեւոր նահապետութիւնն : Զի ընդ նորոգել այնր աթոռոյ, ասեն, նորոգեսցին պայծառ վարք աշխարհիս Հայոց :* » It is particularly interesting that the author uses the secular term *nahapet* "head of a noble house" to designate the "spiritual leadership" of the patriarchate. See also ibid., III, xiii, xvii, where Šahak was chosen, "because there was no one worthy from the house of Gregory" [= *CHAMA*, 1: 228]; MX. III, xvi, li [= MK, pp. 270, 315], etc.

The same hereditary tradition affected episcopal sees which normally belonged to the ruling house of the particular district and were held by its members.[54] Thus, the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Early Christian Armenia was conceived by the contemporaries as an inherent part of the social fabric of the country, on a par with secular hereditary offices. Consequently, the king's choice, or even sanction, of ecclesiastical candidates was severely restricted. Whatever he might achieve *de facto* by a show of force, the jealously guarded traditional privileges that united secular and spiritual nobles set definite limits on his lawful jurisdiction.[55]

From the foregoing discussion it seems reasonably clear that the jurisdiction of the Byzantine emperor, and to some degree that of the native Arsacid kings, were constricted *de jure*, at least by custom. But any study of the position of the Armenian church vis-à-vis the secular powers remains incomplete without a consideration of Armenia's other great neighbour, Sasanian Persia. The role of the king of kings has gone curiously unnoticed in this connection,[56] even though nearly four-fifths of the Armenian kingdom unquestionably lay within his realm — at least, between the partitions of 387 and 591 — and the patriarchs of Armenia resided on Persian territory throughout. The Armenian sources, both the Chalcedonian *Narratio* and the national historiographic tradition, are unexpectedly revealing on this subject, and despite their *a priori* hostility to all manifestations of Iranian influence, they demonstrate a considerable degree of Persian jurisdiction over the Armenian church from the end of the fourth century until the Arab conquests.[57]

[54] See above, pp. 223-24, and fn. 22.

[55] On hereditary offices in Arsacid Armenia, see N.G. Garsoïan, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Iranian Aspects in Arsacid Armenia," *Handes Amsorya*, XC (Vienna, 1976), cols. 182-183, and fns. 42-45. The participation of the church in the nexus of *naxarar* privileges was first analysed by Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 253-288, but he did not emphasize sufficiently the paramount rights of the house of St. Gregory to the patriarchal throne; cf. ibid., pp. 274-76, 287. The hereditary character of the Armenian priesthood was also noticed and singled out for condemnation by the Council of Constantinople of 692: "In Trullo," Mansi, XI, 957-959. These rights rested not so much on the "political power" of the Arsacids as on the inherent prerogatives of all the Armenian magnates. On the tug-of-war between the "dynasticism" of the magnates and the "feudalism" of the crown, see C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), pp. 39-40, 108-111, and fn. 176.

[56] As observed earlier (see above, fn. 7), and Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 287-288, Adontz had noted that the Armenian Arsacid's prerogatives had passed to the Persian king, but he did not go on to discuss any aspects of this subject.

[57] For the unequal division of Armenia in the first partition, ca. 387, and its subsequent modifications, see Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 7-24; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzan-*

Traces of Persian interference in Armenian ecclesiastical affairs begin to be recorded with the formal recognition of the king of kings' jurisdiction over the Church of Persia at the Council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon of 410, although they do not manifest themselves before that date.[58] According to both the *Greek List of Katholikoi* and the *Epic Histories*, the church of Caesarea of Cappadocia refused to consecrate Armenian patriarchs after the murder of St. Nersēs, and evidence of this disturbance may be found in the *Letters* of St. Basil, but no foreign intrusion is suggested.[59] At the time of Nersēs's son Sahak the Great, however, the *Narratio* and its parallel Georgian text, the small *Treatise* of the katʿołikos Arsēn, stress that "Armenia had received from the king of Persia the order to consecrate their bishops themselves,"[60] and that "the children of the catholic church were dispersed and scattered by order of the Persian king."[61] The *Greek List*, albeit at a different date, specifies that the orders of the Persian king had included consecration of the Armenian katʿołikos, as well as that of his bishops, and that this practice continued until its own time.[62] The katʿołikos Arsēn went even further,

tinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 (Brussels, 1935), pp. 3-37, and map 1; Goubert, *Byzance et l'Orient*, pp. 290-295, who reproduces Honigmann's map facing p. 192; Procopius, *De aedificiis*, III, i; etc. On the subsequent variations under Phokas, see Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 260-261. For the attitude of the Armenian sources, see below, fn. 67.

58 See above, fn. 15.

59 "La liste grecque des catholicos" (*Paris. graec.* 900, ff. 180vb-182ra), *apud* Garitte, *Narratio*, xii, p. 403, cf. 406, for the Georgian version, "ἐπισκόπους χειροτονεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁγίου Νορσέση ἐκωλύθησαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας." Ps. PʿB, V, xxix [= *CHAMA*, 1: 293-294]: «*Բայց լուաւ եպիսկոպոսապետն Կեսարու՝ թէ ··· կացուցիս զՅուսիկ՝ առանց նորա հրամանի եղեալ, զի ոչ որպէս սովոր էին առ Հայրապետն տանել ի Կայսարիա ի ձեռնադրութիւն ··· մեծ ··· ցասման եղեալ Հայրապետին Կեսարու ··· եւ եղեւ ժողով եպիսկոպոսացն ··· եւ գրեցին թուղթ առ թագաւորն Պապ, եւ լուծին զիշխանութիւն կաթողիկոսութեանն. զի որ լիցին Հայրապետն Հայոց ··· մի՛ իշխեսցէ ձեռնադրել զեպիսկոպոս Հայոց, որպէս սովորութիւն էր ի բնէ :*» The *Epic Histories* reiterates that the Armenian katʿołikos no longer had the right to ordain bishops. That may well have been the view of Caesarea, but it evidently did not work in practice, as we shall see. On the problematic bishop Faustus and his rights, see Basil, *Epistulae*, cxx-cxxii. I shall return to this problem elsewhere, but it is not germane to the present study.

60 *Narratio*, § 31, 65-66: "ἔλαβον πρόσταγμα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τὴν χειροτονίαν"; cf. Arsēn katʿołikos, p. 319, *apud* Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 101, also pp. 99-100, 152, 154, and fn. 61 below.

61 *Narratio*, § 32: "Διεσκεδάσθη δὲ καὶ διεσπάρη τὰ τέκνα τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῇ προστάξει τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως." Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 101-102.

62 "Liste grecque," § 25-26: "Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις δὲ τούτου προσετάχθησαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν χειροτονεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καθολικοὺς καὶ ἐπίσκοπους μέχρι

in that he attributed the Armeno-Georgian schism of the early seventh century to the Persian order that the Armenians consecrate their own bishops.[63]

It has already been noted that Armenian councils were normally dated by the regnal year of the Sasanian ruler, but in the case of the Council of Dwin of 555, the Chalcedonian sources detect Persian pressure, as well. This pressure is elaborated at some length in the *Treatise* of Arsēn kat'ołikos, who reiterates it even out of context:

> le roi Chosroès fit une promesse non médiocre à l'adresse du catholicos Nersès qui était appelé "moyen" (*šuay*), c'est-à-dire en Arménien mijin (= arm. *mijin* "moyen"), par quoi (le roi) ébranla son esprit inintelligent; il fit le premier [sic] concile à Dvin et ils se séparèrent de la religion des Grecs et de Jérusalem ...

and again:

> les rois des Perses forçaient les Arméniens à se séparer de la foi des Grecs ... pour que la haine survienne entre eux par effet de la séparation religieuse et qu'ils soient d'autant plus soumis au royaume des Perses; et ils promirent des cadeaux très considérables aux docteurs des Arméniens pour qu'il fût ainsi, lorsque fût enlevée la suprématie sacerdotale à la maison de Grégoire. Alors le catholicos Nersès (c'était un hérétique mauvais) ... et aussi d'autres évêques et nobles ordonnèrent pour la seconde fois que se tînt un grand concile dans la même (ville de) Dvin .... Et de nouveau ils condamnèrent le saint concile de Chalcédoine et l'appelèrent nestorien ....[64]

Chalcedonian writers understandably depict this anti-Nestorian council as the result of bribery and coercion, but as we shall soon see, the Armenians did not necessarily oppose the calling of a council at the urging of the Persian authorities.

The relations between the Armenian church and the Zoroastrian court were in fact by no means invariably hostile. To be sure, the presence of antagonism between the two is unquestionably easy to document, especially in the earlier period. The martyrdom of the Armenian saints both on the battlefield of Awarayr in 451 and during Persian deportation

τῆς σήμερον." The precise date of the shift in episcopal ordinations is not our concern here. What is notable for the purpose of this study is the attribution of the consecration of Armenian bishops to the order of the Persian king.

[63] Arsēn kat'ołikos, p. 319, *apud* Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 101; cf. 216-218.

[64] Arsēn kat'ołikos, pp. 322-23, 324-25, *apud* Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 130-133, cf. pp. 131-175. The *Narratio* itself, § 65-70, does not mention the Persians. See also C. Galanus, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana* ..., vol. 1 (Rome, 1650), p. 85, "Domnus Nierses ... Hic iussu Regis Persarum, Ut Armenos separarent a Graecis, Synodum coegit in Civitate Theuin; ..." and the "Liste grecque," § 34-35, *apud* Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 404-405, 409; cf. p. 429, which also omits any mention of the Persians, as do the Armenian sources.

at the very time of the Council of Chalcedon — and consequently before any hint of dissension had manifested itself between the Armenian and Greek churches — set once and for all the implacably anti-Iranian tone of all Armenian historiography.[65] But the subsequent estrangement of the Armenian church from Constantinopolitan Orthodoxy could only serve to reinforce the country's allegiance to the Sasanians, as the katʿołikos Arsēn shrewdly observed in his commentary on the Council of Dwin, and as the Armenian sources unconsciously reveal in spite of their explicit prejudices.[66] Not only did the Armenian katʿołikoi reside in the Persian provinces of the country, with the sole exception of Maurice's anti-patriarch, John of Bagaran, but the shift of the Persian border westward early in the seventh century as a result of Xusrō II's retaliatory campaigns following the murder of Maurice permitted the katʿołikos Abraham I to enforce his authority over the pro-Chalcedonian bishops who had supported John and whom the katʿołikos Movsēs II had refused to recognize as legitimately appointed.[67]

[65] The martyrdom of the Armenian saints at the battle of Avarayr and in the subsequent Persian deportation plays a major part in the nearly contemporary *History of Armenia* of Łazar Pʿarpecʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, ed. G. Tēr Mkrtčʿean and St. Malχasean (Tiflis, 1904) [= Lazare de Pharbe, "Histoire d'Arménie," trans. S. Ghésarian in *CHAMA*, 2 (1869): 259-320]. It is the sole subject of Ełišē's *Vasn Vardanay ew Hayocʿ Paterzmin*, ed. E. Tēr Minasean (Erevan, 1957) [= Eḷishē, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1982)]. Explicit hatred of the Persians appears repeatedly in the late fifth century *Epic Histories* attributed to Pʿawstos Buzand and it conditions Armenian historiography thereafter. Any favourable treatment of Persian rule in Armenia is revealed unconsciously and must be read by implication.

[66] See above, fn. 64; also see Garsoïan, "Hiérarchie," pp. 129-138, especially p. 137. The apocryphal tales of Xusrō I's deathbed conversion to Christianity — e.g., Sebēos, ix, p. 69-70 [= trans. Macler, p. 8] — probably stem from this rapprochement and the resultant Persian benevolence.

[67] See above, fn. 29, on John of Bagaran. In connection with the residence of the Armenian katʿołikoi on Persian territory, it is interesting to note the remark of Sebēos, xli, p. 131 [= trans. Macler, p. 91] that Ezr was at first unwilling to meet with Heraclius because he could not leave the land under his authority: « *կաթողիկոս իբրեւ ոչ կարաց թողուլ զերկիր իշխանութեան իւրոյ* : » On Abraham's jurisdiction over the western bishops, see *Narratio*, § 111: "καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει [Abraham] κατηνάγκασε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἡγουμένους ἀναθεματίσαι τὲν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον ἢ ἐκχωρῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας· οἱ δὲ ἀναθεμάτισαν καὶ ἔπαυσεν ἡ ἀντιλογία." Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 255-260, 267. The document preserved in *BL*, p. 151, says that the act was "unanimous" and included bishops from regions as far to the northwest as Vanand, the district of Kars: « *Ձեռնարկ՝ զոր ետուն Աբրահամու Հայոց կաթուղիկոսի ի միաբանութեանն աշխարհիս Հայոց, այնոքիկ որ էին իշխանութեամբ Հոռոմոց ի թագաւորութեանն Մաւրիկան ··· Մանասէի Բասենոյ եպիսկոպոս ··· Ստեփանոս Բագրաւանդայ եպիսկոպոս ··· Ներսէս Վանանդայ եպիսկոպոս ··· Յոհանէս Աւանի* [the residence of John of Bagaran], etc.»

From the fifth century on, the heads of the Armenian church showed no hesitation about visiting the court of Ctesiphon in normal circumstances rather than under the compulsory conditions characterizing their contemporary appearances on imperial territory.[68] Movsēs Xorenacʿi enlarges upon the great honours lavished on Sahak I during his visit to the court of Ardašīr II and Bahrām II and on the granting of his requests there, as against his grudging reception at Constantinople.[69] Late in the same century, the katʿołikos Giwt did not demur from obeying the summons of Pērōz, but went "willingly and readily to court," where he was honoured even by the "heathens," despite the king's wrath, according to the contemporary account of Łazar Pʿarpecʿi. The future katʿołikos Kumitas attended the Council of Ctesiphon early in the seventh century, before his own enthronement as patriarch, and participated willingly in the debates.[70] Even in the purely religious

[68] The situation is not altogether clear in the period preceding the confessional breach between Armenia and Constantinople. John the Katʿołikos, xi, p. 43 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 36] states that the patriarch Vrtʿanēs journeyed on two occasions to Constantinople in order to obtain the successive enthronements of the Armenian kings Xosrov and Tiran (cf. MX, III, iv, xi [= MK, pp. 257, 263]), but in the first case, Movsēs speaks of a patriarchal letter rather than of a journey. The closest source in point of time, Ps. PʿB, III, v, xi-xii [= *CHAMA*, 1: 211, 221], does not mention any intervention by Vrtʿanēs, and has him die immediately after king Xosrov II/III. The embassy of St. Nersēs the Great ended in his long exile at the order of the emperor (see above, p. 226, and fn. 28), and his son, St. Sahak the Great, "was not received in a suitably worthy fashion" (MX, III, lvii [= MK, p. 327]), although in the tenth century John the Katʿołikos, xiv p. 55 [= trans. Saint-Martin, pp. 46-47], more enthusiastically asserts that the patriarch was received "like an apostle of Christ" in a passage that confuses Theodosius "the Great" with Theodosius II. After the schism, the Armenian katʿołikoi were present on imperial soil only under duress (see above, fns. 23, 25, 27).

[69] MX, III, li [= MK, pp. 315-318], also LPʿ, xiv, p. 23 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 270-271], who is less positive about the outcome of St. Sahak's mission, but also speaks of his honours and mentions no hesitation on his part about a journey to the Persian court. See fn. 68 above for Movsēs's less enthusiastic account of St. Sahak's reception in Constantinople. The deportation to Persia of John of Bagran at the time of the Sasanian capture of Karin/Theodosiopolis is another matter altogether, since John, the Chalcedonian patriarch, was an imperial appointee. See above, p. 226, and fn. 29, as well as Sebēos, xix, p. 91 [= trans. Macler, p. 36].

[70] LPʿ, lxiv, p. 113 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 322-323]: «[Pērōz] *Հրաման տայր՝ սրբոյ կաթողիկոսին Հայոց ի դուռն Հասանել եւ անդ պատասխանի տանել բանից դատախազին : Իսկ երանելի կաթողիկոս Հայոց Գիւտ կամաւ եւ յօժարութեամբ ի դուռն երթայր … տեսանէր ամենայն մարդ զերեսս նորա իբրեւ զերեսս Հրեշտակի. յորմէ եւ Հեթանոսք մեծաւ զգուշութեամբ խորշեալ պատկառէին ի նմանէ* :» See below, pp. 248-49, and fn. 99 for the difficulties of Giwt at the Persian court and their implications; also fn. 73, for Kumitas's attendance at Ctesiphon while still bishop of the Mamikonean.

setting of Modestos of Jerusalem's appeal for Kumitas I's benevolent prayers and watchful care after Xusrō II's sack of the Holy City in 614, we can detect an echo of the Armenian patriarch's credit at the Sasanian court already evidenced in Sahak I's earlier intervention.[71] Circumstances suggest that Modestos's appeal was not altogether misdirected, since the king of kings had just authorized the rebuilding of the cathedral of St. Gregory in the Armenian capital of Dwin and even ordered the destruction of the nearby city fortress, despite the alarm of the resident Persian officials. Kumitas himself had been able to engage in an extensive building program, which may again reflect the benevolent attitude of Persia in return for his collaboration.[72]

Armenian bishops attended Persian councils: not only the dubiously orthodox occupants of sees in the southern borderlands of Armenia, but also the two "faithful men... Kumitas bishop of the Mamikonean [the future kat'ołikos] and Matt'eos of the Amatuni" who participated in Xusrō II's Council of Ctesiphon, ca. 614, and helped carry the day for the Armenian confession.[73] At home, whatever the circumstances of the Council of Dwin of 555, the Armenian church does not seem to have opposed the calling of councils by Persia officials. After the failure of the

[71] Sebēos, xxxv, pp. 117-118 [= trans. Macler, p. 72]: « *շնորհիւ Աստուծոյ ի ձեր սուրբ աղաւթից ամենայն եկեղեցիքս Երուսաղեմի կարգաւորեցան եւ պաշտին : ··· Եւ արկցէ ի միտս ձեր՝ անդադար աղաւթելով վասն մեր, եւ մի՝ պակասել ամենեւին ի յիշել եւ նայել ի մեզ ··· եւ որ ինչ պիտոյ է՝ լինել : Եւ եթէ Հնար իցէ զաստուածասէր ձեր նախանձդ եւ ի ձեռնտուութիւն շինածոյ կենարար չարչարանացն ձգել. զի այսմ բարւոց եւ փափագելի պարգեւաց Հանդիպիմք* :» Cf. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 666-667. This passage was called to my attention by my friend and colleague, Prof. K. H. Maksoudian, to whom I should like to express my gratitude for his suggestion.

[72] Sebēos, xxvii, p. 100 [= trans. Macler, p. 47], cf. John Kat'ołikos, xvii, pp. 70-71 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 60], who follows Sebēos on this point. On Kumitas's building activities, see Sebēos, xxxvii, p. 121 [= trans. Macler, pp. 76-77], and fn. 73 below for his collaboration with the Persian authorities while still a bishop. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 668-670.

[73] Sebēos, xlvi, p. 150 [= trans. Macler, pp. 113-114]: « *Դիպեցան անդ արք Հաւատարիմք ··· Կումիտաս Մամիկոնէից եպիսկոպոս եւ Մատթէոս Ամատունեաց*.» This statement is faithfully repeated by Asołik, II, ii, pp. 93-94 [= trans. Dulaurier, pp. 123-124], who consequently also finds it acceptable; cf. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 658-661. The bishops of the Armeno-Mesopotamian marchlands, e.g., those of Mokk', Ałjnik', Ōstan, who appear at councils held in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, must have been Nestorianizers, since this was the official creed of the Church of Persia. See, *Synodicon Orientale*, pp. 285, 289, 311, etc., and Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 131-162. I shall return to the problem of these southern bishops in a subsequent study.

acephalic synod of Armenian bishops to provide a successor for the kat'ołikos Movsēs II early in the seventh century, Smbat Bagratuni, *marzpan* of Vṙkan [Hyrcania] summoned, with the permission of the king of kings, a council which elected Abraham I; the hostile *Narratio* even attributes the election of "the heretic" Abraham to the presence of Xusrō II in Armenia.[74] According to the *History* of John the Kat'ołikos, the council at which Abraham I broke with the pro-Chalcedonian kat'ołikos Kiwrion of Georgia was also called at the order of Smbat Bagratuni.[75] Finally, Xusrō II's Council of Ctesiphon, attended by Armenian bishops as well as those of Syria and the east, also had Smbat as co-president.[76] To be sure, Smbat was an Armenian magnate, but his directives to the Armenian bishops in these cases were those of a Persian official acting with the sanction of the Persian court. Despite this fact, not only can we find no objection to his actions in the Armenian sources, which treat his councils as entirely canonical, but these even proclaim with satisfaction

[74] Sebēos, xxvii, p. 100 [= trans. Macler, p. 47]. The first synod after the death of Movsēs II was clearly leaderless; *BL*, p. 146: « *Կանոնք որ եղան ի Դուին, մինչդեռ մտածութիւն էր ժողովելոյ եպիսկոպոսացն կարգել կաթուղիկոս Հայոց յետ մահուանն Մովսէսի Կաթողիկոսի … վասն որոյ ժողովեցաք* [note the first person plural] *եպիսկոպոսքս այս ի մայրաքաղաք եկեղեցիս Դունայ.* » The council which elected Abraham I was equally clearly summoned by the *marzpan* Smbat of Hyrcania; ibid., p. 149: « *Ձեռնարկ՝ զոր խնդրեաց Սմբատ Վրկան մարզպան, զայն եպիսկոպոսունս, որք դարձեալ ժողովեցան նորին Հրամանաւ ի Դուին, կարգել կաթուղիկոս Հայոց, յետ մահուանն Մովսէսի.* » Cf. *Narratio*, § 109-110: "Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου [Μαυρικίου] τελευτήν, προσελάβετο ὁ Χοσρόης ὁ βασιλεὺς Περσῶν τὴν χώραν Ἀρμενίας, 110 ὅτε καὶ ὁ αἱρετικὸς Ἀβραὰμ κατέστη καθολικός" The decisive participation of Smbat in the electoral council is repeated in John Kat'ołikos, xvii, p. 71 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 60]. See also p. 242, and fn. 77, for the legitimacy of these councils in the eyes of the Armenians.

[75] The Armeno-Georgian council is not mentioned by Sebēos, xxvii, p. 100 [= trans. Macler, p. 47], but this is done explicitly by John Kat'ołikos, xvii, pp. 71-72 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 61], who is usually dependent on Sebēos in this portion of his *History*. The *Book of Letters*, pp. 164-95, especially 168-75, does not give the acts of a council but includes letters to and from the *marzpan* Smbat of Hyrcania in the correspondence between Georgia and Armenia at this point. It is interesting that even in Arab times, Armenian sources record that the kat'ołikos Ełia held a council in Partaw at the order of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, Asołik, II, ii, p. 102 [= trans. Dulaurier, p. 131].

[76] Sebēos, xlvi, p. 149 [= trans. Macler, p. 114]: « *Ապա դարձաւ Խոսրով Որմզդի՝ … Հրաման ետ ամենայն եպիսկոպոսաց կողմանցն Արեւելից եւ Ասորեստանի ժողովել ի դուռն արքունի … եւ կացոյց ի վերայ նոցա ոստիկանս զՍմբատ Բագրատունի, զանուանեալ Խոսրովայ Շընումն, եւ զբժշկապետն արքունի :* » This information is repeated almost verbatim by Asołik, II, ii, pp. 97-98 [= trans. Dulaurier, pp. 126-127].

Xusrō II's official sanction and support of the orthodoxy of the Armenian creed:

Le roi ordonna de chercher dans le trésor et on trouva la véritable foi de Nicée, écrite et il examina la concordance avec la foi des Arméniens qui était scellée avec l'anneau du roi Kawat et de son fils Xosrov[I]; sur quoi le roi Xosrov [II] donna l'ordre suivant: "Que tous les chrétiens qui sont sous mon pouvoir aient la foi des Arméniens. Et de même ceux qui ont la même foi que les Arméniens dans les régions de l'Asorestan, ..." Le roi Xosrov ordonna de sceller un exemplaire de la confession véritable avec son anneau et de la mettre dans le trésor royal.[77]

It is particularly interesting that the point of reference for the Armenian creed should be the Persian archives, just as they were for the *Rank List* of the Armenian magnates sought by Sahak I on his visit to Ctesiphon.[78]

The role of Smbat Bagratuni in the election of Abraham I discloses what is probably the most important aspect of Persian jurisdiction over the Armenian church, namely, designation of the successful candidate to the Armenian patriarchate. As early as the accession of St. Sahak I, as the only surviving descendant of the house of St. Gregory, who was traditionally entitled to this office, the Sasanian ruler Šāhpuhr III, challenging both this tradition and the prerogatives of the reigning Arsacid king Xosrov III/IV, "was angry at Xosrov ... for his unbidden appointment of Sahak the Great to the episcopate," even though his successor Ardašīr did not go so far as to remove the Armenian patriarch from his office.[79] Soon, however, Sahak was to be deposed by the Persians and the patriarchal domains confiscated.[80] In his stead the

[77] Sebēos, xlvi, p. 151 [= trans. Macler, p. 116], repeated by Asołik, II, ii, pp. 97-98 [= trans. Dulaurier, pp. 126-127].

[78] Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 183-234, especially 213 = 67*sqq.

[79] MX, III,1 [= MK, pp. 314-315]; « *Բայց Շապուհ էր ցասմամբ ընդ Խոսրովայ ... յանհրաման կարգել յեպիսկոպոսութիւն զմեծն Սահակ*.» Some of the manuscripts of Movsēs Xorenacʿi go even so far as to say that Ardašīr *had* removed Sahak I from his office (MK p. 321, fn. 12 = *CHAMA*, 2: 160). This is probably a confusion with the later dismissal of Sahak by Bahrām V (see the footnotes that follow), but the mistake is indicative of the automatic assumption of the Persian king's authority in this area. See above, fn. 45, for Xosrov III/IV of Armenia's "appointment" of Sahak as patriarch.

[80] MX, III, lxiv [= MK, p. 341]: « *Հրամայեաց Վռամ առնուլ զթագաւորութիւնն յԱրտաշրէ* [of Armenia] ... *եւ զամենայն ինչս ազգի նորա ունել յարքունիս. նոյնպէս եւ զմեծն Սահակ. եւ զտունն կաթողիկոսական ունիս արքունիս, եւ տալ փոխանակ նորա յաթոռ եպիսկոպոսապետութեանն Հայոց զՍուրմակն զայն* : » The same account is given in ŁPʿ, I, xiv, pp. 24-25 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 270-271].

Persian king Bahrām V appointed first Surmak, bishop of Bznunik῾,[81] and subsequently two Syrians, Brk῾išo and Samuel.[82] Of particular interest here are the comments of Movsēs Xorenac῾i:

Vṙam gave the archiepiscopal throne to Samuel ... so that he might be a rival and antipatriarch to Sahak, and he [Vṙam] set his [Samuel's] duties: to assist the *marzban* and to oversee the assessment of the required taxes, the law courts, and other secular institutions. And Sahak the Great he set free, leaving him a few villages from the same (patriarchal) domain that he might reside only in his own see, with the authority only to give the traditional religious instruction and to ordain those whom Samuel might accept.[83]

and similarly:

Samuel came and occupied the archepiscopal throne ... he did not allow Sahak the great to ordain successors for the dead [bishops] and, as for the living, he found feeble excuses that they were holding back the royal taxes to expel them and seize all their domains for himself ...

But Sahak the Great did not cease nourishing with spiritual milk the young of the church with Mesrop, whom he established in the cathedral church in the city of Vaḷarshapat, while he himself resided in the province of Bagrewand, ...[84]

[81] See the preceding footnote for the text of MX, III, lxiv, and the parallel text of ŁP῾, I, xiv on the appointment of Surmak. The same account is also found in John Kat῾ołikos, xiv, pp. 56-57 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 48] and Asołik, II, i, p. 76. [= trans. Dulaurier, p. 109] who confuses the order of Sahak's successors but does not question the king's authority; cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 422-423. This attitude is also shared by the "Liste grecque," ibid., pp. 403, 407, cf. 421-422: "κατέβαλον αυτὸν [the Armenian king] ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ. 16 Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔκπτωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Σορμὰκ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτζακὲ τῇ προστάξει τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν βουλῇ ἐκάθισαν αὐτὸν καθολίκόν, διαβάλλοντες τὸν Ἰσαάκ." All the sources denounce the intrigues of the Armenian princes and of Surmak himself, but they never question the ultimate power of the Persian king.

[82] On Brk῾išo and Samuel, see MX, III, lxvi [= MK, pp. 341-342] and ŁP῾, I, xv, pp. 25-26 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 271-272], followed as usual by John Kat῾ołikos and Asołik, as well as the "Liste grecque"; see fn. 81 above.

[83] MX, III, lxiv, lxv [= MK, p. 343]: « *Վռամայ՝ ··· տուեալ յաթոռ եպիսկոպոսապետութեանն զայլ ոմն ասորի, Շամուէլ անուն, զի լիցի ընդդիմափառ մեծին Սահակայ եւ հակառակաթոռ. եւ գործ նմա զատուցանէ զընկերել մարզպանին, կալ ի վերայ բաշխից հարկաց խնդրեցելոց եւ դատաստանաց եւ այլ աշխարհական կարգաց : Եւ զմեծն Սահակ արձակեալ՝ թողու ի նա գեօղս սակաւս ի նորին տանէ, զի նստցի միայն յինքեան վիճակի, իշխանութիւն ունելով միայն վարդապետութեան սովորական կրօնիցն, եւ ձեռնադրութեան զայնոցիկ՝ զորոց եւ Շամուէլ յանձն առնուցու :* » Cf. John Kat῾ołikos, xiv, p. 57 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 48].

[84] MX, III, lxvi [= MK, p. 345]: «*Եկեալ Շամուէլի՝ կալաւ զաթոռ եպիսկոպոսապետութեանն, ··· եւ փոխանորդ մեռելոցն ոչ տայր թոյլ ձեռնադրել մեծին Սահակայ, եւ զկենդանեացն դոյզն ինչ գտեալ պատճառս խափանման հարկացն արքունի՝ հալածականս առնէր, յինքն կորզելով զամենեցուն տունս : ···*

The authority of the king of kings to designate the Armenian patriarch and spell out his prerogatives, as well as Sahak's inferior position vis-à-vis the Persian appointee and his retirement from the capital, are evident from these passages, despite the author's patent prejudices.

Equally revealing for the purpose of this study is the case of another of Sahak's successors, Yovsepʻ or Joseph of Hołocʻim, who was to die in Persia after the Armenian defeat of 451. According to both Łazar Pʻarpecʻi and Movsēs Xorenacʻi, St. Sahak's collaborator, Mesrop, designated Joseph to succeed him as *locum tenens* [*etēlapah*] on the archepiscopal throne; the *Narratio* simplifies the pattern and attributes Joseph's elevation directly to Sahak's will.[85] The later version of the historian Stephen of Tarōn, known as Asołik, describes the meeting of an Armenian council that took place spontaneously after the death of the Persian patriarchal candidate, Surmak. This council designated "a certain priest named Joseph who was a disciple of the great Mesrop... and at the order of Vardan [Mamikonean] ... placed him on the patriarchal throne."[86] In all of these versions, the initiative is purely Armenian, with no mention of Persia. In the absence of the vanished Arsacids, the hereditary commander-in-chief of the Armenian kingdom, Vardan Mamikonean, arrogates to himself the royal prerogative of confirming the patriarch-elect. This purely local election and endorse-

Այլ մեծն Սահակ ոչ ինչ կասեաց զհոգեւոր կաթնն դիեցուցանել մանկանց եկեղեցւոյ հանդերձ Մեսրոպաւ, զոր թողեալ խարսխեաց յեկեղեցւոջն կաթուղիկէ, որ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի, ինքն կալով ի Բագրեւանդ գաւառի ... » Cf. ŁPʻ, I, xvii-xviii, pp. 29-37 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 274-278], who also depicts Sahak's withdrawal from the world, together with his eschatological vision and death in Bagrewand.

[85] MX, III, lxvii [= MK, p. 349]: « *Իսկ զաթոռ եպիսկոպոսապետութեանն ետեղապահութեամբ յանձնորդեաց հրամանաւ երանելւոյն Մեսրոպայ՝ նորին աշակերտն Յովսէփ քահանայ* ». This version is repeated by John Katʻołikos, xiv, p. 58 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 49], who, however, omits the fact that Joseph was only a *locum tenens*. See also ŁPʻ, I, xix, p. 38 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 278]. The *Narratio*, § 29, links Joseph directly to Sahak the Great without mentioning Mesrop: "Τοῦ οὖν μακαρίου καὶ ἁγίου Ἰσαὰκ τελευτήσαντος ... διαδέχεται τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῇ τούτου προστάξει Ἰωσήφ·" Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 94-96, who also notes the total omission of Joseph from the "Liste grecque"; ibid., pp. 404, 408.

[86] Asołik, II, ii, p. 78 [= trans. Dulaurier, p. 111]: « *Եւ ետ մահուանն Սուրմակայ ժողովեալ հայրապետացն Հայոց՝ խնդրեալ գտին քահանայ ոմն Յովսէփ անուն, որ լեալ էր աշակերտ մեծին Մեսրոպայ ... : Եւ հրամանաւ Վարդանայ նստուցին յաթոռ կաթողիկոսութեան.* » The phrase "a certain priest named Joseph" is hardly flattering to the status or reputation of the candidate whose main claim to consideration seems to have been that he was a disciple of St. Mesrop.

ment seem to have conferred a dubious legitimacy on Joseph, since the sources betray again and again the equivocal character of his rank. Łazar P'arpec'i specifies on two occasions that "although he [Joseph] was by ordination [only] a priest, yet at the time [he] held the throne of the Catholicosate of Armenia," and he normally refers to Joseph as "blessed," "holy," "lord," or even as "saint," rather than as "kat'ołikos of Armenia."[87] The same is true of the parallel text of Ełišē, who even begins an official letter from the presumed patriarch with the formula, "The bishop Joseph, with many of his co-bishops," styling him merely "bishop of Ayrarat" and never "kat'ołikos." In the accounts of the martyrdom of the Armenian saints, Joseph, despite his personal sanctity, is distinctly secondary to his colleagues, Bishop Sahak of Ṙštunik' and the priest Łewond, who is the eponymous hero of the saints.[88] The *List*

[87] ŁP', I, xxiii, p. 44 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 257, which is the better translation for this portion of ŁP']: « *Յովսէփ, որ թէպէտ եւ երէց էր ըստ ձեռնադրութեան՝ այլ զկաթողիկոսութեան Հայոց զաթոռ ունէր ի ժամանակին.* » ŁP', I, xliii, p. 78 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 284]: « *սուրբ երէցն Յովսէփ որ եւ զկաթողիկոսութեանն Հայոց ունէր զաթոռ* ». ŁP', I, xlii, p. 75 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 290]: « *զսուրբ երէցն Յովսէփ, որ զկաթողիկոսութեանն ունէր զաթոռ ի ժամուն,* » ŁP', I, xliii, p. 78 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 293], « *զսուրբ Յովսէփ, զարդարեւ զկաթողիկոսն Հայոց* », ŁP', I, xlvii, p. 86 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 301]: « *Զսուրբն քահանայսն Աստուծոյ, զտէր Յովսէփ կաթողիկոս, եւ տէր Սահակ Ռշտունեաց եպիսկոպոս* » where Joseph is listed on a par with bishop Sahak; ŁP', I, lvi, p. 100 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p.316], « *սուրբ վարդապետք մեր եւ Հոգեւոր Հարք տէր Յովսէփ եւ տէր Ղեւոնդ,* » where Joseph is equated with the priest Łewond. Elsewhere, Joseph is recorded as "blessed," "holy," "saint," "angel like," and, to be sure, as "kat'ołikos" without circumlocutions on four occasions: ŁP', I, xlii, xliii, xlv, li, lii, lvii, pp. 71, 76, 79, 81, 91, 92, 97, 98, 100, 101 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, pp. 285, 286, 291, 295, 296, 307, 308, 314, 315, 317, 318]. There is no question whatever as to Joseph's personal worthiness, and at one point, ŁP', I, lii, p. 92 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 308] says that Joseph's chains were heavier than those of his companions, presumably to emphasize his merits. But in the whole lengthy account of the Armenian martyrdom in Persia he plays slightly second fiddle; the starring role belongs to the priest Łewond, who gives his name to the entire group of martyrs.

[88] The attitude toward Joseph found in Ełišē's account runs generally parallel to that of Łazar P'arpec'i: Ełišē, ii, p. 27 [= trans. Thomson, p. 81], « *եպիսկոպոս Այրարատոյ* »; Ełišē, v. p. 71 [= trans. Thomson, p. 122], « *Յովսէփ եպիսկոպոս բազում եպիսկո—պոսակցօք իւրովք* »; Ełišē, vii, p. 178 [= trans. Thomson, p. 225], in first place, « *Սահակ եպիսկոպոս յՌշտունեաց.* » in second place, « *Սուրբ Յովսէփ ի Վայոց ձորոյ՝ ի գեղջէ Հողոցմանց.* » We find again a series of "great," "holy," "saint," "bishop," no title on occasion, but never the title of "Kat'ołikos": Ełišē, ii, p. 28; v, pp. 43, 100, 106; vi, pp. 123-124, 134; vii, pp. 146, 153, 169, 170 [= trans. Thomson, pp. 82, 95, 152, 158, 175, 182, 186, 117, 203, 217]. To be sure, the priest Łewond addresses Joseph on one occasion as "superior in rank to [us] all," Ełišē, vii, p. 178 [= trans. Thomson, p. 225], but here again it is Łewond who gives orders to Joseph and sets the

of Armenian Councils attributed to the katʿołikos John Ōjnecʿi speaks of Joseph merely as "Mesrop's disciple" and stresses his position as *locum tenens* rather than as patriarch in his own right. The canons of the Council of Šahapivan, presumably convoked by Joseph, curtly refer to the council as an agreement of the Armenian nobility in the seventh year following the death of St. Sahak, without any reference to a katʿołikos or president of the assembly, a formula likewise adopted by the *Narratio*.[89] All of these silences and circumlocutions suggest that Joseph's position, which had not been ratified by Persia, was anomalous and precarious despite his personal saintliness, whereas the same sources express no reservations as to the status of the two Syrian katʿołikoi appointed by the Sasanians, Brkʿišo and Samuel, however much they may deplore the two Syrians' morals.[90]

Ormanean's thesis that until the death of Surmak, Joseph was only a *locum tenens* exclusively concerned with spiritual affairs, as had been his teacher Mesrop (and, for that matter, St. Sahak under Samuel) and that he was only then elevated to the full dignity of the patriarchate may well point in the right direction.[91] Despite Łazar Pʿarpecʿi's assertion that Surmak had quickly been deposed by the disenchanted Armenian magnates who had first backed him,[92] Surmak actually seems to have kept his position until his death. Both Łazar and Ełišē list him, albeit as bishop of Bznunikʿ — the see he had obtained from the Persian court — among the Armenian bishops opposing Yazdgard II's ever-increasing Zoroastrian pressure.[93] The *Narratio* is acquainted with his pontificate, and dates the Armeno-Byzantine schism from the time of his "power"

order of martyrdom. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 94-96, and Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 81, fn. 1, both of whom note Joseph's double status as priest and katʿołikos.

[89] *BL*, p. 220: « *Չորրորդ ժողով արար Յովսեփ աշակերտ Մաշդոցի եւ սրբոյն Սահակայ նորին տեղապահի ի Շահապուվանի.* » *Kanonagirkʿ Hayocʿ*, ed. V. Hakobyan, vol. 1 (Erevan, 1964), p. 423 : « *Եղեւ միաբանութեամբ աւագ Հայոց, յեւթներորդ ամի վախճանելոյն սրոյն Սահակայ կարգեցան կանոնքս այս* : » *Narratio* § 28 "Καὶ μετὰ ἔτη ἕξ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσαὰκ ἐγένετο σύνοδος εἰς τὸ Σαπιβάν." There is no reference to Joseph at this point, although he is mentioned as Sahak's successor in § 29; cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 88-92. The date given differs by one year from the one given in the *Kanonagirkʿ*, but the formula is the same.

[90] See above, fn. 82, for Brkʿišo and Samuel.

[91] Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, cols. 325-329.

[92] ŁPʿ, I, xv, p. 25 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 271-272]. It is worth noting, as does Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 102, that Surmak had the full authorithy (*isxanutʿiwn*) of the katʿołikate and not merely its *de facto* power. See also MX, III, lxiv [= MK, p. 341].

[93] ŁPʿ, I, xxiii, p. 44 [= Thomson, *Elishē*, p. 258]; Ełišē, ii, p. 28 [= trans. Thomson, p. 81].

[ἐξουσία].[94] As we have already seen, Asołik dates the Armenian council that appointed Joseph "after the death of Surmak." Most explicitly of all, the katʿołikos John categorically states that on the death of Mesrop, "the priest Joseph ... occupied the patriarchal see as *locum tenens.* However, at the order of Yazdkert [king of Persia] Surmak completed the course of his ordination for six years until he died. Then the blessed Yovsēpʿ was ordained [bishop] of Armenia."[95] Taken together with the Armenian sources' general evasiveness about Joseph's status, it does not seem unwarranted to conclude that the Persian patriarch-designate Surmak had, in fact, kept his position for life, or perhaps temporarily withdrawn to his see of Bzunikʿ, only to return to full patriarchal dignity in his last years. If so, we have here additional evidence that in this period the Armenian patriarchate required the ratification of the Persian court to achieve full legitimacy, and that a Persian appointee could not be removed by local powers, even those of an ecclesiastical council whose decision remained invalid without the endorsement of Ctesiphon.

Still more importantly, the Sasanian king of kings, unlike his Byzantine counterpart, could not only designate a patriarchal candidate in post-Arsacid Armenia, but have this prerogative accepted as legitimate by the Armenians themselves. We find no objections to the councils called by the Persian *marzpan* Smbat of Vṙkan, and the katʿołikos Christopher II was denounced by the Armenians to the *marzpan* Varaztirocʿ, who presumably had the right to depose him, since the katʿołikos John censures the patriarch's native calumniators but not the Persian official who removed him.[96] The same Armenian sources that deplore the morals of the Syrian katʿołikoi of Sahak's time state unequivocally that the Armenian princes turned of their own volition to the Persian court for the appointment of a new patriarch:

[94] *Narratio*, § 33: "Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς αὐθαδείας ταύτης [the ordination of Armenian bishops by themselves instead of by Caesarea] ἐξουσίας ἤρξατο μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας· ἀνίατος δὲ ἔμεινεν ἕως τοῦ νῦν." Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 102.

[95] John Katʿołikos, xiv, p. 58 [= trans. Saint-Martin, p. 49]: « *Բայց զաթոռ Հայրապետութեանն տեղապահութեամբ յաջորդէր Յովսէփ քահանայ ··· սակայն ի հրամանէ Յազկերտի Սուրմակ կատարէ զձեռնադրութեան զլրումն զամս վեց՝ մինչեւ մեռաւ իսկ. եւ ապա զսուրբ Յովսէփ ի ձեռնադրութիւն Հայոց :* » A different translation of this passage is given by Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 96, but it does not alter the present argument.

[96] John Katʿołikos, xvii, p. 75 [= trans. Saint-Martin, pp. 64-65]. The accuracy of the story is not our concern here. What matters is the presumed legitimacy of an appeal to the Persian governor against the Armenian katʿołikos.

"our princes sought from Vṙam [Bahrām V] another occupant for the [patriarchal] throne, and he gave them a Syrian Brkʿišo .... Unable to bear him, the princes again begged Vṙam to change him and give them someone of their own religion ...."[97]

and find nothing illegal or unseemly in these appeals to Persia. The Armenian bishops envious of Surmak's acquisition of ecclesiastical property "also dared to do the same, seeking [permission] *from the Persian king* with the assistance of each one's prince."[98] Thus, whatever abuses may have existed *de facto*, the conclusion that must be drawn from the tacit assumptions of Armenian ecclesiastical writers is that Persian jurisdiction in Armenian patriarchal appointments was acceptable *de jure* to the Armenians.

A still more precise definition of the nature of Persian authority can be found in the apocryphal exchange between the Armenian katʿołikos Giwt (461-478) and the Sasanian king Pērōz included in the *History* of Łazar Pʿarpecʿi:

le roi envoya dire au saint patriarche Kiud [Giwt]: "Tu as jusqu'à présent exercé ton autorité sans mon ordre, et ceux qui t'ont accordé une charge si importante ne sont que de simples sujets [*carayk*ʿ = servants]. Tu n'as pas reçu non plus aucune autorisation de ma part. Cependant, si tu exécutes ma volonté ... je conférerai perpétuellement, par un édit, cette charge à toi, à ta maison et à quiconque tu me désigneras .... Mais si en t'obstinant, tu ne veux pas exécuter ma volonté, je t'enlèverai l'épiscopat, je te retirerai ta charge, et tu charge, et tu retourneras dans ... ton pays déshonoré et outragé". Le bienheureux serviteur de

[97] MX, III, lxiv, [= MK, p. 341]: « *Իսկ նախարարքն մեր խնդրէին ի Վռամայ այլ աթոռակալ. եւ ետ նոցա զԲրքիշոյ ոմն ասորի … Որում ոչ կարացեալ տանել նախարարացն՝ դարձեալ աղաչէցին զՎռամ փոխել զնա, եւ տալ զայլ ոք ըստ կրօնից նոցա.* » ŁPʿ, I, xvi, p. 26 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 272], gives the same account: « *խնդրեցին այնուհետեւ իւրեանց նախարարքն Հայոց յարքունուստ կաթողիկոս, եւ թագաւորն Վռամ ետ նոցա զԲրքիշոյ զոմն անուն … մերժեցին զԲրքիշոյ ի քահանայապետութենէն Հայոց. ծանուցանելով թագաւորին Վռամայ, … 'այլ այր տուր մեզ առաջնորդ ըստ մերում բնիկ կարգիս,' … եւ Վռամայ արքայն հաւանեալ կամաւ խնդրոյն նոցա՝ տայր նոցա դարձեալ կաթողիկոս այլ ասորի, որում անուն էր Շամուէլ :* » In neither of these passages is there any indication of contention or that the Persian king was intruding into Armenian affairs. Cf. MX, III, lxv [= MK, p. 342], for the divided appeals of the Armenian princes after the deposition of St. Sahak I. The princes' choices may have been divided, but none of them recoiled from requesting a katʿołikos from the king of kings. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 407-408, 419-423.

[98] MX, III, lvi [= MK, p. 345]: « *Ընդ որ նախանձեալ եւ այլ եպիսկոպոսաց՝ ժպրհեցան զնոյն առնել, խնդրելով ի Պարսից արքայէն օգնականութեամբ իւրաքանչիւր իշխանաց :* »

Dieu, le patriarche des Arméniens, Kiud ... répondit au messager du roi: ..." Dis au roi qu'en ce qui concerne la charge que tu dis que j'ai jusqu'à présent obtenue avec l'autorisation de tes sujets et non pas la tienne; si toi, ou si quelqu'un des sujets qui me l'ont conferrée, voulaient me l'enlever, je m'en consolerais, et je le désire même; car ainsi délivré d'inquiètudes facheuses et de tribulations, je ne m'occuperais que de moi-même et de la prière. Quant à l'ordre épiscopal que tu me menaces de m'enlever, c'est un ordre de dignité céleste; et ni les rois, ni quelqu'un des princes, ne peuvent me l'ôter; la mort même est impuissante à me l'arracher .... Ainsi je ne crains rien d'un homme mortel qui ne peut ni me donner, ni m'enlever cette dignité."[99]

The fictional elements of this account are beyond question, but the point of view of a late fifth-century Armenian ecclesiastical author is equally clear. The assertion of autonomy on Giwt's part pertains to his episcopal *order* and to doctrine alone. Both here, and in the equally embellished account of Xusrō II's registration of the Armenian creed's orthodoxy in the Persian archives,[100] *jurisdiction* over the Church of Armenia, as over the Church of Persia, was acknowledged to lie ultimately in the hands of the king of kings.

In retrospect, then, it may now seem warranted to argue that secular jurisdiction over the Armenian church should not be taken as a simple unilateral pattern, nor one that remained chronologically inflexible. In the first century of the period under review, the Byzantine empire exercised over the allied kingdom of Armenia some of the ecclesiastical authority that the post-Constantinian emperors assumed in their own

99 ŁP', I, lxiv, pp. 114-115 [= *CHAMA*, 2: 322-323]:¡ [*Թագաւոր*] ··· *յղէր առ երանելի կաթողիկոսն Գիւտ, թէ ՝Մինչեւ ցայժմ քո իշխանութիւնդ առանց իմ հրամանի կալեալ է, եւ ծառայ մարդիկ են, որոց քեզ զայդպիսի մեծ գործ տուեալ է, եւ ոչ ինչ յիմէն ունիս վստահութիւն ։ Բայց այժմ եթէ զիմ կամս առնես, ··· զգործդ զայդ քեզ եւ քում ազգի եւ որում դու կամիս՝ պատըշըաւ տամ մինչեւ յաւիտեանս, ··· ։ Ապա թէ յամառեալ չհաւանիս կատարել զկամս իմ զեպիսկոպոսութիւնդ ի բաց առնում ի քէն եւ ի գործոցդ ի բաց հանեմ, եւ դու անարգանօք եւ թեթեւութեամբ երթաս ի տուն քո եւ յաշխարհն ։՝*
Եւ երանելի այրն Աստուծոյ կաթողիկոսն Հայոց Գիւտ ··· ետ պատասխանի եւ ասէ, ՝Ասա ցթագաւորն, թէ յաղագս գործոյս, զոր ասես, թէ ցայժմ քո ի ծառայից եւ ոչ յիմէն կալեալ գործակալութիւն՝ թէ դու կամ թէ ոք ի ծառայից քոց որ ետուն, եւ առնուք յիմէն՝ ուրախ եմ եւ կամիմ. վասն զի յաշխարհատանջ հոգոյ եւ կարեաց ապարեալ՝ անձին պարապեմ եւ աղօթից ։ Իսկ յաղագս եպիսկոպոսական ձեռնադրութեանս որ ասես, թէ ի բաց առնում ի քէն՝ զայս երկնաւոր ձեռնադրութեան պատիւ առնուլ յիմէն ոչ թագաւորք եւ ոչ յիշխանաց ոք, այլ մահ ոչ իշխէ, քանզի եւ կարէ իսկ ոչ. եւ ոչ բնաւ երկնչիմ ի մահկանացու մարդոյ՝ տալ զպատիւ ինձ եւ կամ առնուլ յիմէն ։՝ » The French version does not follow the text verbatim, but in no way alters its sense.

100 See above, p. 242, and fn. 77.

realm. Even in this period, however, jurisdiction rarely manifested itself overtly; more commonly it operated indirectly through pressure brought to bear on the Armenian crown to bring its ecclesiastical policy into conformity with the current position of the imperial court. With the rift between the Armenian church and that of Caesarea, as well as the political partition of Armenia late in the fourth century, this tacit and incompletely formulated relationship broke down. Thereafter, most of the Armenian lands lay outside the empire, except for the brief period following the new partition of 591, and confessional hostility, intensifying after the Armenian official rejection of Chalcedonian christology, widened the breach. The emperors continued to assert their *de facto* rights whenever possible, but, except in the pro-Chalcedonian milieu that produced the *Narratio*, the legitimacy of their actions was denied by the Armenians. Consequently, the exercise of imperial prerogatives took on a coercive character and was viewed by the spokesmen for the native church as an abusive intrusion.

The Armenian kings usually found it wise to coordinate their ecclesiastical policy with that of Constantinople through much of the fourth century, and their patriarchs first received their episcopal consecration at Caesarea of Cappadocia. Nevertheless, direct royal authority over the Armenian clergy was considerable and met with little effective ecclesiastical opposition. The most effective limitation of the royal control over the ecclesiastical hierarchy stemmed not from as yet unformulated canonic regulations, but from the irrevocable hereditary privileges that united the Armenian secular and ecclesiastical magnates against any encroachments on the part of the crown.

Long obscured by the unremitting hostility to Iran of all Armenian sources, irrespective of confessional colouration, the dominant position of the king of kings emerges logically from the historical context. In contrast to his imperial counterpart, the Sasanian ruler undoubtedly benefited from the disappearance of both the Arsacid dynasty and the hereditary patriarchal house of St. Gregory, which left Armenia in jurisdictional disarray early in the fifth century, at the very time that the king's rights as regarded the Persian church were being set down at the Council of 410. On the evidence of the Armenian sources themselves, it appears that the same prerogatives were exercised thereafter in the Armenian provinces of the Persian empire. Like its colleagues in Ctesiphon, the Armenian hierarchy, willingly or not, acknowledged the reality and legitimacy of Persian royal jurisdiction.

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The Literary Self-Portrait of a Nation: Poland and Poles in the Fifteenth Century

ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR

Polish moralists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not inclined to national megalomania. They made lists of the faults and vices of the estates of their society without transforming the all-European traditional material in any original way, except by adding a few details ascribable to local color. A sophisticated versified poem written by Frowin, a Cracow canon of the first half of the fourteenth century, gave advice to and censured the manners of everyone from bishops, dukes, the clergy, lords, and judges to servants, husbands and wives, and country folk.[1] At the end of that century or early in the next, the Poznań master Nicholas Oloch wrote in a similar vein "about the evil things that are taking place here below," his worst opinion being of women; he was also the author of another short poem on the life and customs of courtiers which was marked by satirical outrage.[2] From there, it was only a step to the oldest instruction in the Polish language, dating back to the beginning of the fifteenth century, regarding decent behaviour at a feast and the proper way to praise women — namely, a poem by Słota about a bread table.[3]

Paralleling the instruction and the schematized presentation of human life were representations of work and daily life in cycles of illuminations on calendar manuscripts. They included depictions of occupations for successive months of the year, from drinking at home by the fireplace in January to pigsticking in December, as described in a late thirteenth-century psalter of Poor Clara's order of Wrocław and in a lost psalter of Trzebnica. Although imitating foreign models, these representations also reflected Silesian conditions.[4]

[1] "Antigameratus," written shortly after 1320, was published in E. Habel, ed., *Die Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters* (Dresden, 1931).

[2] "Tractatus de malis," ed. R. Ganszyniec, "Polonolatina VI," in *Pamiętnik Literacki* 22, no. 3 (1925-26). J. A. Spież, "Moralitety mistrza Mikołaja z Szamotuł (XV wiek)," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 13 (1968): 73-90.

[3] "Wiersz Słoty o chlebowym stole," in S. Vrtel-Wierczyński, ed., *Średniowieczna poezja polska świecka*, 3rd ed. (Wrocław, 1952).

[4] K. Jasiński, "Ilustracje kalendarzowe w rękopisie wrocławskim z około 1300 r.," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 7 (1959): 203-208.

These two kinds of moralizing, in literature and painting — areas in which disparity between stereotype and reality is elusive — show that the usual self-image of a medieval Pole shortly after the first half of the fifteenth century was connected to earlier generalized ones.[5]

Jan Długosz (1415-1479), historian and historiographer, wrote about his fellow countrymen in a way that surpassed all his predecessors. There was no satire in his work. Indeed, one seeks in vain among his many virtues for any sense of humor in Długosz. On the other hand, he expressed moral indignation against Poles on paper only once, in writing about a change he saw in his contemporaries during the final days of his life. The characteristics he identifies in an introduction about Poles in his first book and his observations about noble families are astonishingly insightful.

Before describing the geographical and climatic circumstances of Poland's history, Długosz presented a quite well-developed synthesis of the Polish character. His assessment contained neither an undue opinion of Polish values nor an appeal for improvement. It is worthwhile to quote it in full here:

The Polish nobility are greedy for fame, inclined to pillage, risk perils and death, fail to keep promises, are hard on subjects and inferiors, hasty in words, wasteful beyond their means, loyal to a ruler, devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding, humane and kind in customs and toward visitors, and love hospitality more than all other nations. The countryfolk are so inclined to drinking, quarrels, and murders that it is difficult to find another nation equally stained with domestic murders and disasters. The folk do not object to any toil or task, suffer frost and hunger patiently, are responsive to superstitions and witchcraft; also they themselves are inclined to pillage and to hostility, they are fond of novelties, rapacious and avid for somebody else's property. Slapdash in tending homesteads, they are content with shabby huts. Brave and bold, hot-headed, not easy to deal with, handsome in motion and bearing, surpassing others in strength, of tall and slender stature, sound body, mixed color, white and black. Brisk air, cold sky, unpleasant winds, long-lasting snow, permanently frozen mountains form the nature and minds of the Poles. Strangers and foreigners, though revealing talents and good manners, are seldom admitted to government and to offices, unless [after] time passes and in a successive generation, and if that does take place, they are admitted not without envy. Would that the Poles would follow the example of the Spaniards, who do not scorn any kind of people when they are conspiciously for virtue, and who entrust those converted from among the Jews and Saracens with bishoprics and high offices, and owing to that benevolence their republic grows stronger and flourishes. On the contrary, the

[5] Cf. J.C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Evanston and Chicago, 1938).

Poles are like the Czechs, who consider it shameful to have all the offices of their kingdom not in the hands of the same family always, even if those hands are dishonest and unfit, and they regard offices as stained if they have changed hands; the Poles, contrarious in other matters, here seem to me to be erring a good deal, as if they wanted to impose law upon God and to aim at appropriating or obscuring the grace of His bounty. They are marked by such disposition and such incompetence that they pay faint homage to virtue and knowledge; and they raise to dignities and offices those who abound in greater riches, or have impudent mind, dare death, and are prompt to wipe out others.[6]

How should one understand this collection of remarks, stereotypes, and opinions about a political and social system? Surely we have here a conglomerate of "what we noticed," "what we were informed of by others," and "what we can imagine," to quote a definition of stereotype which is still current. Very likely, Długosz's observations interlace the opinions of his contemporaries with his own generalized speculations. Centuries of Latin literary influence also contributed to these notions, but the search for models leads us only to the arsenal of expressions used intentionally or unconsciously by the Cracow historiographer.[7] Something else should arouse our interest: the author's consciousness and representation of Polish reality.

Here we are dealing with motives and opinions which, together with innate perceptivity and susceptibility, provided the basis for Długosz's stereotypes of the Polish nobility (including the gentry) and of Polish peasants. Other strata of the society are not mentioned in this connection, although they are mentioned subsequently in the work. But abstractions about Polish social strata turned out to be too difficult for a man who was himself rooted in one of them, the clergy. Although the greater part of Długosz's working life was spent in the large town of Cracow, he associated himself with only one of its institutions — the university.[8] He looked out at the lives of the court, knights, and peasants as at a distant horizon, and it was there that he spotted a possibility for generalizing about the two major divisions of society — the rulers and the common people.

Długosz looked at knighthood as an outsider. Belonging by birth to the middle nobility, by order to the canons of the clergy, and by career to

[6] *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronacae incliti Regni Poloniae* (hereafter *Annales*), bks. 1-2 (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 108-109: "De Polonorum natura et moribus."

[7] M. Koczerska, "Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 15 (1971): 109-139.

[8] Cf. *Dlugossiana: Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, ed. S. Gawęda (Warsaw, 1980).

episcopal and royal circles of the court, and having much in common with all, Długosz remained first and foremost a man of letters. He was not precisely speaking an intellectual, but rather a member of the professional intelligentsia. In working for a livelihood, he became an expert in spheres requiring intellectual skills and knowledge. A writer of extreme diligence and productivity—his works as printed in the nineteenth century comprise three thousand pages in quarto[9] — Długosz could justly expect the esteem of contemporaries equal to him in education and intellectual breadth. He was also an administrator, investor, secretary and diplomat, teacher of princes, and very serious clergyman. He set high ethical standards for himself, and to a considerable measure lived up to them, although the interests of the church and Poland had priority for him over all else.[10]

Following existing patterns and models, he traced the wellspring of the Polish national character to Poland's climate (how many preceded and followed him in that idea!), and stressed its unfavorable nature. According to Długosz, the challenging physical conditions forged in Poles such positive traits as courage and perseverance, but also resulted in inclinations to quarrelsomeness, impetuousness, and divisiveness.[11]

Długosz depicted the Polish countryfolk in a chiaroscuro which struck a certain balance between light and dark. This he achieved by mentioning their negative traits, then praising their diligence and endurance, returning to their faults, and ending with expressions of admiration. So if his view of countryfolk was a stereotype, it was a differentiated one, including implicit appreciation for traditional popular culture, not excluding superstitions and witchcraft. Also, his observations were made without contempt or prejudice.[12]

Długosz's attention was focused first and foremost on the elite. First, he commended their striving for fame and their contempt for death, then he criticized them on a number of accounts; he completed the picture with such positive features as loyalty to a ruler, devotion to farming,

[9] *Joannis Dlugossii ... Opera omnia* (hereafter *Opera omnia*), 15 vols. (Cracow, 1863-1887), vols. 10-14: *Historica Polonica*.

[10] U. Borkowska, "Regnum et sacerdotium w pismach Jana Długosza," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 26 (1981): 3-21.

[11] *Annales*, p. 108: "ferox aura, influencia cruda, gelida sidera, inclementes venti, longe nives, perpetuo rigentes alpes naturam Polonis causant et ingenia."

[12] *Annales*, p. 108: "plebs rusticana in ebrietatem, rixas, calumpnias, cedes procliva ... Nullius laboris aut oneris fugax ... audax et temeraria, ingenio callida ...."

and hospitality. In a final separate passage he pointed to the political xenophobia and isolation of the elite formed by birth and property.[13]

Along with his stereotype of the nobility Długosz made an effort to characterize specific noble families. Noble lines or clans, at that time in Latin called *gens*, *genealogia*, *domus*, ought to be understood as family groups of both high nobility and gentry that were conscious of their common ancestry. Their sense of community was expressed by possession and use of one common coat of arms (*arma*, *clenodium*, *signum*) and a clan name (*proclamatio*) which could also identify the coat of arms (although one coat of arms could have several such terms, in which case their function was comparable to that of a *cri de guerre*).[14]

During Długosz's time, the clans reached their apogée of importance and self-consciousness, noticeable in the rise of heraldry and clan names. That self-consciousness manifested itself in a solidarity of various kinds — socio-political, military, legal, and cultural.[15] Thus it was possible to make some generalizations about the role, attitude, and behaviour of clans. A majority of the clans known in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was described by Jan Długosz in a short work entitled *Clenodia seu insignia Regni Poloniae*. There, alongside a description of a clan's coat of arms (extant manuscripts of the sixteenth century include color drawings) and mention of its Polish name (and sometimes a Latin one) and proclamations, several socio-psychological characteristics were also listed.[16] For a long time the last was disregarded. For instance, in the sixteenth century Bartosz Paprocki at first censored such passages carefully, and only later included them more freely in his work.[17] Długosz wrote, for example, that members of the clan of Topor (Bipennis) are "marked by eloquence and cunning," about the Nieczuja that they are "a Polish perspicacious family," about the Osoryja that they are "kind and humane men," about the Przerowa that they are

[13] *Annales*, p. 108: "animam habentes contempricem mortis, ad neces aliorum proniorem."

[14] J. Bieniak, "Clans de chevalerie en Pologne du XIII[e] au XV[e] siècle," in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. G. Duby and J. Le Goff (Rome, 1977), pp. 321-34.

[15] Cf. the articles by A. Gieysztor (pp. 299-308), H. Samsonowicz (pp. 309-321), and J. Bardach (pp. 335-53) in *Famille et parenté*.

[16] "Klejnoty Długoszowe," ed. M. Friedberg (Cracow, 1931) in *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego*, vol. 10 (1930); also in *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 (1887); "Stemmata Polonica," ed. H. Polaczkówna, in *Prace sekcyi historii sztuki Towarzystwa Naukowego Lwowskiego*, vol. 2 (1927). Długosz's authorship remains conjectural.

[17] B. Paprocki, *Gniazdo cnoty* (Cracow, 1578), and *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* (Cracow, 1584; reissued in 1858-60, and reprinted in 1978).

"courageous and quick-tempered men, and inclined to Venus." On the negative side of the ledger, he wrote that the family of Róża was inclined to "avarice, haughtiness, and drinking," and about the little known family of Zerwikaptur he said simply that they were "fools, scoundrels, and thieves."

It is easy to guess where Długosz obtained material for the stereotype of the Leliwa clan ("perspicacious and provident men, caring for the commonwealth and their own good") when we look at members of that family who were his contemporaries. But all these individuals were descendants of only one branch of the clan, that of Spycimir, castellan of Cracow, who was the most eminent statesman and collaborator of King Władysław Łokietek. Spycimir's fifteenth-century descendants — the families Melsztyński, Tarnowski, Jarosławski — certainly tended their own fortunes as well as they did those of the commonwealth.[18]

Recollection of the historical past influenced Długosz's opinions about the Griphi, whom he called "radiant with the foundation and equipment of cloisters." But it is uncertain whether it was the legend about the involvement of three families in the murder in 1079 of St. Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, and of one of those three in the killing in 1180 of Werner, bishop of Płock, that prompted Długosz to write that the Jastrzębiec (Accipitres) family were "inclined to tyranny and to pursuing their private interests," and that the Strzemię family were "prone to anger and bloodshed." About the third family, the Drużyna, he noted a disposition to flattery. Apparently contemporary observation was the source of those remarks and censures, although it is very difficult to detect who or what provided the basis for one or the other opinion. With admirable independence, Długosz pronounced his judgment of the Dębno family, to which his protector and ideal, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Cracow, belonged. To them he attributed not only Tatar blood and appearance, which was fact,[19] but added that they were "brave, violent, and gluttonous," which could have been a reference to the cardinal himself. Długosz's opinion of his own family, the Wieniawa, was certainly based on personal experience: "brave and violent men, caring more for their private property and matters than for public agreement and modesty."

Another question seems important: what palette did this historiographer and ethno- and socio-psychologist use to color his Polish

[18] Cf. W. Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy* (Warsaw, 1971).

[19] M. Koczerska, "Piętnastowieczne biografie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 24 (1979): 15ff.

portraits? If we consider not only his specific attributions but also the notions he expressed in more general terms, the result is some fifty features attributed to contemporary Poles, variously for the 71 families in Długosz's list (18, however, were not characterized at all). Negative features slightly outnumbered positive ones, although this resulted only from Długosz's honest attempt to be descriptive. What traits did Długosz value? Most of all, boldness, bravery, and courage; then cleverness, providence, eloquence, modesty, moderation and simplicity; and later, integrity and lack of hypocrisy, loyalty to lords, devotion to the commonwealth, generosity, humanity, peaceability, common sense, kindness, strength. Remarkable is the lack of piety from the pen of a canon; only one of Długosz's remarks, on the founding of cloisters by the old Griphi, refers to that quality.

What about the faults and shortcomings of the Poles? These were presented in a long and unindulgent catalogue. Most often Długosz charges them with cunning and slyness, vehemence and irritability, talkativeness; next come drinking, devotion to dogs and hunting, an "inclination to Venus," hypocrisy and inconstancy of speech, selfishness and arrogance, avarice, seeking other people's property, impiety; further down come stubbornness, tyranny, cruelty and inclination to bloodshed, taciturnity, gluttony; and finally, as with the harsh description of the Zerwikaptur family, stupidity, roguery, and thievery.

Such were the social habits, attitudes and ideals, and intellectual and emotional attributes that influenced individual small communities and together made up a larger community, which in turn represented the Polish nobility. To that community as a whole only a very modest portion of family virtues and faults could be attributed. The representation of Poles' distinctive characteristics was based upon one overriding notion, namely, that society prevailed over all aspects of individual personality. Hence the stress on the quest for fame and booty, oppression of subordinates, extravagance, but also on loyalty, hard work, hospitality.

The resulting self-image is both satisfactory and unsatisfactory, as are all intuitive literary depictions of individual personalities and human communities. Even today so-called national features are expressed in stereotypes not much superior to those which emerged in the European consciousness at the close of the Middle Ages. At the council in Constance in 1414, one preacher condemned French pride, British treachery, German boastfulness, and Polish drunkenness.[20]

[20] He was Johannes de Almaria. Cf. A. F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach Europy zachodniej*

In one instance Długosz was scandalized by the Poles. In 1465, between a eulogy for a dead khan of the Crimea and a description of plague and the dethronement of George of Poděbrady, he wrote a passage expressing strong criticism of the permissiveness in Polish manners at that time:

These times, not only this year but also in the past years, were abundant in offenses of various kinds whether by reason of their impunity, or as a result of permanent and long-lasting wars, or finally because of Heaven's disgrace. That time saw the hair being curled and made in plaits, and tucks being flattened down in order to get into favor with women. Crops of hair were wrapped in a kerchief at home and outside, during the day and at night. There was rivalry with women for softness of body, and women were surpassed in length of hair and the splendor of bands binding the chest, permission for which at another time was scarcely given to women. There was an extraordinary increase in foul deeds by deceitful people, as a result of debauched freedom and impunity. The deluge of offenses was so great in those years that all limits on crime were overstepped, many people not caring for the value of their property, and having spent their last rents, embarked upon theft and brigandage. In some Poles the feeling of avarice and haughtiness emerged, it is a soft and degenerated feeling, opposed to any commands, even the most justified ones, and it commanded them to think ill of the Christian religion and, what surpassed all offenses, also of the laws of God and the church. They preferred correcting not their own mistakes, but those of a superior authority.[21]

In these complaints an older man — which Długosz then was, by the life expectancy of the time — rightly discerned in the change of fashions a change in Weltanschauung, and a relaxation of traditional values. Although his observations were only of superficial things, he was registering a sensitivity to psychic processes and behaviour different from those of his youth, as well as to social and moral developments that disquieted him. A young Pole born after 1450 did indeed live in a world different from that of the sons of the heroes of the battle of Grunwald, the generation to which Jan Długosz belonged.

Did the new generation of young Poles set out to discover themselves, too? Certainly, two new phenomena during that time were marking the autumn of the Polish Middle Ages. The metaphor of autumn, so deeply rooted among medievalists, thanks to Johan Huizinga, is not quite apt, for after all, autumn was not followed by winter, but by a proto-Renaissance spring coming from beyond the Alps. Polish literature had

XIV-XV w. (Warsaw, 1969), p. 133; S. Kot, "Old International Insults and Praises. I: The Medieval Period," in *Harvard Slavic Studies*, vol. 2, 1954.

21 1466: "depravati mores Polonorum recensentur." *Opera Omnia*, 14: 471.

as yet produced no autobiography, which is often considered to be a signpost of the discovery of the relationship between the individual and the world. For that the Poles would wait for some time. But immediately after the second half of the fifteenth century a different kind of biography appeared in Poland, investigating individual personalities and their lives more deeply than had ever been done before. Długosz himself produced an interesting double portrait of King Władysław Jagiełło, written as if two people were describing the king: one unfriendly to him and the other strongly impressed by his personality.[22] Długosz produced a long series on the lives of bishops, based mainly on literary devices, and his life of St. Stanislaus was a very ambitious literary endeavor.[23] The death of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the "Polish Richelieu" who preceded the real one by two centuries, gave rise to several biographies of various types, including a pre-Renaissance one in which panegyrizing borders upon abruptness. A completely Renaissance portrayal of the humanist poet and archbishop of Lviv, Gregory of Sanok (ca. 1406-1477), came from the competent pen of Filippo Callimachus.[24]

What of pictorial art? An analysis of images of Poles in table, miniature, and wall painting in the fifteenth century shows that they were above all conventional and standardized images. Mainly they depict founders adoring holy persons, to whom the painter gave the features he regarded as most appropriate to a particular model's social estate and the atmosphere of solemn moment. Within a certain type, pictures did not vary much. Portraits appealed through figure and attire, insignia, coat of arms, and through facial expression.[25] A style was being introduced in Poland that resulted in early experiments in near portraiture, like that of Władysław Jagiełło or of Zbigniew Oleśnicki. Despite some resistance, it paved the way for the individualization of the sixteenth century. The majority of illuminations and drawings in fifteenth-century manuscripts show types rather than individuals; figures of priests, knights, peasants, judges, and secular and monastic clergy represent various social systems and hierarchies. Gradually, however, Poles discovered the rich uniqueness of the individual, and that realization found expression in the art of realism.

[22] "Vita, mores et vitia Wladislai Iagellonis regis," *Opera omnia*, 13: 533-38.

[23] *Opera omnia*, 1: 182.

[24] Koczerska, "Piętnastowieczne biografie"; *De vita et moribus Gregorii Sanocensis*, ed. I. Lichońska (Wrocław, 1963) (Bibl. Latina, 12).

[25] E. Łomnicka-Zakowska, "Początki portretu polskiego," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 12 (1969): 13-24.

In the late Middle Ages Poles searching for who they were turned to the word and to the brush. As a Polish gloss of the mid-fifteenth century says: "although among all of creation always there is no unity between one and the other, at the same time everyone wants to be one and the same."[26] Thus the individual consciousness of Poles had just as long a genealogy as the consciousness of their political and language community, descent, and customs, that is, of everything that led down the long road toward becoming a nation.[27]

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[26] "Jeże we wszem stworzeniu zawżde jeno z drugiem nie ma złączenia w jedność, niże każde chce być za się samo"; *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 3 (Wrocław, 1960-63), col. 154.
[27] Cf. A. Gieysztor, "Gens Polonica: Aux origines d'une conscience nationale," in *Mélanges E.-R. Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 351-62.

A Note on the Chludoff Psalter

OLEG GRABAR

The fascinating originality of Byzantine marginally illustrated psalters has long been recognized, as it is difficult to resist the vivacity and variety of an imagery triggered by the poetical and rhetorical wealth of the Psalms themselves. Among these psalters the most famous is no. 129d in the Historical Museum in Moscow, which is known as the Chludoff Psalter. The manuscript is incomplete and has been retouched; there is some discussion about its exact date (the twenties or, more likely, middle of the ninth century), but none about its being one of the earliest manuscripts of the group of marginal psalters and about the relationship of its illustrations to Iconoclasm and its aftermath.[1] The recent complete publication of the manuscript with color illustrations[2] is, therefore, a major scholarly event and, like all historians of medieval art, I spent some time looking at its lively and so often unexpected images. For reasons to be developed shortly, two of them struck me as unusual and as possibly related to a near contemporary development in Islamic Jerusalem. Without wishing to enter into the controversies surrounding the date and place of manufacture of the psalter, I share my observations with Byzantinists, leaving it up to them to accept or reject these observations and to draw whatever conclusions may be appropriate. I would have discussed my views with my old friend Ihor Ševčenko under any circumstance, but I am using this festive occasion to do so in written form rather than verbally, hoping that he will forgive me for not providing him with the complete bibliographical apparatus for which he is justly famous. My excuse, a flimsy one, is that, by venturing outside my own field, I would only have provided him with information he already possesses.

[1] André Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme byzantin, Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), pp. 198 and ff.

[2] M. V. Ščepkina, *Miniatjury xludovskoj psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977).

The first miniature (fig. 1) illustrates Psalm 51.18 in the King James version: "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem." The two personages below are David and presumably a personification of Zion or Jerusalem. But the curiosity is the architectural construction above them. Its main feature appears to be a church of a basilical type with three naves, of which the central one and one side nave are shown, as well as two of three apses. A narrow tower is depicted to the side of the building. A clear distinction is made between windows with white lines separating window panes and entrances which are surrounded by a wooden (?) frame and painted in black. Here three entrances are shown on what seems to be the side of the nave, and they are surmounted by three blind arches, as though it was a façade. Below the church, but connected somehow with it, is depicted the corner of a large building, with, to the right, a majestic portico and, to the left, an entrance closed by a curtain and preceded by a long flight of steps.

The second miniature (fig. 2) illustrates Psalm 87.5: "And of Zion it shall be said; this and that man was born of her; and the highest himself shall establish her." The representation of the church is the same as in the first miniature; the tower is proportionally larger and physically more clearly separated from the church; there is no curtain in the entrance below and the steps have been squeezed closer to the walls, thus looking more like a moving ladder; there is no portico, but, instead, an image of David worshipping an icon of the Virgin and Child.[3]

Although sharing several details (distinction between windows and entrances, basilical form of churches) with the rather small number of architectural representations in the Chludoff manuscript,[4] these two images are strikingly different from the others by their monumentality, by the curious emphasis on a flight of steps outside a blank wall that leads to a sort of underground passageway, and, in the instance of our first example, by a monumental portico. In later marginal psalters, like London British Library Add. 19.352 and the Barberini one (Vat. gr. 352), these peculiarities are picked up and, in the latter, lead to an almost perfect example of iconographic change through the misunderstanding of the original.[5]

[3] For this motif see Antony Cutler, *Transfigurations* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1975), pp. 115ff.; p. 118 for a discussion of the Chludoff example.

[4] Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*, fols. 61ᵛ (a single tower), 79 (church of Zion and Jerusalem seen as a very high wall with sanctuaries above), 85 (meeting of the Virgin and Elisabeth in a curious setting), 92ᵛ (a typical church for a representation of the Temptation of Christ), 100ᵛ (a less clear representation of the Holy Sepulchre), 131ᵛ (Bethlehem).

[5] S. Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1970), pp. 68-69, figs. 105, 126, 327-28.

To my knowledge, the only scholar to have brought attention to these and several other representations of architecture in early psalters is André Grabar.[6] He acknowledges the iconographic peculiarities of these buildings and interprets them in the light of what he regards as an important trait of these psalters — namely, that their representations are a "living language," not a set of images decorating a manuscript. His conclusion is that our two miniatures and two others in the Chludoff manuscript which are quite different from them (fols. 79 and 92ᵛ) are four *evocations* (the term is mine) of the concrete church of Zion in Jerusalem through the *representation* of a number of characteristics of the early medieval church on Mount Zion (its location on the highest part of the city, its basilical plan), which could reasonably be expected of an early Christian church (atrium and lateral entrances in order to explain the peculiarities of our fig. 1), or which recalled the recollections of Jerusalem that could have been or actually were transmitted by pilgrims (for instance, the existence in the western part of the city of the ruins of a citadel called the Tower of David).[7] In other words, these images would have been *ad hoc* creations in which standard units of representation (a tower, a church, an entrance) would have been adapted to visual, literary, or oral memories of a specific place.

I shall return in my conclusion to some implications of the creative procedure that is suggested here, but, if one confines oneself to concrete features, André Grabar's explanation does not seem to me to explain adequately two characteristic details of our images. One is the set of steps which is so prominent in both images, and the other is the combination of a portico with lateral entrances to the presumed church. Yet, there is in Jerusalem itself a monument which, in the ninth century, was entered through a set of steps leading up to an underground passageway: the old Temple area that was slowly being transformed into the Haram al-Sharīf.[8] From the recent Israeli excavations to the south

[6] André Grabar, "Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du IXᵉ siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965): 61 ff., modifying some of his earlier conclusions in *Iconoclasme*.

[7] Grabar "Quelques notes," pp. 74-75. For Zion itself, see H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem II: Jérusalem Nouvelle* (Paris, 1922), pp. 421 ff.; see p. 478 for a reference to the Tower of David, but in a topographically quite impossible sequence. In general the archaeological information on Mt. Zion is remarkably inadequate for the Middle Ages, and it is important to recall that the Tower of David was not a tower and that it stood some distance to the northeast of Mt. Zion.

[8] There is no acceptable or trustworthy history of medieval Jerusalem, so that it is still necessary to consult compendia like G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims* (Boston, 1890), or the superb notes of Max van Berchem in his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Jérusalem* (Cairo, 1922-27).

and southwest of the Haram, it has been possible to give some physical tangibility to Josephus's description of the Herodian temple. Uncertain though it is in many details, the reconstruction which emerges includes a portico, the Royal Stoa (fig. 3).[9] This grandiose monument was, as is well known, destroyed by the Romans and left fallow in Byzantine times. But, starting with the very beginnings of Muslim rule in Jerusalem, the Temple area was slowly rebuilt, and the same Israeli excavations have shown that a group of large buildings was erected, probably in Umayyad times, along the southern walls of the Haram.[10] A partly speculative reconstruction (fig. 4) suggests that there was a set of steps leading to an entrance on the platform of the Haram, but it is certain that the old Herodian gates were redone in Umayyad times and that some way, probably less grandiose, of entering from the southwest also existed. Finally, on the platform itself was built the Aqsā Mosque consisting of several parallel naves with a higher one in the center. By the early ninth century, this mosque had the peculiarity of having a series of lateral entrances and a new façade with a portico had been erected under the sponsorship of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir between 828 and 844 (fig. 5).[11]

The hypothesis I would like to propose is that the two illustrations I have singled out from the Chludoff Psalter contain motifs taken not from the church on Mount Zion, but from the new monument built on the acknowledged site of David and Solomon's temple. Specifically, these motifs are: monumental steps, underground entrance, portico, lateral entries, and possibly the tower which, if my hypothesis is acceptable, would demonstrate the existence of a minaret in Jerusalem by the early ninth century.[12]

[9] The specific finds of these excavations, which have been criticized on both technical and political grounds, have not been published, but many reconstructions are available. For instance, Y. Yadin, ed., *Jerusalem Revealed* (New Haven, 1976), pp. 25ff.; B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord* (New York, 1975), pp. 111ff. There are also numerous publications in Hebrew which show the same sketches; it must be noted, however, that most of these sketches are themselves merely working hypotheses. I hope to return to these matters on another occasion.

[10] Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*, pp. 97ff., contains the most accessible description in English. I have many reservations about the conclusions in the study by Ben Dov found there, but agree that the buildings are early Islamic. See the drawings conveniently gathered by Dan Bahat, *Jerusalem: Selected Plans* (Jerusalem, 1969).

[11] For the history of the Aqsā mosque, see R. W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque* (Jerusalem, 1949), especially pp. 70 and ff. My own interpretation of this building is a little different from Hamilton's, but that does not affect the point of this article; for ninth-century work, see Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 99.

[12] This is all the more likely since early minarets were particularly important in predominantly non-Muslim cities, as Jerusalem was until after the Crusades.

This explanation of the two miniatures has, it seems to me, two advantages. One is that, while maintaining the relationship to Jerusalem proposed by André Grabar, it explains why they differ from most of the other architectural representations associated with that city. It strengthens the argument that these images were part of a "living language," for it was during the last decades of the eighth century and the first decades of the ninth that the mosque was completed and the southern parts of the walls of the sanctuary rebuilt. In a small city, as Jerusalem was then, this must have been the architectural event of the century, involving the energies and labor of the whole population, regardless of religious allegiance, as well as affecting a series of emotional and pious associations which today can only be imagined.[13] The other advantage of this explanation is that, by transforming these two images into documents, it helps in suggesting what had remained visible of the old Herodian building and how the early Muslims fitted their new needs within old sacred ruins.

Yet it would be wrong to understand these images as *representations* of the Aqsā mosque and of the Haram, for there is, for example, no doubt that the formula for the representation of a building was the three-aisled basilical church with apses, just as the tower is depicted according to a pre-existing visual type which may have little to do with the actual minaret. Earlier I used the term *evocation*, meaning by it that the painter or his model was not trying to represent the Haram or the Aqsā, but rather to evoke or to recall something from Jerusalem. The implications of this hypothesis occur at two levels. One level is the theoretical, for these images illustrate once again the complicated web of formulas and idiosyncracies which characterize the iconography of architecture.[14] The other level is the much more specific one of whether this interpretation helps in identifying the psychological, if not physical, milieu in which the Chludoff Psalter was illustrated. I hardly wish to enter into the long-standing discussion among Byzantinists on Byzantium versus Palestine or monastic versus courtly patronage, and only hope that these remarks contribute positively to its resolution.

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[13] It is perhaps idle to speculate on these associations in the eighth and ninth centuries, but, by utilizing the complicated ways in which the later Middle Ages created what may be called a hagiography of stones, it may be possible to imagine how extensive work on a uniquely holy place operated within the pious mentality of all these faiths.

[14] R. Krautheimer, in his "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), has brilliantly introduced a subject which has not subsequently been developed as much as it should be.

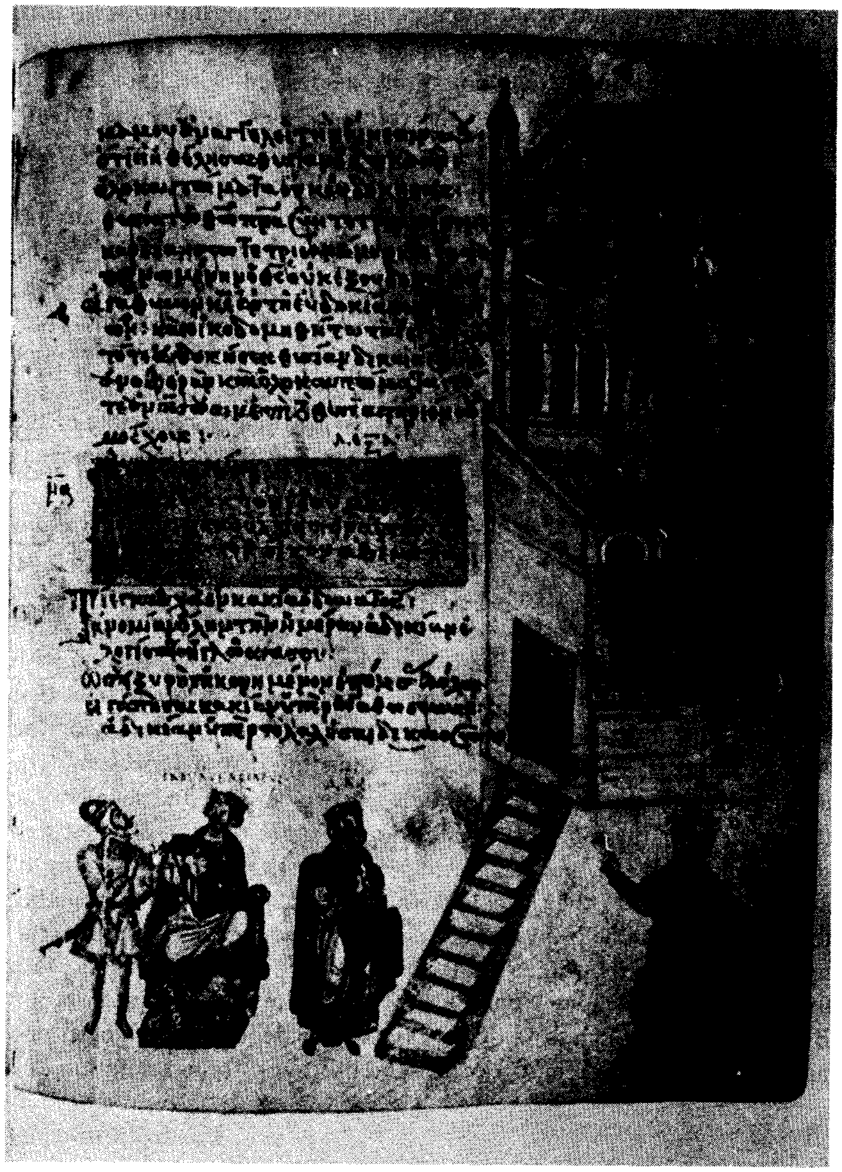


Fig. 1. Chludoff Psalter, fol. 51.

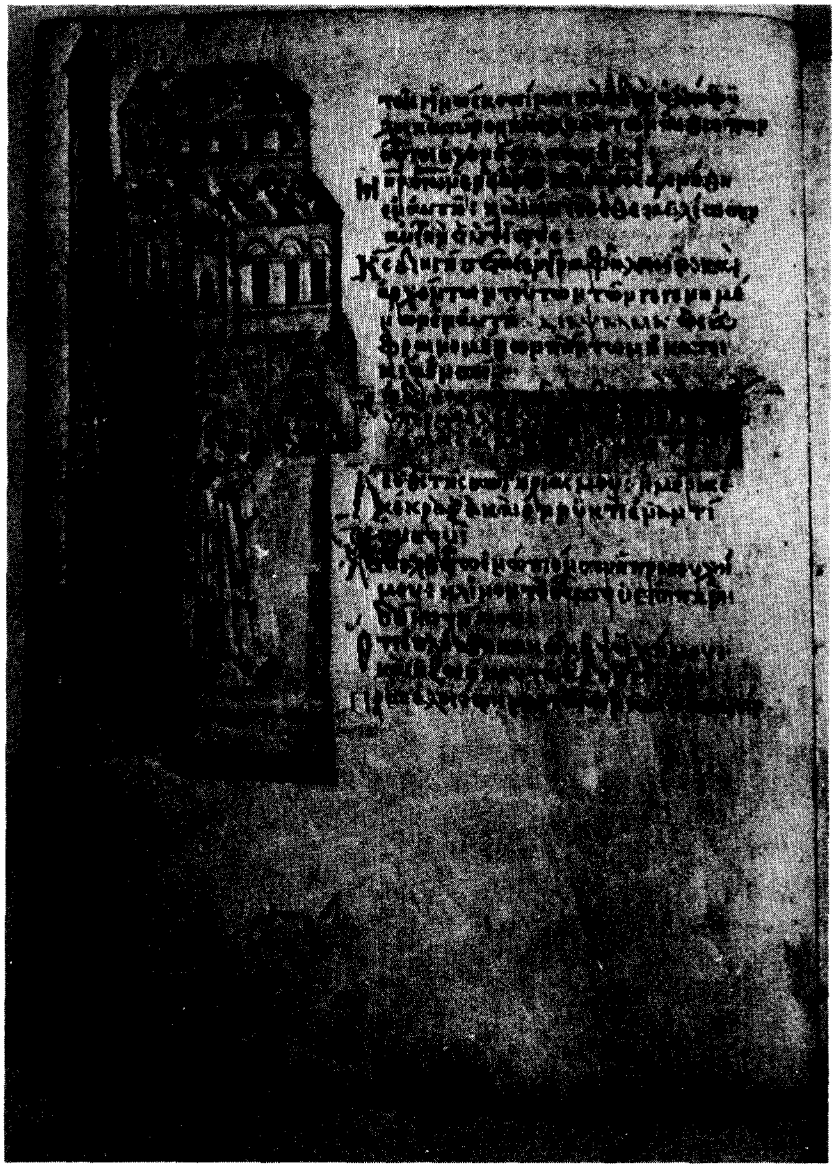


Fig. 2. Chludoff Psalter, fol. 86ᵛ.

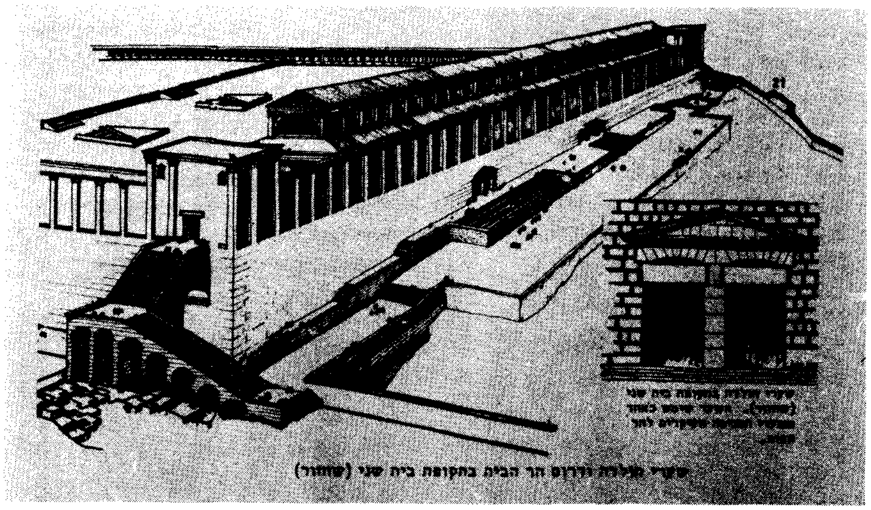


Fig. 3. Herodian Temple from the southwest, sketch reconstruction (after Mazar).

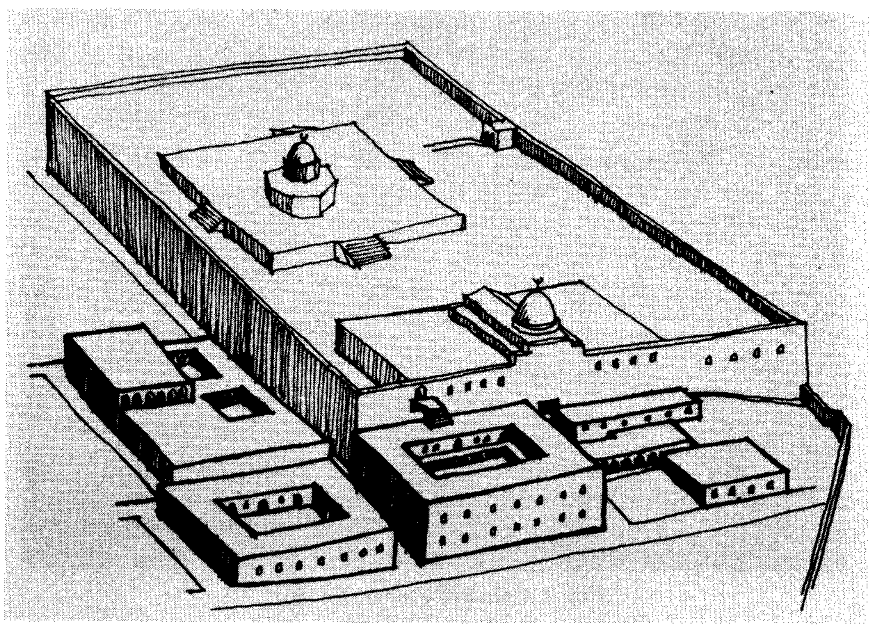


Fig. 4. Early Islamic Haram and area to the southwest, sketch reconstruction (after Ben Dov).

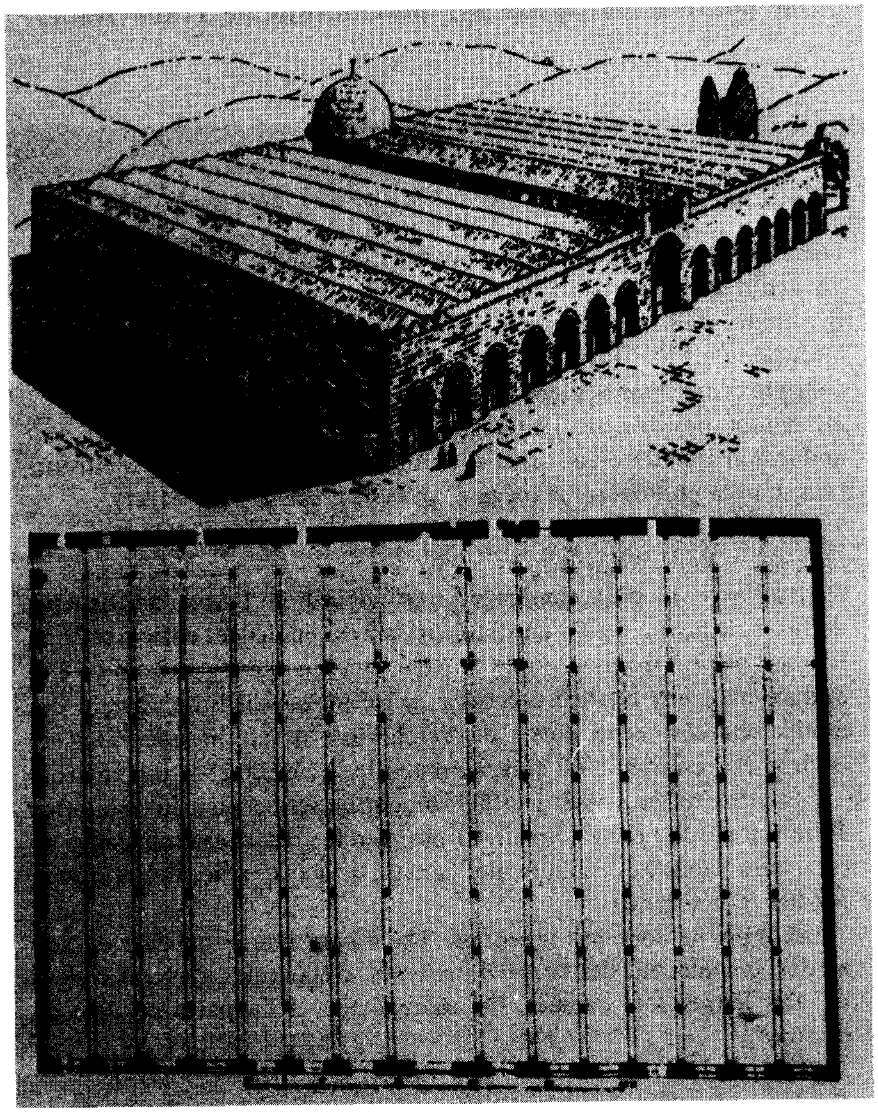


Fig. 5. Aqsā Mosque, plan and sketch of the Abbasid mosque (after Bakhat).

Une nouvelle inscription byzantine inédite de Trani (Italie)

ANDRÉ GUILLOU

Dans la belle cathédrale normande de Trani dans les Pouilles, au-dessus de l'entrée de la crypte de saint Nicolas, se trouve une architrave byzantine sculptée, qui porte sur toute sa longueur une importante inscription inédite. J'en dédie modestement la publication à mon savant collègue et ami Ihor Ševčenko, pour ses soixante ans. La réalisation en a été rendue possible par l'intervention de la Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali architettonici, artistici e storici della Puglia, qui en a effectué pour moi la photographie (négatif nº 58.074, cat. D, du 3/4/81).

Titre — Dédicace du stratège des Kibyrréotes, Rômanos Kladôn.

Origine — Voir ci-dessus.

Description — La pièce conservée a une longueur de 116 cm, une hauteur de 16 cm, le biseau écrit a une hauteur de 3 cm, les lettres entre 1 et 2 cm. L'architrave est tronquée, mais la partie manquante à gauche peut être évaluée avec une relative précision, grâce au parallélisme attendu des motifs sculptés: cette partie de l'architrave devait mesurer 167 cm environ et l'inscription est donc amputée de ce côté de 28 lettres environ.

Les lettres, tracées assez gauchement par un scribe qui a eu de la peine à lire son modèle et ne connaissait pas bien le grec, sont un mélange de caractères capitaux et minuscules cursifs: ⲁ ⲃ ⲅ ⲉ ⲏ ⲕ Λ λ ⲙ ⲛ ⲏ ⲡ ⲣ ⲥ στ ⲧ ν γ ⲫ ⲱ .

Les mots ne sont pas accentués. On notera que le lapicide ou son modèle commettent des fautes d'itacismes, d'étacismes, écrivent o pour ω; des lettres sont sautées. On se reportera à l'apparat critique ci-dessous.

Inédit.

Édition. — [+ Οἰκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου] μεγαλομράτηρος Γεοργή(ου) ὑπ(ὲρ) ⟨ἀ⟩φέ⟨σεως⟩ ἁμα⟨ρ⟩τηõ⟨ν⟩ Ῥωμαν(οῦ) ⟨γ⟩εγο-νό⟨το⟩ς στρατηγ(οῦ) τõν Κυβερεοτõν τ(οῦ) Κλοστ̣ονεβ +

Apparat. — μεγαλομράτηρος: *leg.* μεγαλομάρτυρος // Γεοργή(ου): *leg.* Γεωργίου // ἁμαρτηõν: *leg.* ἁμαρτιῶν // τõν: *leg.* τῶν // Κυβερεοτõν: *leg.* Κυβεραιωτῶν *pro* Κιβυραιωτῶν // Κλ̣οστ̣ονε̣β: *leg.* Κλάδονος.

Traduction. — Cette église du grand saint martyr Georges a été construite (mais le nombre de lettres à restituer est approximatif) pour la rémission des péchés de Rômanos Kladôn, stratège des Kibyrréotes.

Remarques:

(1) *La date.* — Le tracé des lettres comme le style de l'écriture se placent entre deux inscriptions peintes de Carpignano (prov. de Lecce), datées l'une de mai 959, l'autre de mai 1001 [1]; ils sont proches de celle qui a été commandée par le tourmarque Deltérios (connu en 1039) pour l'icône de la Vierge à l'Enfant qui est conservée dans l'église S. Maria di Dionisio a Trani [2], mais en plus rustiques; ils sont très voisins de celle de la signature dessinée par le stratège de Lucanie, Eustathios Sképidès, au bas d'un jugement de 1042 [3]: ce sont ceux de nombreuses souscriptions portées au bas des documents de la pratique rédigés en Macédoine à la fin du X^e^ et au début du XI^e^ siècle [4]; et je crois que l'on peut placer l'inscription qui nous occupe entre ces deux dernières dates.

(2) *La langue.* — La langue rugueuse, anorthographique, incompréhensible même à la fin de ce texte est très liée, à mon avis, à l'écriture du modèle qu'avait en main le lapicide. Celui-ci était écrit dans une cursive assez liée, comportant des abbréviations, υπ pour ὑπὲρ, -μ̊- pour -μαρ- [5], et le lapicide n'a pas su en dégager toutes les lettres, c'est ainsi que j'explique μεγαλομράτηρος, φε pour ἀφέσεως, l'α initial lui ayant échappé, le reste étant abrégé avec un sigma probablement en exposant, εγονος pour γεγονότος, le γ initial lié à l'ε lunaire est passé inaperçu, comme le τ en exposant annonçant l'abréviation, κλάδονος enfin, où le δ cursif en ligature a trompé, alors que le nom de famille est bien connu en Italie méridionale (voir plus bas).

Le parfait présent γεγονὼς est peu fréquent, mais non inconnu avec un titre; on le trouve, par exemple, dans la vie de Théodose de Sykéon: Ἀκούσας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Θεοδόσιος, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος γεγονὼς τῆς Ἀναστασιουπολιτῶν πόλεως (éd. A.-J. Festugière, in *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48 [Bruxelles, 1970], par. 4, p. 4, l. 13-14.).

[1] A. Guillou, *Culture et société en Italie byzantine (VI^e^-XI^e^ s.)* (Londres, 1978), VIII, planches I et II.

[2] Voir une bonne photographie dans Pina Belli d'Elia, *Alle sorgenti del Romanico: Puglia XI secolo* (Bari, Pinacoteca provinciale, 1975), p. 71.

[3] A. Guillou, *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso* (Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile, 1) (Cité du Vatican, 1967), p. 34.

[4] Voir à titre d'exemples P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 1 (Archives de l'Athos, 5) (Paris, 1970), *Album*, pl. IV (991), VII (993), VIII (1008 ou 1009), IX (1008), XI (1012), etc.

[5] Voir par exemple Guillou, *Culture et société*, pp. 23 et 31.

(3) *Le contenu.* — D'abord, l'auteur. Rômanos n'est pas connu, au contraire de sa famille: un Basile Klâdôn est stratège du thème du Strymon, en Macédoine, en 925-926 [6], en 938, il est stratège de Sicile et de Longobardie et émet un privilège pour l'évêque de Bénévent, dans lequel il lui confirme ses possessions en Longobardie, après la révolte des princes lombards [7]; un Léon Kladôn fait partie du groupe de notables révoltés contre l'empereur Rômanos I Lécapène et aura le nez et les oreilles coupées [8]; un Théodore Kladôn, prôtospathaire, ekprosôpou, donc représentant de l'empereur dans le thème de Thessalonique, confirme, en 975, aux monastères de Kolobou et de Polygyros en Chalcidique (Macédoine) la possession de 60 parèques et à celui de Léontias à Thessalonique la possession de 36 parèques [9]; un Georges Kladôn, enfin, est élève et correspondant de Jean Tzétzès, dans la deuxième moitié du XII[e] siècle [10]. On peut être tenté d'identifier Rômanos Kladôn avec le prôtospathaire et stratège du Strymon Rômanos connu par une inscription de Philippes (Macédoine) datée entre les années 963 et 969, mais ce n'est qu'une hypothèse légère. Il est, en tout cas, stratège du thème des Kibyrréotes, lorsqu'il fait élever l'église de Saint-Georges à Trani. On devra donc ajouter son nom dans la liste des gouverneurs connus de ce thème [11]. On sait que celui-ci, thème maritime le plus ancien, s'étendait sur les anciennes provinces de Lycie, de Pamphylie, de Carie et sur une partie de l'Isaurie, au sud de l'Asie Mineure, et que sa flotte fournissait les principaux effectifs pour toutes

[6] Il est mentionné dans une inscription de la muraille de Christoupolis: P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 158) (Paris, 1945), p. 141.

[7] F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra ...*, éd. N. Coleti, vol. 8 (Venise, 1721), p. 47; V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'italia meridionale* (Bari, Ecumenica Editrice, 1978), p. 81.

[8] Théophanès Cont., éd. B.G. Niebuhr (Bonn, 1838), p. 438; Skylitzès, éd. J. Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 5 (Berlin, 1973), p. 239.

[9] Jôakeim d'Iviron, in Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, 1 (1917): 787-88; G. Ostrogorskij, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Corpus bruxellense Historiae byzantinae. Subsidia 2) (Bruxelles, 1956), pp. 12-14; *Actes de Lavra*, 1:107-108.

[10] von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, p. 81.

[11] Pour les VIII[e]-IX[e] siècles, on connait Clément, Jean (G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* [Paris, 1864], p. 262), N. (V. Laurent, *La collection C. Orghidan* [Paris, 1952], n° 206), Serge, Théophile, Christophore (G. Zakos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* [Bâle, 1972], n[os] 3175, 1658, 1794); pour le IX[e] s., Cosmas, N., Andrônas (G. Zakos, n[os] 2090, 2631, 2658); pour la première moitié du XI[e] s., Constantin Chagé, Constantin Kaballourios (Kédrènos, éd. B.G. Niebuhr [Bonn, 1839], 2:514, 550, 554), N. (C. Orghidan, n° 207).

les expéditions navales. La capitale était Attaleia et les principales villes Rhodes, Mylasa, Halicarnasse, Myra, Pergè, Sidé, à l'intérieur, Sagalassos, Sylaion, etc. ...[12]. Et l'on signalera que le sceau d'un juge du thème, Jean Atravasde, portait au verso le buste de saint Nicolas (de Sion-Myra)[13].

Le lien de Rômanos Kladôn avec Trani peut être suggéré par la lecture d'une autre inscription dédicatoire, celle qui se trouve au-dessus de la porte de la Vierge des Chaudronniers, à Thessalonique. Il y est dit que le terrain a été donné pour la construction de l'église au mois de septembre 6537 (= 1028) de l'indiction 12 «par le très glorieux prôtospathaire impérial et katépan de Lagoubardia Christophore, sa femme Maria et ses enfants, Nicéphore, Anna et Katakalè»[14]. Il est évident que le donateur était un propriétaire de Thessalonique, qui était alors katépan à Bari. Il n'y a pas d'autre explication, à mon avis, à la donation de Rômanos Kladôn : il avait des attaches sociales à Trani, d'où la famille était peut-être originaire. L'arrivée d'enfants du pays à la tête de l'administration byzantine provinciale n'est pas un fait exceptionnel, même s'il met à mal la législation impériale. C'est ainsi qu'Eusthathios Argyros au début du X^e^ siècle reçoit l'administration du thème de Charsianon, où se trouvaient le berceau de la famille, toutes ses propriétés foncières et le monastère Sainte-Elisabeth construit par son père et où il fut enterré[15]; ceci pour ne prendre qu'un seul exemple.

Les Kladonès auraient été une famille de notables grecs de Trani qui auront servi l'État en Macédoine, en Italie et en Asie Mineure, comploté à Constantinople, mais assuré leur salut éternel par de pieuses donations dans leur ville natale.

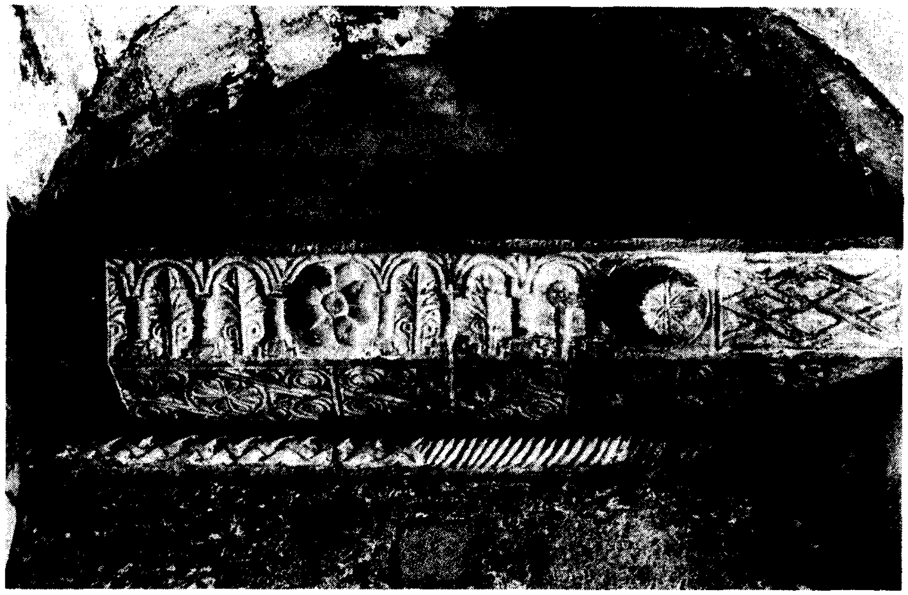
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

[12] Voir N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e^ et X^e^ s.* (Paris, C.N.R.S., 1972), p. 351, où l'on trouvera la bibliographie.

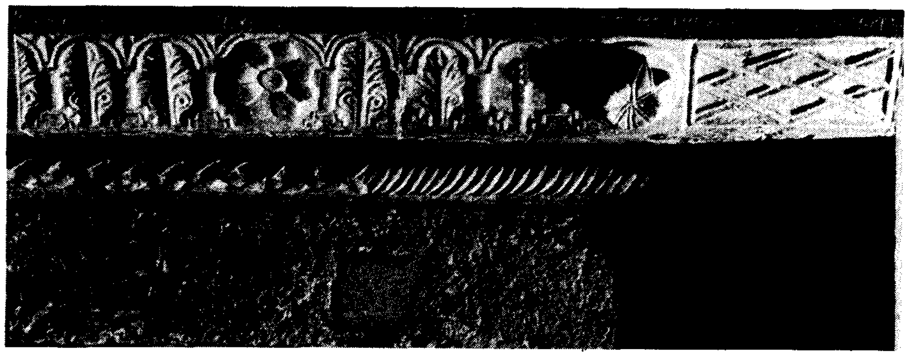
[13] Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 262.

[14] Ed. K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche* Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων *in Thessaloniki* (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 2) (Graz-Cologne, 1966), p. 12, n. 3.

[15] A. Guillou, «Un document sur le gouvernement de la province», in *Studies on Byzantine Italy* (Londres, 1970), VIII, pp. 6-9.



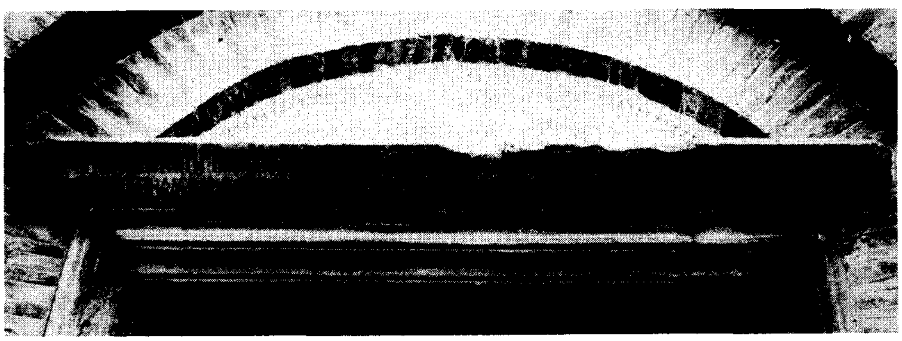
1. Trani. Crypte. Dédicace du stratège Rômanos Kladôn. Vue de l'architrave (Photo. Soprintendenza Bari).



2. Trani. Crypte. Inscription du stratège Rômanos Kladôn (Photo. Soprintendenza Bari).



3. Trani. Crypte. Inscription du stratège Rômanos Kladôn. Détail à la cassure (Photo. du calque Soprintendenza Bari).



4. Thessalonique. Vierge des Chaudronniers. Dédicace de Christophore, katépan de Lagoubardia, a. 1028 (Photo. Service des Antiquités byzantines de Thessalonique).

The Church of St. Polyeuktos in Istanbul and the Temple of Solomon

R. M. HARRISON

The discovery of Anicia Juliana's palace-church of St. Polyeuktos was made in 1960 by Ihor Ševčenko, who recognized, on two richly carved blocks of marble which had been accidentally uncovered at Saraçhane in Istanbul, parts of two lines of the long poem (*Anth. Pal.* I, 10) which had once adorned that church.[1] In an important article presenting those blocks and others which had been found with them, the historical evidence for the church was reviewed, and it was argued that construction probably took place in the three years 524 to 527.[2] The church's date, extraordinary decoration, and evident size recommended it for detailed investigation, and excavations were carried out from 1964 to 1969 under the joint auspices of Dumbarton Oaks and the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.[3]

All that remained of the church were its foundations and substructures, the latter choked under debris, including the marble blocks. While many questions about the elevation remain unanswered, at least the main lines of the plan are sure.[4] In its simplest terms the church was a square whose sides were just under 52 m. long and which had on the west a narthex and on the east a projecting apse. Further west lay a court leading to the church's main doorway, and on the north side of the court were substantial substructures, including those of a square building with projecting apse, which may have been the baptistery.[5] Although the

[1] *Apud* J. Lafontaine, "Fouilles et découvertes byzantines à Istanbul de 1952 à 1960," *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959-1960): 386 (cf. also pp. 358-60).
[2] C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 15 (1961): 243-247.
[3] R.M. Harrison and N. Fıratlı, in *DOP* 19 (1965): 230-36; 20 (1966): 222-38; 21 (1967): 273-78; 22 (1968): 195-203. The final report, with full details of the excavation, is in press.
[4] *DOP* 22 (1968): fig. A (facing p. 195).
[5] This seems the most likely interpretation; the case is argued in the final report (in press).

church itself was square and had at its centre the foundation of what was almost certainly the ambo (two factors which suggest a centralized design), massive longitudinal foundations are evidence for a basilical scheme of nave and side aisles, at least at ground level.

In a search for the unit of measurement employed in the church's layout and construction, various kinds of foot were tried, unsuccessfully.[6] The unit appears to have been the long or royal cubit, whose length is generally agreed to have been ca. 0.515-0.52m.[7] The church's length is 51.45 m., and its width 51.90 m.; with some allowance for error or subsidence, it seems that the church was originally laid out as a 100-cubit square.[8]

The poem inscribed in the church claimed that Anicia Juliana "alone had conquered time and surpassed the wisdom of the celebrated Solomon, raising a temple to receive God."[9] This may have been no idle boast, for the royal or long cubit was the unit which had been used in the Temple of Solomon, and that temple was 100 cubits long and (including the platform upon which it stood) 100 cubits wide.[10]

The possibility that Anicia Juliana's architects had Solomon's temple in mind in the planning and execution of St. Polyeuktos is corroborated

[6] Cf. P. A. Underwood, "Some Principles of Measure in the Architecture of the Period of Justinian," *Cahiers archéologiques* 3 (1948): 64-74; E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII, 4) (Munich, 1970).

[7] I owe the suggestion of the long cubit and its important biblical implications to the kindness of Mr. Michael Vickers, who had encountered a similar unit (the "Punic foot" of 0.515 m.) in Roman second-century building in Tripolitania: see J. H. Humphrey, F. B. Sear, and M. Vickers, "Aspects of the Circus at Lepcis Magna," *Libya Antiqua* 9-10 (1972-1973): 25-97 (especially 47 and 91). For the length of the cubit, see R. B. Y. Scott, "Weights and Measures of the Bible," *Biblical Archaeologist* 22, no. 2 (1959): 22-41; idem, "The Hebrew Cubit," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 77, no. 3 (1958): 205-214, and "Postscript on the Cubit," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79, no. 4 (1960): 368; also J. Hastings, ed., *A Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh; tenth impression, 1924), s.v. "Weights and Measures." I am grateful, too, to Professor John Sawyer for help with both these and the biblical references cited below.

[8] Other round numbers are given by the baptistery, which was 20.80 m. in length and breadth and would thus have been 40 cubits square, and the north wall of the atrium, which was 39.0 m. long, or 75 cubits.

[9] *Anth. Pal.* I, 10, lines 47-49: χρόνον ἦδ' ἐβιήσατο μούνη, / καὶ σοφίην παρέλασσεν ἀειδομένου Σολομῶνος, / νηὸν ἀναστήσασα θεηδόχον ...

[10] For descriptions of the Temple of Solomon, see *Kings* I: 6 and 7, *Chronicles* II: 2-5; cf. *Ezekiel* 40-43. Ezekiel (40, v. 5, and 43, v. 13) confirms that the unit was the long cubit, and (41, vv. 13-14) gives the dimensions of the Temple as 100 cubits in length externally and (including the flanking courts) 100 cubits in width. For a recent discussion, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 15 (1971), s.v. "Temple." Overall dimensions of 100 cubits were repeated in Herod's Temple: see *Middoth* ("Measurements") 4: 7, in H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford, 1933; reprinted 1954), pp. 589-98 (especially 597).

by that temple's carved decoration, which included palm-trees (alternating with pairs of cherubim), open flowers, pomegranates, capitals overlaid with network, capitals in the form of lilies,[11] and, in the Herodian Temple at least, vinescrolls.[12] These motifs all recur in the exuberant decoration of St. Polyeuktos,[13] except perhaps the cherubim, whose form, however, was never very explicit.[14]

If a link with the Temple of Solomon is accepted, what was its significance? Anicia Juliana's family on her father's side was, quite simply, one of the most illustrious in the Roman Empire, and in 472 her father, Flavius Anicius Olybrius, became emperor.[15] On her mother's side, both her grandparents were directly descended from Theodosius I: her mother Placidia was daughter of Valentinian III (son of Galla Placidia and grandson of Theodosius I) and Licinia Eudoxia (daughter of Theodosius II, granddaughter of Arcadius, and great-granddaughter of Theodosius I). Anicia Juliana was born ca. 463 and in 480 married Areobindus. Their son was named, after his maternal grandfather, Flavius Anicius Olybrius and held the consulship in 491, fifteen years before his father (cos. 506). He later married Eirene, daughter of Anastasius I, presumably before the latter's death in 518. Then, however, Anicia Juliana saw the throne pass to Justin, whose father was an Illyrian peasant. The poem and indeed the church itself were imperial and dynastic statements, and the link with Solomon, who had been anointed king and whose temple, moreover, was also a kind of royal chapel appended to the larger palace,[16] gives this a further emphasis.

There is a story that on his accession Justinian asked Anicia Juliana to make a contribution to public funds.[17] She pretended to agree, asked

[11] See *Kings* I: 6 and *Ezekiel* 40 and 41.

[12] *Middoth* 3: 8 (fn. 10 above).

[13] See *DOP* 21 (1967): 276 and fig. 13 (pier-capital with palm-trees); 20 (1966): 228 and fig. 13 (open flowers); 22 (1968): 198 and fig. 4 (basket-capital with reticulate decoration); 21 (1967): 276 and fig. 14 (basket-capital with lily-like split-palmettes); 20 (1966): 227-28, 235, and figs. 4, 5, 30 (pomegranates); 15 (1961): 243 and figs. 1-4; 20 (1966): 228 and figs. 6 and 7; 21 (1967): 276 and figs. 7-10 (grapevine).

[14] Zoomorphic, with wings and many eyes, they supported the Throne of God and represented royal power. Could their place have been taken by the pairs of confronted peacocks, which were such a dominant and startling element in the decoration of St. Polyeuktos's nave? For these royal birds, see *DOP* 15 (1961): 243 and figs. 3 and 4; 20 (1966): 228 and figs. 6, 8, 9; 21 (1967): 276 and figs. 8, 10.

[15] For a recent study, see C. Capizzi, "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca-530 ca): Richerche sulla sua Famiglia e la sua Vita," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 5 (15), (1968): 191-226.

[16] Cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 15 (1971), col. 946.

[17] Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, *PL* 71, cols. 793-95.

for time to gather her treasure together, and meanwhile had all her gold hammered into plaques and affixed to the roof of St. Polyeuktos. When Justinian visited her palace to receive the contribution, she led him into the church where, after they had knelt in prayer, she asked him to look up and see her treasure. While he was covered with confusion, she took from her finger an emerald ring and gave it to him "because it is deemed to be worth more than this gold," and he returned to his own palace.[18]

For a few years, until Justinian's construction of St. Sophia in 532-537, St. Polyeuktos was the largest and most sumptuous church in the city. It has been argued elsewhere that St. Sophia can best be understood as Justinian's deliberate reaction to it,[19] and it was suggested that the remark attributed to Justinian on the completion of St. Sophia, of glory to God that he had vanquished Solomon, might even have been a sly reference to the eclipse of an erstwhile rival.[20] If Justinian had not read for himself in the inscription Anicia Juliana's similar claim when he visited her church, that claim may nevertheless have been generally known.

The poem spoke of her royal descent, her present family, and future generations.[21] It was, as we have remarked, a dynastic document, and the church and its decoration, in sheer scale and sumptuousness and allusion to the Temple of Solomon, also asserted Anicia Juliana's royalty. She had seen the throne pass in 518 to Justin and then in 527 to his nephew Justinian. We may ask whether she finally accepted the *fait accompli*. Was the gift in her church of the ring not the snub it appears to have been at first reading, but rather the formal transfer of royal authority to Justinian as her acknowledged successor?[22]

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[18] Her words are given as follows: "Accipe, imperator sacratissime, hoc munusculum de manu mea, quod supra pretium huius auri valere censetur."

[19] R. M. Harrison, "The Sculptural Decoration of the Church of St. Polyeuktos," *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueologia Cristiana, Barcelona, 1969* (Vatican, Barcelona, 1972), pp. 325-26; idem, "La Scultura Marmorea della Chiesa di S. Polieucto a Istanbul," *XXVI Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (Ravenna, 1979), pp. 163-70.

[20] R. M. Harrison, "The Church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople. An Excavation Report," *Akten des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Trier, 1965* (Vatican, Berlin, 1969), pp. 543-49. The story is told in *Scriptores Orig. Const.*, ed. Th. Preger (1901; reprinted New York, 1975), p. 105.

[21] Cf. *Anth. Pal.* I, 10, lines 7-8, 39-41, 75-76.

[22] For the possible significance of the ring, cf. Cassius Dio LIII, 30, 2 (Augustus), Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Hadr.* III,7, and XXVI, 7 (Hadrian), and Zonoras, *Annales* 18, *PG* 135, col. 321 (Alexius). The last of these references I owe to the kindness of Professor J. Koder.

An Unknown Letter to Matthew Kantakouzenos

ANGELA CONSTANTINIDES HERO

On folios 213r-214v of the codex *Scorialensis gr.* Φ-III-11 appears a draft of a letter without superscription.[1] The anonymous author and the addressee of the letter are old friends, but whereas the author is an "insignificant man," his correspondent is a royal personage who has been the victim of ill-fortune both recently and in the past. Recent adversity prompted him to re-establish contact with the author whom he had neglected, although the latter had been a loyal friend and supporter. Ill health alone had prevented him from sailing to Epibatai to be with the addressee long ago, and later he wrote to him at his new residence in the Peloponnese, but he had received no answer. Only recently was he informed by a mutual friend, the sage Kyparissiotes, that the addressee wished to hear from him. Thereupon he wrote immediately, to reassure his correspondent of his unwavering loyalty.

The interest of this otherwise ordinary letter lies in the bits of prosopographical information it contains about two notable figures of late Byzantium: the emperor Matthew Kantakouzenos and the leading anti-Palamite, John Kyparissiotes.[2] The reference to a sojourn at

[1] For a description of the *Scorialensis*, a fourteenth-century miscellany, see G. De Andrés, *Catálogo des los códices griegos de la real biblioteca de el Escorial*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1965), pp. 60-64. The text of the letter, which shows throughout several erasures, deletions and additions, is by two different fourteenth-century hands. The second hand begins in the middle of fol. 214r (line 50 of the edition: ἐμοῦ μὲν ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ...). It is possible that the author, an invalid, wrote the greater part of the letter and dictated the rest to an amanuensis. The first hand appears also on fols. 208r-210v of the *Scorialensis*, which contain a series of brief definitions of grammar, rhetoric, medicine, astronomy and philosophy, as well as on fols. 212r-213r, which contain short excerpts from John Damascene's *De haeresibus*, St. Basil's *Epistula 261 (Sozopolitanis)* and Gregory of Nyssa's *De vita Moysis*. Two slightly different versions of a covering letter on fols. 211r and 214v are also by the same hand. The letter is addressed to a *basilis* who is also a philosopher — most probably Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina — whom the author is presenting with one of his works, an "insignificant gift, appropriate for philosophers, though not for emperors."

[2] On Matthew, see the excellent biographical sketch in D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine*

Epibatai and to a subsequent departure for the Peloponnese leave no doubt that the exalted but unfortunate addressee of this letter is the unlucky eldest son of John VI Kantakouzenos who was crowned co-emperor by his father in February 1354 but was forced to give up his claim to the crown after his unsuccessful struggle against John V Palaiologos. Matthew's abdication took place at the Thracian city of Epibatai, near Selymbria (present-day Silivri), in December 1357. In a ceremony attended by the court and the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, he relinquished his title and swore an oath of loyalty to his rival. Four years later, in the last months of 1361, the ex-emperor settled in the Peloponnese where he spent the remainder of his life assisting his younger brother, the despot Manuel, in the administration of that province.[3]

It is on this obscure period in Matthew's life, when, in the words of D. M. Nicol, "hardly anything is known about his activities," that our document casts some light.[4] The misfortune to which it alludes certainly cannot be the hostile reception with which Matthew met on his arrival in the Morea, due to his brother's suspicion that he had come to replace him as the ruler of the despotate.[5] Matthew and the author of our letter had stopped corresponding for quite some time after Matthew's arrival in Greece. The trouble, therefore, which prompted the ex-emperor to reestablish contact with his old friend must have been a new setback or humiliation which he had recently experienced. We know in fact that soon after his reinstatement on 8 October 1364, the patriarch Philotheos confirmed his predecessor's excommunication of Matthew in case he reneged on his solemn oath to John V.[6] This is, I believe, the new

Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100-1460 (hereafter Nicol) (Dumbarton Oaks, 1968), no. 24, 108-122; and the entry in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 5 (Vienna, 1981), no. 10983. On John Kyparissiotes, see H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* ... (Munich, 1959), p. 739, and B. L. Dentakes' article in Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, vol. 7 (Athens, 1965), cols. 1069-99, as well as his monograph, Ἰωάννης Κυπαρισσιώτης, ὁ σοφὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος (Athens, 1965) (unfortunately, unavailable to me).

3 For the sequence of events, see Kantakouzenos, *Historiae libri* (hereafter Kantakouzenos), ed. J. Schopen (Bonn, 1828-32), IV, 37-49, and III, 269-360; and Nicol, pp. 113-120, where all pertinent bibliography is cited.

4 Nicol, p. 118.

5 Kantakouzenos, IV, 49; III, 358-60.

6 See F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata* ..., vol. 1 (Vienna, 1860-90), pp. 448-450, where this document appears undated, although Philotheos states that it was issued just after his reinstatement (p. 448, lines 10-11). Consequently both F. Dölger and J. Darrouzès date it to shortly after 8 October 1364; cf. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* ...,

misfortune to which our author alludes. Philotheos was the prelate who had agreed to crown Matthew co-emperor in 1354; his return to the patriarchate must have awakened the hopes of Matthew, as well as the fears of his enemies, that this Kantakouzenist patriarch might sanction a coup d'état. Did Matthew act on such hopes? Was the patriarchal act the result of another abortive attempt on his part to regain the crown or was it just a precautionary measure? Our letter does not permit a definitive answer to these questions. But if we are correct in assigning it to the fall of 1365, it would indicate one of two things: either that in 1364 Matthew tried again but failed to assert his rights to the throne, or that the confirmation by Philotheos — a former supporter — of the restrictions imposed on him at Epibatai came as a severe blow because it dashed his last hopes. In either case the evidence would be that Matthew Kantakouzenos continued to aspire to the throne after 1357.

Unfortunately the author of the letter cannot be identified from the information he provides about himself. Both the tenor of his letter, which is respectful without being obsequious, and the description of himself as one of Matthew's συνήθεις suggest that he belonged to the ex-emperor's entourage. He was also, most probably, an anti-Palamite.[7] His friendship with Kyparissiotes, as well as the fact that his letter has been preserved in the same manuscript as those of the two earlier leaders of the anti-Palamite faction — Gregory Akindynos and the Princess Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina — argue in favor of this assumption.[8]

vol. 5 (Berlin, 1965), no. 3017; and *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* ... (Paris, 1977), no. 2462. Darrouzès also notes that the patriarchal act was a confirmation of the original oath and therefore it does not imply, as Nicol thought (pp. 118-19), that Matthew returned to the capital at the time to renew his oath in the presence of Philotheos; cf. *Les regestes* ..., p. 387.

[7] Neither hand in our letter can be identified with any of the autographs of various anti-Palamites published by Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone* ..., = Studi e Testi, 56 (Vatican, 1931), especially plates IIb (Prochoros Kydones); IIc (Demetrios Kydones); Xb (Theodore Dexios); XIIb (probably John Kyparissiotes). Demetrios Kydones corresponded with both Matthew and Kyparissiotes, but he was not a political supporter of Matthew. In 1354 he opposed his coronation and two years later he became a minister of Matthew's rival, John V; cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès. I. De la naissance à l'année 1373," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (hereafter *OCP*), 36 (1970): 54 and 57.

[8] It is also possible that the author's other friend, Athanasios, was the anti-Palamite monk by the same name who in 1347 took part in the embassy sent by John Kantakouzenos to Stephen Dušan and who is known from the correspondence of Akindynos; cf. Loenertz, "Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Acindyne analysées et datées," *OCP* 23 (1957): 138-39, 141-42 (reprinted in *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* [Rome, 1970], 105, 108-9); idem, "Gregorii Acindyni epistulae selectae IX," Ἐπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ. 27 (1957): 103, lines 29-34;

The sage Kyparissiotes of our letter, on the other hand, is undoubtedly John Kyparissiotes, the anti-Palamite author and later convert to Catholicism, usually referred to as the "sage" or the "philosopher" Kyparissiotes.[9] He must be further identified with the Kyparissiotes who saved Matthew's life during his last campaign against John V. When the emperor was unhorsed in the fray, Kyparissiotes helped him to escape by offering him his own horse. They were both later captured by John V's Serbian allies, who delivered Matthew to his rival while keeping Kyparissiotes prisoner for one year. In his account of this incident, John Kantakouzenos does not give Kyparissiotes' first name, but he does say that he was a member of his son's retinue, though not a soldier but a man of letters.[10]

In view of the total lack of information concerning John Kyparissiotes' origins and early life, these are interesting prosopographical details. But they are also important in a larger context, for the close association of Matthew Kantakouzenos with his father's leading theological opponent enhances the picture of Byzantine intellectuals, painted by Professor Ševčenko, as an elite group which depended on imperial patronage and which remained close-knit and homogeneous despite the bitter feuds —literary or theological—which occasionally divided them.[11]

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and my forthcoming edition of the letters of Akindynos (Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 7 [= CFHB, XXI]: Washington, D.C., 1983), *Letters* 70, 73, 74. As for Keroulas, the young man with whom the author sent a letter to Matthew in the Peloponnese shortly after his arrival there, he cannot be identified, but his family name is known. A Michael Keroulas was a pronoiar in Loroton, Chalkidike in 1321; cf. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, eds., *Actes de Lavra II* ..., Archives de l'Athos 8 (Paris, 1977), no. 108, p. 191.

9 See A. Mercati, "Giovanni Ciparissiota alla corte di Gregorio XI (Novembre 1376-Dicembre 1377)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1930): 498-501; and Dentakes, Οἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην Κυπαρισσιώτην ἀποδιδόμενοι ἐννέα ὕμνοι εἰς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον (Athens, 1964), p. 32

10 Kantakouzenos, IV, 45; III, 329: Κυπαρισσιώτης, εἷς τῶν οἰκετῶν περὶ στρατείας μὲν καὶ μάχας οὐ μάλιστα ἠσχολημένος, λόγοις δὲ ἐσχολακώς, διέσωζε τό γε ἧκον εἰς αὐτόν.

11 "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century," *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des Études byzantines, Bucarest 1971*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 70-71; reprinted in *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (Variorum Reprints; London, 1981), Study I.

This paper has benefited from the comments of Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot, who kindly discussed it with me.

Μόλις ὑπερμεσοῦντος τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἤδη παρελθόντος θέρους χειμῶνος, ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν σοφὸν Κυπαρισσιώτην γράμμασι καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπεμνήσθης, οὐ πρότερον πάντως τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀφ᾽ ὅτου τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀνωμάλου ἐπεπείρασο τύχης (ἐλάττονα ἡγοῦμαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δυστυχίας τὴν ἐν ἄλλῳ σχεδὸν παντὶ πράγματι). ἐπιμνησθεὶς οὖν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔφη, καὶ γραμματα πέμπειν σοι πείθειν με τοῦτον ἠξίους, οὐκ εἰδότα ὅτου εἵνεκα· εἴτε τὴν πάλαι φιλίαν ὥσπερ τῷ χρόνῳ καταρρυεῖσαν ἐθέλειν ἐν τούτῳ ἀνανεώσασθαι — εἴ γε καὶ θέμις ἡμῖν τοῖς εὐτελέσι προς γε τὰ μεγάλα ὕψη καὶ τὰς λαμπρὰς δυναστείας τοῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ὅσου ἂν πρὸς τῶν τηλικούτων ἀξιοῖτό τις προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσου μετέχειν ἐστὶν ἄξιος — εἴτε δὴ οὖν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν παραμυθίας ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε συμβᾶσιν ἀνιαροῖς ἐθέλειν τυχεῖν, ὧν οὐδέτερον ὑπῆρξεν ἂν ἡμῖν ῥᾴδιον. τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐξαρκῶς τῇ χρείᾳ διυπηρετήσασθαι ἔχουσι, τὸ δ᾽ ὡς ὑφορωμένοις μὴ ἄρα γέ τις τόλμης ἡμῖν ἔγκλημα προσάψειε, καθάπερ ὁ ῥήτωρ Αἰσχίνῃ, ξένον ἑαυτὸν εἰπόντι Φιλίππου.

Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ὑπόπτου καὶ δυσχεροῦς τοῦ γράφειν ὄντος, ὅμως ἐνεχείρησα ἄν, εἴ γε ἡμῖν ὁ σοφὸς Κυπαρισσιώτης αὐτίκα ὑπεσήμηνέ τι τῶν περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ γεγραμμένων. τούτου δὲ πρὶν ἢ τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγῆναι μηδὲν ὑποφήναντος — οἶσθα δὲ δήπου τήνδε [fol. 213ᵛ] μνήμης οὖσαν ἀποβολήν — κωφοῖς ἐδόξαμεν ἐοικέναι πρὸς τὰ τότε λεχθέντα· καίτοι γε εἴπερ ἐγράφομεν, τηνάλλως ἂν τοῦτ᾽ ἐποιοῦμεν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐγχειρῆσαι τὰ γράμματα ὅτῳ γ᾽ ἐποίσειν ὑμῖν ταῦτ᾽ ἂν ὑπῆρξεν, ὁ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο προστεταγμένος ἔφθη τῶν τῇδε ἀπάρας. ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ ἠνιάθην μέν, ὡς εἰκός, αἰτιάσασθαι δὲ τὸν μὴ αἰσθέσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου ἀποδημίαν ἀφορμὴν ἡμῖν παρασχόντα οὐκ ἐδυνήθην, μεθιστάντα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν λήθην. ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν πρὶν μῦθον ἀκοῦσαι δίκην δικάζειν εἰωθότες εἴητε, ἐν ἐσχάταις παρ᾽ ὑμῖν αἰτίαις ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πάντες ἡμεῖς· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἤδη μαθοῦσι τῆς ἐμῆς σιωπῆς ἔξεστι, περὶ ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν ὁμοίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ψήφους, καὶ οἷς ἡμεῖς τὸν σοφὸν Κυπαρισσιώτην συγγνώμης ἠξιωκότες ἐσμέν, τούτοις κἀμέ, εἴ τι προσκεκρουκὼς φαινοίμην ὑμῖν· τό γε ἁμάρτημα ἴσον δήπου καὶ ὅμοιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας εἰώθασιν ἅπαντες ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ψήφους.

Αὐτῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν περὶ ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ τάδε γράφειν διενοήθημεν, βουλοίμην ἂν μηδένα προάγειν λόγον (τί γὰρ δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι ὧν ἡ μνήμη ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀκούοντας; ἄλλωστε καὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἃς τῷ τηνικαῦτα ἐπὶ παραμυθίᾳ ὑμῶν

3-4 3 ἀνωμάλου τύχης: cf. Eurip., *Fragm.* 684 14-15 Demos., *De corona*, 46

S= Scorialensis gr. Φ-III-11

4 post τύχης eras. ὡς ὄφελόν γε μηδὲ ἐπεπείρασο et ἐλάττονα … ὡς ἔφη supra lineam initialem scr. S || 4 $^{\beta}$τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δυστυχίας $^{\alpha}$ἐλάττονα ἡγοῦμαι S || 4 post ἐλάττονα eras. γὰρ S^{sv} || post τῆς eras. γὰρ S || 5 post ἄλλῳ scr. σχεδὸν S^{sv} || 6 ante τοῦτον eras. τὸν σοφὸν S^{sv} || post εἴτε τὴν eras. ἡμᾶς ἐνδεικνύμενος et vocabula alia quae legi non possunt S || 7 πάλαι φιλίαν S^{mg} || 13 διυπηραιτήσσθαι S || ὑφορμένοις S || post τις eras. ἡμῖν S || 13-14 ἡμῖν ἔγκλημα S^{sv} || 19 post τήνδε vocabulum quod legi non potest eras. et μνήμης scr. S^{sv} || 22 ἂν]ἂν S || 24 ἡμῖν S^{sv} || 27 εἰ δὲ μή S^{mg} || 27 ἔξεστι] prius ἔξεστιν scr. et postea -ν eras. S || 28 ἡμῖν $^{\beta}$ὁμοίας $^{\alpha}$περὶ ἡμῶν $^{\gamma}$ποιεῖσθαι S || 29 post Κυπαρισσιώτην eras. προσκεκρουκότα S || 30 post ἁμάρτημα eras. ἴσον καὶ τῶ S || καὶ ὅμοιον] καὶ S^{mg} || 31 post ἴσας vocabulum quod legi non potest scr. S^{sv} || 31 post ὁμοίας vocabulum quod legi non potest eras. S^{sv} || 32 post περὶ vocabulum quod legi non potest eras. S || 34 post ἐπὶ eras. τοῖς πρώην S^{sv}

ἐπινοεῖν εἴχομεν, ἤδη περιττὸν ἡγοῦμαι εἰρῆσθαι, τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐγγενομένης ἡμῖν λύπης οἱονεί τινος νοσήματος φλεγμονῆς τῷ χρόνῳ πεφθείσης). λήθην δέ με τῆς ἥν ποτε περὶ ἡμῶν ἐνεδείξω φιλίας ἐσχηκέναι φάσκων, ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ τοσούτοις καιροῖς γραμμάτων πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἐπεμνήσθημεν ὕψος, δυοῖν ἂν εἴη ἕτερον· ἢ ἀγνοεῖν, ἢ προσποιεῖσθαί σε τὴν περὶ τούτου ἀλήθειαν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤδη πάλαι [fol. 214ʳ] σοι συμβᾶσιν ἀνιαροῖς ἐκείνοις ἐλυπήθην συνήθους παντὸς μάλιστα, δάκρυα μὲν προχέων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, πρόθυμος δὲ ὢν εἰ οἷόν τε καὶ βοηθεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προθυμίαν εὐχῇ μὲν ἐνδείξασθαι ἦν, ἔργῳ δ᾽ ἄλλως οὐκ ἦν, ὅπερ ἦν, τοῦτο δὴ οὖν καὶ ἐποίουν καὶ διετέλουν ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πάντα σῴζειν δυναμένῳ Θεῷ εὐχόμενος. ἔπειτά ποτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐκβεβηκέναι πειθόμενος τὴν εὐχήν, ἐσκίρτησα — πῶς οἴει; — καὶ τὴν σὴν ὄψιν ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γέγονα ἐν ἐφέσει, ὡς καὶ συναπαίρειν διανοηθῆναι τῷ μακαρίτῃ Ἀθανασίῳ ἐκείνῳ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ ἐς τοὺς Ἐπιβάτας ἀποπλεῖν μέλλοντι. ὃς δῆτα καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν ἡμᾶς πέρας τῷ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκοπῷ παρασχεῖν, ἑαυτοῦ τε κἀμοῦ οἶκτον ἐν τούτῳ λαβών· ἐμοῦ μὲν ὡς ἀσθενοῦς, σύνειμι γαρ ἀεὶ (ὃ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις συνεγνωσμένον ἐστίν) ὡς συντρόφῳ τῷ νοσηλεύεσθαι, ἑαυτοῦ δ᾽ ὑφορωμένου μὴ ἄρα γε πλοίῳ τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδῶν περιπεσόντος μὴ εἶναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐκείνου ἐπίσης ἐμοὶ σπουδάσειν προθυμηθέντα — καὶ γὰρ ἦμεν σαφῶς ἀλλήλοις ὁμόψυχοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἑαυτοῦ ἑκάτερος λογιζόμενος — ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὑπεσχημένου τὸ πρὸς τὸ σὸν ὕψος ὀφειλόμενον ἐμοὶ χρέος ἀφοσιώσασθαι. εἶτ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντί σοι καὶ τὴν Πέλοπος καταλαβόντι, γράμματα μετὰ βραχὺ διὰ τοῦ Κηρουλᾶ ἔπεμπον — λέγω δὴ τοῦ, τῇ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν ἀναφορᾷ, μικροῦ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν [fol. 214ᵛ] καλουμένου — ἐφ᾽ οἷς οὐδὲ μιᾶς δήπουθεν ἀπολογίας ἠξίωμαι, καίτοι πρὸς ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα συνήθεις ἐμοί, συχνῶν γραμμάτων ἐκεῖθεν ἀπεσταλμένων.

Ὥστ᾽ εἴ γε καὶ ἐνίων φίλων λήθην ἡμεῖς ἔσχομεν, ἐκείνων πάντες οἵ ἔφθησαν ἡμᾶς ἡμῶν λήθην λαβόντες· μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ μὲν γράφειν γράμματα μὴ δεξάμενος ἐπεπαύμην, τοῦ μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλεῖν οὐδαμῶς. ἔστι γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ μὴ γράφοντι φιλεῖν καὶ μὴ φιλοῦντι γράφειν, καὶ αὖ ἄμφω ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὡς οὐ μᾶλλόν γε φιλίας τὸ γράφειν ἢ χρείας ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον. ὁ δὲ τοῦ φιλεῖν τεκμήριον τὸ γράφειν ποιούμενος, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως, γράφει μὲν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον φιλεῖ, ἀφίσταται δὲ τοῦ γράφειν ὅτε καὶ τοῦ φιλεῖν.

38 ante δυοῖν eras. ἢ S || 39 ἀγνωεῖν S || post ἀγνοεῖν eras. ἀληθῶς S || σε S^{sv} || 42 post οἷόν τε vocabulum quod legi non potest eras. S || 43 οὖν S^{mg} || 46 πῶς εἴη S || 48 αὐτὸ ἀποπλεῖν μέλλοντι ἐς τοὺς Ἐπιβάτας S || post αὐτὸ vocabulum quod legi non potest eras. S || 50 λαβὼν] prius λαβεῖν scr., postea corr. S || post ἀεὶ eras. ὅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι et ὃ καὶ … ἐστιν scr. S^{sv} || 51 τὸ νοσιλεύεσθαι S || 52 πλείω S || Ἀχεμενίδων S || 53 ἐπίσης ἐμοὶ S^{sv} || 56 post ἀπάραντι vocabulum quod legi non potest eras. et σοι scr. S^{v} || 57 Κηρουλᾶ] littera K- ex dimidia parte erasa S || 66 ante τεκμήριον eras. τὸ γράφειν S.

TRANSLATION

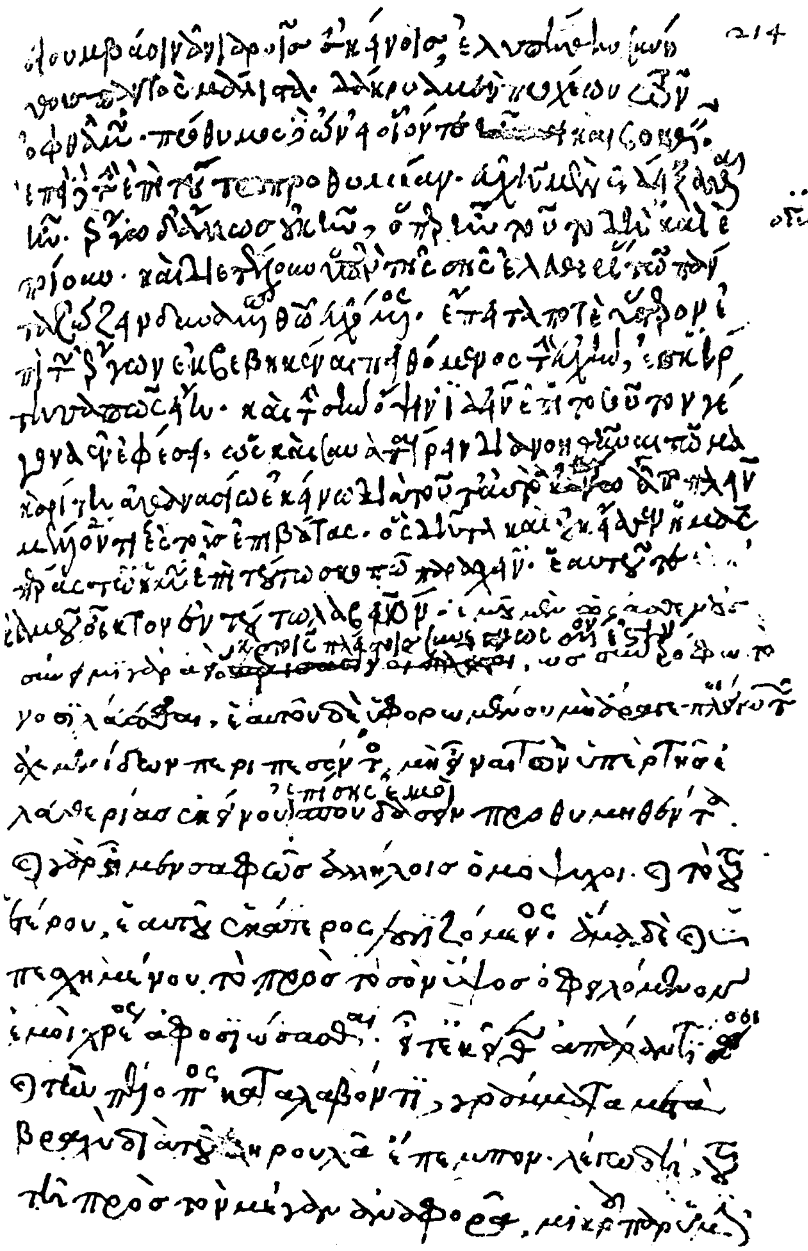
In the letter that you wrote to the sage Kyparissiotes, just after the middle of the winter preceding this past summer, you remembered me also. You did not do this, however, before you experienced life's irregular fortunes (I do believe that misfortune is greater in the case of noble men than in almost any other case). At all events, you remembered me, as he said, and you asked him to convince me to write you a letter, though I do not know why. Whether you wished, that is, to renew the old friendship which has been ruined, so to speak, by time — if, indeed, an insignificant man like me is allowed to say this to their Sublime Highnesses and illustrious potentates, for a man must not consider how much such exalted persons might honor him, but how much he is worthy of that honor — or perhaps because you even wished me to console you for the distressing events which occurred at the time. Yet neither would have been easy for me. On one hand, I was unable to minister adequately to your need and, on the other, I feared that someone might accuse me of arrogance, just as the orator accused Aeschines when he called himself a "friend of Philip."

Nevertheless, even though it would have been difficult and open to suspicion, I would have tried to write, if the sage Kyparissiotes had immediately given some hint of what you wrote about me. But, since he mentioned nothing before he recovered from his ailment — and you know, I suppose, that he suffered from amnesia — I appeared to be deaf to what was said at the time. Though even if I had written, I would have done so in vain, because had there been a letter, I could not have given it to someone who would have brought it to you, since the man charged with this task had just sailed from here. I was, therefore, rightly annoyed, but I could not blame him who caused me not to notice the man's departure because he, in turn, put the blame on his forgetfulness. If, therefore, you are wont to pass judgment before hearing the story, you must hold all of us extremely guilty from then until now; but, if not, now that you have heard the reason for my silence, you can follow my example in deciding about me. And just as I thought it fit to forgive the sage Kyparissiotes, so you can forgive me also, if I have offended you in any way. For the offense is certainly equal and alike, and about such matters all men decide equally and alike.

I wish I did not have to bring up at all these matters, concerning which I decided to write you even this (for what need is there to mention things that make the listeners suffer? Besides, I believe that it is already useless to refer to the reasons for which I had at the time to think of consoling you, since the pain that they caused us has been softened by time, as if it were an inflamed tumor). But when you say that I have forgotten the friendship that you once showed to me, because I did not think of writing to your Highness for such a long time, it must be one of two things: either you do not know the truth about this matter, or you pretend to do so. For I am he who grieved more than any other friend for the adversity that you suffered long ago. Tears streamed from my eyes, and I was eager even to help if I could. But since it was possible to express my eagerness by praying and not otherwise by acting, I did, of course, what was possible and prayed for your freedom to God Who can save anyone. Then, afterwards, when I was convinced that my prayer was realized, you cannot imagine how I leapt from joy and was so anxious to see you that I thought of sailing with the late

Athanasios, of blessed memory, who was to leave for Epibatai for that very purpose. It was he who did not let me carry out my plan because he took pity of himself and me by doing so. For I am ill and medical care is my constant companion — something most people know — while he, on the other hand, feared that if he was caught by a Turkish ship, there might not be anyone eager to concern himself with his freedom as well as mine. For we had clearly one soul and each thought of the other's interest as his own. And, besides, he promised to make amends for my obligation to your Highness. Afterwards when you sailed away from there and arrived in the Peloponnese, I sent you within a short time a letter with Keroulas — I mean him whom you call young in contradiction to the old one — but I was not honored with any answer to this letter, although letters were often sent from the Peloponnese to others, and to friends of mine at that.

So even if I forgot some friends, I certainly forgot those who forgot me first. Rather, when I did not receive a letter, I stopped writing, but in no way remembering and loving. For I believe that it is possible to love without writing and to write without loving, and also to do both. Writing could be more a proof of necessity than of friendship, and he who makes writing a proof of friendship — as you, too, do perhaps — writes as long as he loves and stops writing when he also stops loving.



Scorialensis gr. Φ-III-11, fol. 214r

Kleiner Prodromus zu einer Edition der Metaphrase zu des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς

HERBERT HUNGER

Es mag ungewöhnlich erscheinen, Handschriftenkollationen in einen Festschriftartikel zu verpacken. Allein, in unserem Fall handelt es sich um einen Text, der analog zu der anonymen Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene [1] eine verständlichere, der Umgangssprache nähere Version des »Fürstenspiegels« des Nikephoros Blemmydes bieten wollte. Diesen Ἀνδριάς aber wird der Jubilar demnächst in einer kritischen Ausgabe herausbringen, die nicht nur den von K. Emminger edierten Text verbessern soll, sondern auch den vom Jubilar entdeckten Cod. Sinaiticus gr. 42 [2] für den sonst nur im Marcianus gr. 445 (676) überlieferten Schluß des Werkes verwerten wird. In einer schon einige Zeit zurückliegenden Absprache habe ich mit Freund Ihor vereinbart, daß sein Text des Blemmydes und meine geplante Ausgabe der Metaphrase ungefähr gleichzeitig oder überhaupt gemeinsam erscheinen sollen. Diese Ausgabe wird natürlich einen kritischen Apparat enthalten, der sich auf die bekannten Handschriften stützt, sie wird aber auch — wiederum analog zu meiner Edition der Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene — weiteres Material zur Kenntnis der byzantinischen Umgangssprache bereitstellen bzw. aufschlüsseln. Schließlich wissen wir über die beiden Autoren der Metaphrase, Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes, heute etwas mehr als unsere Kollegen zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts.

In den folgenden Zeilen soll nur gezeigt werden, in welchen bemerkenswerten Punkten der neue Text der Metaphrase sich von der Ausgabe Angelo Mai's [3] bzw. Paul Mignes [4] unterscheiden wird.

[1] H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI-XIII: Ein Beitrag zur Erschließung der byzantinischen Umgagssprache* (Wien, 1981) (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 15).

[2] I. Ševčenko, »A New Manuscript of Nicephorus Blemmydes' 'Imperial Statue', and of Some Patriarchal Letters«, *Byzantine Studies* 5 (1978): 222-232.

[3] A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita,* II (Rom, 1827), 609-655.

[4] *PG*, 142, 612-657.

Zunächst die Liste der von mir kollationierten Handschriften der Metaphrase:

L Laurentianus gr. 9,32, f. 2r-17r; s. XV/1
M Marcianus gr. 505 (767), f. 57r-76v; s. XV/1
V Vaticanus gr. 112, f. 119r-134v; s. XIV/1 [5]
Va Vaticanus gr. 1564, f. 85r-109r; s. XVI/1
B Barberinianus gr. 41, f. 128r-157r; s. XVI/2
Vi Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 14, f. 15r-32v; s. XVI/2 [6]
P Parisinus gr. 3030, f. 1r-35v; s. XVI/2 [7]
Pa Parisinus Suppl. gr. 270, f. 256r-270r; s. XVIII/1

1. Der Text der von A. Mai veranstalteten Ausgabe, die Migne — wie üblich — so gut wie kritiklos übernahm, leidet zunächst darunter, daß die beste Handschrift, der Laurentianus 9,32 (L), dem Herausgeber nicht bekannt war. Die beiden wichtigen Informationen, die L schon im Titel bietet, nämlich die Namen der beiden Metaphrasten und den Zweck der Metaphrase (μεταφρασθεὶς πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον) kannte Mai freilich aus der Notiz Peter Lambecks in dessen Wiener Handschriftenkatalog, die sich auf den Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 14 (Vi, eine Abschrift aus L!) — bei Lambeck-Kollar unter der Signatur Phil. gr. 125 — bezieht.[8] A. Mai gibt diese Notiz Lambecks in seiner Praefatio wieder,[9] die Migne seinerseits erneut abdruckte.[10] Den Wiener Codex selbst hatte Mai so gut wie sicher nicht in der Hand gehabt; jedenfalls hat er ihn bei der Textgestaltung der Metaphrase nicht berücksichtigt. Nur an drei Stellen stimmt der Text bei Mai mit Vi (bzw. L) gegen die anderen Handschriften überein. Zweimal handelt es sich um eine sehr naheliegende Konjektur: a) 628 D 7f.[11] εἰπὼν ὡς οἱ δοῦλοι am Beginn der direkten Rede Cato's. Sowohl Mai wie Migne setzen εἰπὼν in eckige

[5] Nach St. Kuruses, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς (Athen, 1972), 113, von der Hand des Georgios Galesiotes geschrieben. Ich halte diese These nicht für gesichert. V hat manchmal Lesarten, die man dem Metaphrasten Galesiotes selbst kaum zutrauen kann; es sei denn, er hätte sehr flüchtig gearbeitet oder seinen eigenen Text nicht verstanden! Vgl. einige Beispiele:
620 A 4 ληγάς statt ληστάς; 625 A 15f. ἀανδριζόμενον; 625 B 11 κάλιστα statt κάκιστα; 628 D 12 Κῦρος fälschlich statt Κάτων; 648 D 2 πληγάς falsch statt πηγάς; 649 C 14 πολεμίων statt ὑπηκόων.

[6] Von der Hand des Arnoldus Arlenius geschrieben (nach dem Duktus).

[7] Von der Hand des Manuel Glynzunios geschrieben (nach dem Duktus).

[8] P. Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, libri I-VIII, ed. A.F. Kollarius (Wien, 1766-1782), hier VII, 481.

[9] Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, S. 609.

[10] *PG*, 142, 609-612.

[11] Im folgenden wird stets nach der leichter zugänglichen Ausgabe von Migne zitiert; selbstverständlich habe ich die Ausgabe von A. Mai jeweils verglichen.

Klammern, ein Zeichen, daß sie L und Vi zur Stelle nicht kannten; b) 652 C 2 τοῖς κυνηδὸν haben L und Vi anstelle des unverständlichen τῇ bzw. τὴν κυνηδὸν der anderen Handschriften. Zwischen ἀνδράσι und λείψασι drängte sich τοῖς auf. — An der dritten Stelle (657 B 5) haben Mai und Migne ταμείῳ mit Vi (und Pa) gegen das übereinstimmende ταμιείῳ aller übrigen Codices. Hier dürfte es sich jedoch um eine zufällige Übereinstimmung handeln, zumal beide Formen zulässig und gleichwertig sind.

2. Überall dort, wo L (und Vi) gegen die anderen Codices bessere Lesarten bieten, wird sie die neue Ausgabe berücksichtigen. Es sind durchwegs Stellen, die Mai wegen der Unkenntnis von L in einer schlechteren Form aufgenommen hat. Die folgende Liste versteht sich als Auswahl solcher Stellen.

613 B 12	πάντων Mai, Migne πάντως L Vi
616 C 9	ὑπερβολικὸν Mai, Migne ὑπερβάλλον L Vi
617 A 5	βασιλέων Mai, Migne βασιλειῶν L Vi (und V); ἡγεμονιῶν Blemmydes
617 A 11	καὶ τῆς οἰκείας δειλίας Mai, Migne ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας δειλίας L Vi; ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας θηλύτητος Blemmydes
625 A 2	θαυματουργοῦ Mai, Migne θαυμαστοῦ L Vi πολλῷ Blemmydes [12]
625 A 15f.	κατὰ τῶν σαρκικῶν παθῶν ἀνανδριζόμενον Mai, Migne τὸν μὴ κατὰ τῶν σαρκικῶν παθῶν ἀνδριζόμενον L Vi ὁ μὴ κατὰ σαρκικῶν ὁρμῶν ἀνδριζόμενος Blemmydes
628 D 1	σὺ δὲ σὺν τῷ καπήλῳ εὐτρέπισον Mai, Migne σὺ δὲ σαυτῷ καπηλεῖον εὐτρέπισον L Vi σὺ δὲ καπηλεῖον ἐξώνησαι Blemmydes
628 D 12	Κῦρος Mai, Migne Κάτων L Vi (entspricht Blemmydes)
629 A 10	σωφρονικόν Mai, Migne σῶφρον L Vi (und M) [13]
629 D 8	καὶ βλάβης Mai, Migne κἀντεῦθεν βλάβης L Vi
632 B 8f.	τοῦ φροντίζειν τοῦ δέοντος Mai, Migne τοῦ φροντίζειν τῶν δεόντων L Vi
632 C 5	αὐτῆς Mai, Migne αὐτοῖς L Vi
637 B 13	στρατιωτικῶς Mai, Migne σ. καὶ πολεμικῶς L Vi σ. καὶ πολιτικῶς ceteri codd. καρτερίαν πολεμικὴν Blemmydes
641 D 2	καὶ μέριμναν Mai, Migne ἐμμέριμνον L Vi (= Blemmydes)
644 D 2	ὁπότερος τῶν γονέων αὐτὸν ἐγέννησεν Mai, Migne ὁπότερος τῶν γονέων ἐγκυμονήσας αὐτὸν ἐγέννησεν L Vi (= Blemmydes)
645 B 6	εἶναι δεῖ Mai, Migne εἶναι πρέπει L Vi προσήκει Blemmydes
649 B 8	ἡλπικότων ἕτοιμος Mai, Migne ἡλπικότων ἑτοίμως ceteri codd. ἐλπιζόντων ἐπινεύων ἑτοίμως L Vi ἐπικαμπτόμενος Blemmydes
649 C 14	πολεμούντων Mai, Migne πολεμίων ceteri codd. ὑπηκόων L Vi (= Blemmydes)

[12] Die Anmerkung 21 bei *PG*, 142, 625, ist hinfällig.

[13] Hier hat der Sinaiticus gr. 42 allerdings σωφρονικόν.

649 D 8f.	καὶ τὰ τῶν Mai, Migne τὰ δὲ τῶν L Vi (= Blemmydes)
653 A 3	λόγους Mai, Migne λόγου L Vi (= Blemmydes)
653 C 13	κρίνεται ἄξιος Mai, Migne ἔστιν ἔμπλεως L Vi (ἀλογίας) ἐστίν Blemmydes
653 D 8f.	ὑποπτεύοντα προχειρως τοὺς μὴ τοιούτους Mai, Migne ὑποπτεύοντα προχείρως ὑβριστὰς εἶναι τοὺς μὴ τοιούτους L Vi
656 A 2	αὐτοκράτωρ Mai, Migne αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν L Vi αὐτοκρατῶν Blemmydes
656 A 13	Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ τῶν ἐξ ἁμάξης L Vi διὰ - ἁμάξης om. M V Va B P Pa Mai, Migne τοῖς ἐξ ἁμάξης Αἰγύπτιοι Blemmydes

3. In der Regel übernahmen Mai, und fast immer ihm folgend Migne, die schlechteren Lesarten des Vat.gr. 1564 (Va) und des Barberinianus gr. 41 (B), wo diese gemeinsam — oft mit Par.gr. 3030 (P) und Par. Suppl.gr. 270 (Pa) — gegen L, M und V stehen. Auch diese Liste ist nicht als vollständig anzusehen:

613 C 5	ἀναγκαίως Va B P Mai, Migne ἀναγκαῖον L M V Vi Pa
616 B letzte Z.	ὅπου τε τὰ Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ὅπου γε τὰ M V ὅπου γε καὶ τὰ L Vi ὅπου γε καὶ Blemmydes
616 C 11f.	ὑπὸ γυναικῶν Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ὑπὸ δὲ γ. L M V Vi
616 C 12	ἐποίησε Κῦρος Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ἐποίησε καὶ Κῦρος L M V Vi (= Blemmydes)
617 D 4	ἔχουσα Va B Mai, Migne ἔχουσαν L M V Vi P Pa
620 B 11	τοιούτοις ἐπαίνοις Va B Mai, Migne τοιούτους ἐπαίνους M L V Vi P Pa
624 A 3f.	ὑποζεῦξαι Va B Mai, Migne ὑποζεύξας L M V Vi
624 C 8	ἴδιον Va B Mai, Migne ἴδιόν ἐστιν L M V Vi P Pa
624 D 3	ἀπρόσιτον Va B P Mai, Migne εὐπρόσιτον L M V Vi Pa
625 A 13	αὐτῆς σωφροσύνης Va B P Pa Mai, Migne αὐτῆς τῆς σ. L M V Vi
628 A 11	σκοτινόν Va Mai σκοτεινόν L M V B Vi P Pa σκοτικόν Migne
628 B 4	οὓς συνασπιστὰς Va B Mai, Migne οὓς καὶ σ. L M V Vi P Pa
628 D 1	σὺ δὲ σαυτῷ καπηλεῖον εὐτρέπισον L Vi σὺ δὲ σαυτῷ κάπηλον εὐτρέπισον M V (?) σὺ δὲ σὺν τῷ καπήλῳ εὐτρέπισον Va B P Pa Mai, Migne σὺ δὲ καπηλεῖον ἐξώνησαι Blemmydes
628 D 9	τοσοῦτον δὲ V B Mai, Migne τοσοῦτον δὴ L M V Vi P Pa (= Blemmydes)
629 C 3	ἐπὶ πολὺ Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ L M V Vi τὰ πολλὰ Blemmydes
632 A 10	αὐτὰς Ἀμαζόνας Va B Mai, Migne αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀ. L M V Vi P Pa
632 B 6f.	εἰς τὰ ὑψηλότερα Va B Mai, Migne πρὸς τὰ ὑψ. L M V Vi P Pa (= Blemmydes)
632 B 13	ἐκ τοῦ ἐπαρθῆναι Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπ. L M Vi (ἀ τοῦ ἐπ. V)
632 C 14	ἀπὸ ψυχῆς Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς L M V Vi
633 A 1	περὶ Va B Mai, Migne πυρὶ L M V Vi P Pa
633 D 7	πάλιν Va B Pa Mai, Migne πᾶσιν L M V Vi P (= Blemmydes)

633 D 9 οἷον ἡ μαγνῆτις Va B P Pa Mai, Migne οἱονεὶ μαγν. L M V Vi
636 B 5f. ἀπρεπὲς ἐστι βασιλέως Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ἀπρεπὲς ἐστι βασιλεῖ L V Vi; M in corr.
637 B 6 οὕτως ἂν μάγειρος B οὗτος ἂν μάγ. Va οὕτως ἂν ὁ μάγειρος Mai, Migne οὗτος ἂν ὡς μάγειρος L M V Vi P Pa
640 B 8 μαστίγων Va B μαστιγῶν Mai, Migne μαστίζων L M V Vi P Pa (= Blemmydes)
641 B 8 πλῆθος συναχθεῖσιν Va B Mai, Migne πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συν. L M V Vi P Pa
641 B 9 παράδοξόν τινα Va B Mai, Migne παράδοξόν τ. καὶ μέγαν L M V Vi P Pa
641 C 7f. ἄλλως ἄλλοτε Va B Mai, Migne ἄλλοι ἄλλοτε L M V Vi P Pa
641 D 1 ἐν εὐδίαις εὐθέτῳ καιρῷ καὶ γαλήνῃ Va B P Pa Mai, Migne ἐν εὐδίας εὐθ. κ. καὶ γαλήνης L M V Vi
644 A 13f. κατ᾿ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης καιρὸν Va B P Pa Mai, Migne κατ᾿ αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης καιρὸν L M V Vi κατ᾿ αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀκμὴν Blemmydes
645 B 3 ἕξει δόξαν Va B Mai, Migne μεγίστην ἕξει δόξαν L M V Vi P Pa (= Blemmydes)
648 C 1 κεφαλὴ Va B κεφαλῇ P Pa Mai, Migne κεφάλαιον L M Vi κεφαλ᾿ V
648 C 7 ἐνδέχεσθαι Va B Mai, Migne ἐκδέχεσθαι L M V Vi P Pa (= Blemmydes)
649 B 1 στεναγμοῦ Va B P Pa Mai, Migne στεναγμῶν L M V Vi
653 B 1 λιμοῖς Va B Mai, Migne λοιμοῖς L M V Vi P Pa
653 C 9 εὐπρεπισθεῖσα Va B Mai εὐτρεπισθεῖσα ceteri codd., Migne
656 A 11 εἰ μὲν τὸ ἔργον Va B Mai, Migne εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔργον L M V Vi P Pa (= Blemmydes)
656 D 6 ὁρατὴν Va B Mai, Migne ὁρατικὴν L M V Vi P Pa
657 C 1 πάντως εἰς Va B P Pa Mai, Migne πάντως ὡς εἰς L M V Vi

4. Die Stellen, an denen der Text von Mai bzw. Migne gegen alle oder fast alle Codices steht, erklären sich aus Konjekturen, die *currente calamo* enstanden, oder durch Übernahme aus dem Text des Blemmydes, der dem Herausgeber Mai ja vorlag.

617 C 4 πρὸς γυναῖκας Mai, Migne πρὸς αὐτὰς codd. Das aus dem vorangehenden γυναικώδεις *ad sensum* verständliche αὐτὰς störte Mai; er setzte dafür γυναῖκας; die Lesung der Codices notierte er in einer Anmerkung. Migne hat beides übernommen.
617 C 6 καὶ ψυχὴ vor καὶ σῶμα gegen die Codices (bewußt?) ausgelassen Mai, Migne
620 D 6 ὅτι ἐν ἄλλοις πταίομεν καιροῖς, ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολαμβάνομεν Mai, Migne ὅτι ἐν ἄλλοις πταίομεν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολαμβ. codd.
624 D 6 ἐξισοῦσθαι Θεῷ Mai, Migne μιμεῖσθαι Θεόν L M V B (Θεῷ Va P Pa). Mai hat ἐξισοῦσθαι aus Blemmydes (S. 16,15 Emminger) übernommen!
624 D 6 πταισάντων Mai, Migne mit M; πταισμάτων L V Vi Va B P Pa

629 B 8 προτεθέντα Mai, Migne προρρηθέντα codd.
632 B 1 μετὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν Migne κατὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν L M V Vi Va P Pa Mai καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν B
633 A 9 καὶ διάδηλον, das in den Codices fehlt, von Mai und Migne aus Blemmydes (S. 22,1 Emminger) eingefügt
641 A 6 φυγὴν Mai, Migne φύσιν codd.
641 C 3 ἕως Mai, Migne ἤγουν L M V Vi ἤως Va B P Pa. Die Letzteren verstanden die Kürzung falsch, was Mai und Migne nicht erkannten.
649 B 2 προκαλεῖ Mai, Migne προκαλεῖται καὶ παρακαλεῖ codd.
649 C 14 πολεμούντων Mai, Migne ὑπηκόων L Vi (= Blemmydes) πολεμίων M V Va B P Pa; Mai notiert diese Lesart der Codices in einer Anmerkung.
652 C 5 ὡς Mai, Migne ἤγουν L M V Vi ἤως Va B P Pa; vgl. dazu oben zu 641 C 3.
652 D 7 διωκόντων Mai, Migne διωκτῶν codd.

5. Schließlich sind nicht wenige Fehler als simple Versehen bzw. Druckfehler zu qualifizieren. Migne hat, wie üblich, die ihm vorliegenden Fehler noch vermehrt. Auch hier nur eine Auswahl:

621 B 3 Nach ταρασσομένου fehlt bei Mai, Migne τὸ διὰ τὴν στέρησιν τοῦ ἐμποδίσαι δυναμένου λογισμοῦ, das die Codices haben.
624 A 13 μετάβολον Mai, Migne; εὐμετάβολον L V Vi ἀμετάβολον M Va B P Pa
625 C 7 Nach μικρολογίας fehlt bei Mai und Migne καὶ φειδωλίας der Codices.
632 D 2 Vor στηριγμοῦ ist bei Mai und Migne σταθηρὸν καὶ der Codices ausgelassen.
632 D 5 Vor τῆς Γοργόνης ist bei Mai und Migne τὰς der Codices ausgelassen.
636 C 6 Nach μίξεως fehlt bei Mai und Migne καὶ ἀναλύσεως καὶ δοκήσεως τοῦ παντὸς διαφωνούντων, das alle Codices haben.
636D letzte Z. Nach ἀπὸ ist bei Mai und Migne τῶν der Codices ausgelassen.
637 B 13 Nach στρατιωτικῶς fehlt bei Mai und Migne καὶ πολεμικῶς bzw. πολιτικῶς der Codices.
637 B 14 οὐ δὲ Mai, Migne] lies οὐδὲ
637 D 4 στηριγμένως Mai, Migne] lies ἐστηριγμένως (nur Va hat στηριγμένως)
640 A 9 Vor ἐλευθερίαν ist bei Mai und Migne καὶ der Codices ausgelassen.
640 A 12 Vor πατέρα fehlt bei Migne Ξέρξου, das in den Codices und bei Mai steht. Es ist bei Migne irrtümlich an eine spätere Stelle (640 A 15) geraten, wo es in den Handschriften und bei Mai natürlich fehlt.
640 D 2 Nach βραδύνειν ist bei Mai und Migne καὶ κατατρίβειν der Codices ausgelassen.
641 A 4 Σικυωνίοις Mai, Migne] Σικυώνιος codd.
645 A 3 Nach ἐξῆλθον ist bei Mai und Migne ἢ εἰσῆλθον der Codices ausgelassen.

645 D 5 προκρινόμενον Migne] lies προκρινόμενοι
645 D 6 ζητούμενοι Migne] lies ζητούμενον
645 D 7 Nach ζητούμενον ist bei Mai und Migne καὶ τιμώμενον der Codices ausgelassen.
649 B 5 εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Mai, Migne] εἰς τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον codd.
649 C 4 Nach πρόσωπον fehlt bei Mai und Migne ἀχρεῖος der Codices.
649 C 12 Nach πολεμικῆς fehlt bei Mai und Migne συμπλοκῆς der Codices.
652 A 10f. τρόπος Mai, Migne] lies τόπος
652 A 13 Nach πολεμικῆς fehlt bei Mai und Migne συμπλοκῆς aller Codices.
653 A 9 ἀφίκτους Mai, Migne] ἀφύκτους L M V Vi B Pa (ex corr.) ἀφίκτους Va P
653 C 7 ἰσχύσει Mai, Migne] ἰσχύσειε codd.
656 A 15 Vor μαινόμενος fehlt bei Mai und Migne ἄφρων ὡς der Codices.
657 A 10 στερεὸν Mai, Migne] στερρὸν codd. (στερὸν Va P Pa)
657 B 12 Nach μεγαλοπρεπῶς fehlt bei Mai und Migne καὶ πολυτελῶς der Codices.

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The Many Varieties of Historical Writing: Caterpillars and Butterflies Reexamined

ELLEN HURWITZ AND DONALD OSTROWSKI

Nearly a decade and a half ago Professor Ševčenko wrote an elegant and provocative essay on methodology entitled "Two Varieties of Historical Writing."[1] His students, then as now, were intrigued that their most scholarly advisor would devote time and energy to the description of ways of contributing to our understanding of historical study. They knew him more as practitioner than theoretician, and he caught them off guard as he wove his way so skillfully through the epistemological mazes that have come to preoccupy the philosophers of history in our day. The journal *History and Theory* shared Ševčenko's essay with a wider readership, many of whom were deeply impressed by the mix of erudition, wit, and conviction that gave expression to a number of sage observations.

Yet to our knowledge no one has responded directly to Ševčenko's article, and it is this that we propose to undertake in the following pages. Ševčenko has described a common problem that each generation of historians must resolve anew in its own area or field of interest. While we have seen indications of crisis in other fields of historical study, we are especially concerned about research and its presentation in pre-modern Slavic studies. As Ševčenko's article inspired a response from us, so we hope to provoke renewed thinking about present and future scholarship in our field, for we believe that serious rethinking is needed if it is to remain a vital part of academe.

In his essay Ševčenko describes what he regards as a tragic, but just about unavoidable, split between "two varieties of historical writing," that of the technical historian and that of the vivid historian. Although he admits that the categories he sets up are "not exhaustive, mutually

[1] Ihor Ševčenko, "Two Varieties of Historical Writing," *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 332-345. Succeeding references to this article will be made by page references within parentheses in the main text.

exclusive, or clearly delineated," they are, nonetheless "still discernible." Moreover, he argues, they are largely "determined" by the qualities of mind of their practitioners and "by the matter with which they deal" (p. 332). The two varieties are linked, insofar as all historians are dwellers in Bury's House of History. To underscore the linkage, Ševčenko compares his two types of historians to the caterpillar and the butterfly, the former creeping about in "the dark crevasses of the past" (p. 342) and polishing his footnotes, the latter soaring to poetic heights and vividly creating an imagined overview of what has happened in recent history. Caterpillar and butterfly form a curious metaphor, indeed. It is an organic one, yet Ševčenko acknowledges that few historians have been able to mature from one form to the other. In fact, of the historians he cites, none metamorphosed from a caterpillar into a butterfly, while one (Mommsen) reversed the process. Pre-modernists, by virtue of peculiarity of temperament and paucity of sources, seem doomed to be dry as dust, while poets of modern history flutter about in fame and fortune. Is the problem necessarily as tragic as Ševčenko implies?

The boundary between caterpillars and butterflies is not a sharp or definite one, for each will often make use of the other's truths, subject matter, and facts. Why this is so should not be too difficult to discern. Every caterpillar carries around within himself an implicit butterfly's view, which he might or might not alter to correspond to the data he gathers. Historians usually come to their field through reading broad surveys. No historian hatches in the midst of primary source materials like a caterpillar in a cabbage patch. Likewise, butterflies usually have some prefiguration of how the cabbage patch is arranged even without seeing it. The historian often uses prefiguration to formulate his interpretations of the sources. Yet, even the butterfly alights now and then among the source materials to gain inspiration for his flights of imagination.[2]

[2] There are many other metaphors for the caterpillar-butterfly dichotomy. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie refers to them as truffle hunters and parachutists. Lawrence Stone describes the difference between them this way: "the first grub about with their noses in the dirt, searching for some minute and precious fact; the second float down from the clouds, surveying the whole panorama of the countryside, but from too great a height to see anything in detail very clearly." Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present* (Boston, London, and Henley, 1981), p. 8. Stone also uses the terms "fact seekers" and "macrotheorists," respectively. Some have even suggested a correlation with Isaiah Berlin's fox and hedgehog, while others have pointed to a similar relationship between lower and higher criticism.

We can also say that the caterpillar tends toward one version of historical truth, the butterfly toward another. The caterpillar leans toward a correspondence theory, that is, correspondence to the information in the sources. The butterfly is inclined toward a coherence theory of historical truth, that is, the requirement that all the components of a proposition fit together logically. In this sense, their theories of truth might be seen to represent the two conceptual prongs of Hume's fork.

The caterpillar perceives his subject matter to be source testimony to which his descriptions correspond. The butterfly perceives his subject matter to be the descriptions of that source testimony. The butterfly uses these descriptions as propositions, which then become identified with events that actually happened, that is, with "the past." This difference in perception of subject matter may help to explain the tendency of caterpillars to gravitate toward pre-modern history, where the totality of source testimony is comprehendable, and of butterflies to be drawn toward the modern period, where the "dross of history" is not often in question.

Just as the caterpillar and butterfly tend to have different theories of truth and different perceptions of subject matter, so they have different concepts of fact. The caterpillar stays close to the sources for his facts, yet his facts are not given. The butterfly conceives facts as needed, yet his facts are not completely made up. Why is this so? A typical historical fact is the statement "Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon." But that statement is no more valid than the statement "Alice fell down a rabbit hole." Each statement conjures images in our minds that have little to do with reality, either with Julius Caesar's actual crossing of the Rubicon (if he did) or of someone named Alice actually falling down a rabbit hole (if such a thing were possible). The difference in the statements, at least as far as historians are concerned, is that the first statement presumes to be non-fictional. For the butterfly it means that the first statement presumes to describe an event that actually occurred, whereas the second has no such pretensions. For the caterpillar the first statement is an attempt to explain source testimony, whereas the second does not attempt to explain something that exists outside the mind of the author. Both statements are coherent, but only one presumes to correspond to something that exists independently. One could just as easily make the statement "Julius Caesar crossed the Volga" (which is at least theoretically possible), but that statement is useless to the caterpillar because it does not explain any source testimony and useless to the butterfly because it does not "fit in" logically with his view of Julius

Caesar. To put it another way: If one were asked: "Did Alice fall down a rabbit hole?" one would have to answer "Yes" (within a certain context), just as one would answer "Yes, Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon" (within another context), and "No, Julius Caesar did not cross the Volga" (in any context). But to show that the historian is not talking about the past, but only describing source testimony, let him answer the question "What did Julius Caesar's men say to each other as they crossed the Rubicon?" The historian would have to answer that he does not know because he has no source testimony. The butterfly might imagine likely statements, but the caterpillar would be stymied.

For historians to think as though they were studying the past can be a useful strategy for organizing source testimony.[3] Study of the past, however, is not defensible as a goal: historians have an insurmountable problem of verification if they are testing their conclusions against the past, which by definition is no longer present, extant, or able to be experienced.[4] This is not to deny that the past once existed; it is merely a recognition of our own limitations — we have no way of knowing what the relationship is between occurrences in the mind of the historian and occurrences in the past. Furthermore, the presentation and acceptance of a narrative account as representing events that actually happened can discourage challenges to the basic assumptions and conclusions of that account.

The butterfly's theory of truth is based on internal coherence while the caterpillar's is based on correspondence to source testimony, but neither of these theories alone is adequate. Complete acceptance of the caterpillar's truth would create a redundancy, since an account of source testimony as such would be judged solely on the criterion of how well the account corresponds to the testimony. The best account would present all the testimony and only that. The result would be like that in the country Lewis Carroll describes in *Sylvie and Bruno* where

[3] The view we are expressing here is in direct contrast to the long-accepted consensus that, as Iggers put it, "the historian's task remains to reconstruct and interpret an actual past"; George G. Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography* (Middletown, Conn., 1975), p. 5. That consensus has been challenged before; see, e.g., Leon J. Goldstein, "Evidence and Events in History," *Philosophy of Science* 29 (1962): 177; idem, "History and the Primacy of Knowledge," *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, Beiheft 16, *The Constitution of the Historical Past* (Wesleyan, Conn., 1977), pp. 32, 34, 35.

[4] MacIver talks about the historian's making an intelligent précis from the "Book of the Recording Angel" in which everything that ever happened is written. A. M. MacIver, "The Character of a Historical Explanation," *Explanation in History and Philosophy* (London, 1947), pp. 34-35. Such a pretentious and unnecessary abstraction would have made Occam blanch.

mapmakers continually made larger and larger maps until they made a map in a 1:1 ratio to the countryside. The map could not be used because the farmers complained it would shut out the sunlight.[5] When one applies the butterfly's coherence theory as a second criterion, then one can make the evidence comprehensible, and have a usable account that enlightens rather than obscures. One theory of truth clearly moderates the other.

In the same way, when the historian attempts to present a "map" of a particular topic, that presentation can be judged by two criteria: correspondence to the source testimony and internal coherence. Furthermore, he often presents this map as being of some actual past. Nonetheless, a clear distinction needs to be maintained between a narrative device and the analysis of extant source materials. For example, the narrative mode for presenting West European history in textbooks is a comic emplotment, as Hayden White might describe it,[6] with the central unifying theme being the rise of "civil and political liberty." This framework has been challenged, but not successfully. William McNeill, for one, has proposed a tragic emplotment with emphasis on state regimentation of the individual as an alternative.[7] Nevertheless, historians of Western Europe continue to conduct their research without regard for these modes of emplotment. The pre-modern Slavic field, too, has its comic emplotment, which S. M. Solov'ev established. Attempts to modify this emplotment have been made by the juridical school, by M. N. Pokrovskii, and, most recently, by Alexander Yanov,[8] among others. But the difference from West European historiography is that Solov'ev's emplotment still, to a large degree, determines not only the presentation of conclusions, but also choice of topics, selection of evidence, and analysis of sources.

Historians can check one another's selections, choices, and analyses, but no one can check the actual writing of the sources themselves to understand what the authors of these sources may have had in mind when they wrote them. A number of recreations of the writing process

[5] *The Complete Works of Lewis Carroll* (New York: Modern Library, n.d.), p. 617.

[6] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore and London, 1973), pp. 7-11, 29-31.

[7] William H. McNeill, *The Shape of European History* (New York, 1974), pp. 44-176.

[8] Alexander Yanov, *The Origins of Autocracy: Ivan the Terrible in Russian History* (Berkeley, 1981). Yanov emplots a tragic curve for Russian history, with the "decisive" turning point being the failure to secularize church lands in the sixteenth century (pp. 153-154). Yanov's main complaint seems to be that Russia did not evolve along the lines of the Wing interpretation of West European history.

have been tried. J. H. Hexter did so for Thomas More's writing of *Utopia* and for Carl Becker's presidential address to the American Historical Association.[9] And in *The First Circle*, Alexander Solzhenitsyn "reconstructed" Stalin's writing of "On Marxism in Linguistics."[10] As appealing and plausible as these recreations might be, they are only hypotheses. Even the statement that Hexter and Solzhenitsyn wrote the works that appear under their names is only a hypothesis for us (not for them, however, because they "know" whether they wrote them). Although no one has seriously questioned the authorship of their works, questions about other authors' claims have been raised. For example, did Sholokhov write *Tikhii Don*? In contrast, when the famous Hellenist Karl Benedikt Hase published three Greek fragments in 1819, his assertion that they dated to the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century was more or less accepted. Only recently did a scholar, exercising healthy skepticism, question that hypothesis and propose a better one: that Hase himself had composed the fragments sometime between 1816 and 1818.[11] In the same sense, any attribution of a statement to a historical figure is only a hypothesis.

With hypotheses based on interpretations and interpretations based on prefigurations, what historian can legitimately argue that he or his group alone is in possession of the Truth? Who can claim certainty about what actually happened? One might even ask what historians are attempting to do in generalizing about sources. How worthwhile can their generalizations be if they are based merely on hypotheses? Are historians not simply generalizing about interpretations and about nothing else?

In generalizing, the historian is trying to create paradigms that help others to understand source testimony and to provide direction for future research. Paradigm formation, or model building, is a method that has long been used in the natural sciences. Mendeleev applied model building to arrive at the periodic table of elements. Pauling's application of model building to chemistry inspired Watson and Crick to use the same method in determining the structure of DNA.[12] Likewise,

[9] See J. H. Hexter, *More's Utopia: The Biography of an Idea* (Princeton, 1952); and "Carl Becker and Historical Relativism," in J. H. Hexter, *On Historians: Reappraisals of Some of the Makers of Modern History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 13-41.

[10] Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The First Circle* (New York, 1968), pp. 108-115.

[11] Ihor Ševčenko, "The Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1971): 117-188.

[12] See, e.g., Jacob Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man* (Boston and Toronto, 1973), pp. 322-

particle physics has progressed on the basis of models that indicate where to look for the next particle, as occurred with the discovery of the $\tilde{\omega}$ hadron, based on Murray Gell-Mann's model, the so-called "eight-fold way."[13] Indeed, for a number of years after Gell-Mann proposed a model to explain the behavior of baryons, physicists considered it to be merely a set of mathemetical rules that did not actually require the existence of the fundamental particles he called quarks.[14] We cite examples from the natural sciences here not because the supposed exactitude those sciences attempt to provide is relevant to historical study.[15] Instead, one will note that model building has been most beneficial in those areas of the natural sciences where experimentation has provided insufficient data or where progress is temporarily stymied. As the hard sciences gather new information, existing models are found to be deficient. We historians might believe that our paradigms are adequate, because, in some respects, it is easy for us to ignore information that does not fit the existing paradigm (at least we can ignore it longer than our colleagues in the natural sciences). This hardly means that we have devised the best paradigms for understanding the data. In particular, we might do dwell to abandon the arrangement and organization of data according to anachronistic ethnocentric systems. The problem might be that we do not have the rules for constructing new paradigms. The questions of what to include and exclude and of what to emphasize and ignore from the testimony are still open. What might be needed, as a prerequisite to new paradigms, is the building of a model or models for paradigm construction.

To construct new paradigms the historian continually needs to make new connections. In attempting to justify the allowance for "fortuitous events" in history, Bertrand Russell suggested that if Henry VIII had not fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, the United States would not now exist. According to Russell's line of thought, because of Henry's subsequent

326; James D. Watson, *The Double Helix: A Personal Account of the Discovery of the Structure of DNA* (New York, 1980), pp. 50-51. Two Harvard undergraduates used a similar method to devise a model for gene activation in bacteria without resorting to experimentation. See *Harvard Magazine* 83, no. 6 (1981): 17-21.

[13] Heinz R. Pagels, *The Cosmic Code: Quantum Physics as the Language of Nature* (New York, 1982), pp. 222-223.

[14] Michael Chester, *Particles: An Introduction to Particle Physics* (New York, 1978), pp. 139-140.

[15] Besides, physicists seem to be leading the rest of us into an uncertain universe, where, as Einstein put it, "the distinction between past, present, and future is only an obstinate illusion." Albert Einstein and Michele Besso, *Correspondence 1903-1955*, ed. Pierre Speziali (Paris, 1972), p. 538.

break with the papacy over his divorce, the English government did not recognize Alexander VI's demarcation of the world between Spain and Portugal, and thus felt free to explore the New World.[16] Instead of illustrating chance in history, Russell more aptly illustrated the method of pulling together seemingly disparate data. Another example might be the connection between the detaining of Calvin in Geneva and the French Revolution of 1789. Calvinism spread from Geneva into France, where persecution of the Huguenots at the end of the seventeenth century led to the loss of skilled artisans and the worsening of economic and financial conditions in the ancien régime. Such "connections" may be faulty in terms of legitimate historical explanation, but within them lies a thread of coherence.

A developmental process between caterpillar and butterfly can and sometimes does occur. The historian as caterpillar attempts to explain source testimony with a corresponding hypothesis. This hypothesis might be accepted as the "best" explanation and thus becomes established as a historical fact. The historian as butterfly then can use several such facts to formulate a coherent map that provides a scale of values for judging the importance of each piece of source testimony. In Ševčenko's words, "To be at all sound, vivid history must feed directly on technical history" (p. 341). Another, subsequent stage occurs when the caterpillar uses the butterfly's map as a guide for his own research. Implicit in this cycle is clear communication between the historians who are engaged in caterpillar activity and those who take the butterfly route.

To encourage the process of communication we would like to propose a typology for the kinds of historical writing being done today. We can discern at least five kinds: (1) those who are involved in fontology, that is, who write analyses of a source qua source; (2) those who write secondary works, for example, monographs that take into consideration other historians' interpretations of the sources; (3) those who write tertiary works, such as textbooks or syntheses that make use mainly of secondary literature and other textbooks; (4) those who write popular history, that is, who rewrite their own or other historians' work for a wider readership; and (5) those who write historical fiction, which, in the hands of a Robert Graves, Rolf Hochhuth, Mary Renault, or Henryk Sienkiewicz, can present imaginative and intriguing hypotheses

[16] Bertrand Russell, *Freedom Versus Organization, 1814-1914* (New York, 1934), pp. 198-199.

to explain source testimony.[17] This typology is by no means all inclusive, since the kind of historical writing that this paper represents, for instance, falls outside our framework.

A rough correlation exists between these five categories and the stages the individual historian often goes through in his own work. Nevertheless, those working in one category often tend to be dismissive of those working in other categories. Distinctions of function have become barriers to communication among historians. At either extreme, terminology forces us to realize that certain people involved in historical work are not always considered historians. Certain fontologists are thought of as being involved in auxiliary historical disciplines or as antiquarians. They are criticized for being concerned with trivia that add nothing to our historical understanding. Yet, the fontologists are the fact gatherers without whose work hypotheses would be formulated *ex nihilo*.[18] At the other end of the spectrum, popularizers are often disparaged as "journalists," yet journalists are involved in writing about historical sources as much as any historian.[19] Writers of historical fiction are, of course, very rarely considered to be historians at all. Their flights of imagination and inventiveness are often viewed, at worst, with disdain and, at best, as interesting but ultimately useless. Yet, those who consider themselves the "true historians" often take such flights of imagination in attempting to understand and explain source testimony.

Historians have been known to turn up their noses and snort, "That's not history," when confronted with something they do not wish to make the effort to understand. This disdain for the "non-historian" and the "non-historical" has resulted in the presentation of history as little more than the story of past politics, that is, as Eric R. Wolf phrased it, "with writing only the history of ruling elites or with detailing the subjugation of dominated ethnic groups."[20] Historians who do attempt to bring into their accounts other considerations are criticized as being dilettantish. For example, Ronald Crane, professor of English at the University of

[17] For a discussion of the value of the historical novel, see Georg Lukacs, *The Historical Novel* (Boston, 1962).

[18] Langlois and Seignobos, for example, praise the erudite fact gatherers and refer to "l'héroisme de sacrifier à l'érudition pure des facultés supérieures"; Ch. V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris, 1897), p. 98.

[19] One needs only mention the effect a journalist's work had in getting New Testament scholars to treat the Qumran discoveries more seriously. See Edmund Wilson, "The Scrolls from the Dead Sea," *New Yorker*, 14 May 1955, pp. 45-121, and, in expanded form, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York, 1955).

[20] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley, 1982), p. x.

Chicago, warned historians that their attempt to annex all disciplines would leave them no discipline of their own and would make them amateurs in a university of professionals.[21] To our thinking, history is in danger of disappearing as a discipline only insofar as it isolates itself from other fields of inquiry. We are asking historians to reach out in both directions, to the natural sciences, on the one hand, and to fictional literature, on the other, for all of these provide primary source materials and, thus, are legitimate for historical inquiry. We are not saying that all other fields of study are, in effect, auxiliary historical disciplines or that Clio is the queen of the sciences (although we may be allowed to think that to ourselves). Rather, we see historical study as providing the afferent connections that can hold together the exploding universe of mankind's knowledge.

The categories of historical work we have listed can be instructive. As we go up the list, from no. 5 to no. 1, correspondence to source testimony becomes more important and coherence less so. As we go down the list, from no. 1 to no. 5, coherence becomes more important and correspondence less so. Correspondence aims for objective comprehension of the testimony, whereas coherence allows us to subjectivize the testimony and make it meaningful. The point is, of course, that anyone doing historical work of one form or another must use both criteria. The fontologist would like to consider himself closest to a true caterpillar, munching everything in his path indiscriminately. Yet, some morsels are tastier than others. Coming across a previously unknown copy of a controversial source or a previously unpublished text is a thrill for the fontologist, but only because his discovery has some relationship to a coherent view of the known sources. The caterpillar momentarily looks up and sees a broader significance in what he has discovered. The writer of historical fiction is closest to the true butterfly for he is aware of the places where source testimony is minimal, that is, where he can fly with coherent inventiveness. To use Ladurie's metaphor, even the truffle hunter looks up now and then to see where it is best to continue the search, while even the parachutist must touch down before he can make another leap. The novelist whose imagination lacks correspondence with historical data loses the modifier "historical." The fontologist whose description lacks a coherent hypothesis loses direction and meaning. We are not all equally capable of munching and flying. Some

[21] Cited in Gilbert Allerdyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course," *American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 711.

are better caterpillars, others better butterflies. Instead of caterpillars and butterflies looking askance at one another, would it not be better for each to acknowledge the necessary function of the other? Can there not be more communication and less isolation between historians who move in these different directions? We are not asking historians to form mutual admiration societies or to be namby-pamby in their criticisms (Hexterian-type ridicule can clear away a great deal of nonsense). But historians should be aware that merely being dismissive is more harmful than helpful to their field in that it fosters isolation.

More communication and less isolation are crucial to the healthy maturation of all historical investigation. They are particularly important to the preservation and development of the history of the pre-modern Slavic world. We believe that they are achievable if the polarization that Ševčenko has highlighted can be overcome. In the "Two Varieties" article he observed that the caterpillar rarely turns into a butterfly. Although he did not provide any means by which the transformation might occur, he implicitly invited the reader to seek a way. His caterpillar-butterfly metaphor seemed useful to us, yet confining. It affirmed the nearly impossible, yet, once accomplished, irrevocable passage from a lower to a higher form. Would it not be more salubrious to conceive a creature that could alternate between the two forms, or be both at once, and thus break out of its "organic" constraints? We have tried to suggest that an appropriate epistemological perspective might yield such a creature. Indeed, we have argued that every historian is already part caterpillar and part butterfly. Moreover, Ševčenko himself provides tantalizing evidence in his footnotes, comments, and unpublished remarks about the historical process that our needed hybrid (dare we call it a "caterfly"?) could evolve. In the end we need to talk about the ideal historian who would be able to operate with equal facility on many different levels of historical investigation, from the fontological to the fictional.

Now we turn to the caterpillars and butterflies of the pre-modern Slavic field, where both creatures, with only a few exceptions, have become ensnared in "strange loops." Ševčenko laments the caterpillar's loss of "self-confidence" (p. 339). We lament the paucity of butterflies as well. We worry that in recent decades caterpillars with growing pains have woven cocoons of half-truths and turned themselves not into butterflies, but into moths that perish in the candle flame of received interpretation. We want to restore the caterpillar's self-esteem and we want the butterflies to fly free. The caterpillar must not wallow

in self-pity over his hormonal deficiencies; he must turn his self-pity into self-esteem by providing vivid historical models against which data can be checked. The restoration of the caterpillar's self-esteem will come when he takes the leap of faith, as have many scientists before him, and devises new ways to synthesize his data. If he keeps his head perennially buried in the cabbage patch, he will not even be able to distinguish the cabbage from the patch. But if he formulates conclusions that are based on his own experiences with the sources, his positivistic self-consciousness will help to revitalize himself and other caterpillars as well. The caterpillar side of a pre-modernist acts as a super-ego. We need some better ways to free his conscience so that he can attend to the larger calling of serving the cause of history at large, not just the particular subfield in which he works. Likewise, the butterfly will fly free only when he is free of prefigurations in his survey of the sources. The butterfly can invent flight patterns for himself and thus provide new meaning and insights into historical descriptions, as well as enlighten a general public that associates Cyril and Methodius more with the church in the land of *The Deerhunter* than with the locale in which the "apostles to the Slavs" lived.

We believe that there are serious, potentially tragic consequences emerging from the "two varieties" attitude in our field. Historians of the pre-modern Slavic world have isolated themselves from one another. Cliques have formed that attack one another rather than engage in constructive criticism and mutual support. The leaders of these cliques may have legitimate claim to esoteric knowledge in a distinct sub-speciality within a field, but they tend to use this claim for destructive purposes. Like petty princes they engage in turf wars for the priority of their own *idées fixes*, and in the name of scholarship they destroy careers and thwart creativity. Members of these cliques are "creepy" caterpillars who exploit overspecialization as an excuse for both self-aggrandizement and undue isolation. Ševčenko argues that "the tragedy of the modern technical historian is that the age of positivistic innocence is gone" (p. 339). Also gone is the age of scientistic exploration of the field by a number of autistic scholars. But, we would argue, this transition can be beneficial insofar as scholars transcend their sub-disciplinary specialities and the disciplines themselves and search for new ways to draw the field of early Slavic studies together. We suggest that it is particularly the responsibility of the senior members of our field to create new paradigms and hypotheses, to fly as butterflies unbound by the traditional views. We need, as it were, a Cambridge history of the early Slavic world that

takes into consideration the painstaking hours historians in both the Soviet Union and the West have spent accumulating data, often while they were losing sight of any larger purpose. Solov'ev provided the paradigm for historians of the early modern Slavic political world, as Father Dvornik did for historians of the earlier Slavic cultural world. It is now time for others of their caliber to do the same for the new generations, to develop overviews that embrace all disciplines and that challenge all schools to rethink their "correspondences" and "coherences."

Some senior scholars — both in the West and in the Soviet Union — have tried, of course, and been discouraged and disparaged. They must keep trying. Others must join them. If some senior scholars remain unwilling to compose new overviews, at least they can improve upon traditional paradigms and can challenge their students to do the same. It is up to the senior members of our field to exercise leadership in the effort to blend the search for paradigms with the investigation of the sources themselves.

Fifteen years ago Professor Ševčenko claimed that all in the house of history will be saved, but in his Manichean world there is a danger that while dwelling in the same abode the two types will never even communicate, let alone be saved. The house needs to be repaired. Its foundations have become shaky. Its rooms have doors and windows jammed shut. Pre-modern Slavic history needs the architects who are willing and able to renovate the structure so that not only the historians but the house itself will be saved.

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The Style of Byzantine Popular Poetry: Recent Work

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There are two problems of style which have puzzled all those who have studied the vernacular poetry of late Byzantium, especially those who have tried to edit it. First, the poems are very repetitious, and phrase-patterns, hemistichs, complete lines and even sequences of lines may be found several times within the same poem; they may also be used, unchanged or only superficially modified, in others. Second, the textual traditions of those poems which survive in more than one manuscript show constant variation of the text in copying, and the idea of exact reproduction seems not to have been understood. We would like to include also a third stylistic problem which was much discussed in the decades around 1900 but has been less prominent recently: the mixed language of these texts, where it seems that the poets are able to choose noun- and verb-terminations from almost the whole range of the Greek language, from strict Atticism to the vernacular of their day, and to use them on all nouns and verbs — ancient, medieval and modern — side-by-side in the same lines.

Among recent approaches to these problems, Giuseppe Spadaro has sought, in a long series of articles, to show that many of these works were written by a school of mediocre poets who read, reread, and plagiarised each other's writings, in default of real poetic inspiration.[1] Manolis Chatziyakoumis has produced impressive evidence of an attempt to rewrite some of the poems around the year 1500 in a more popular

[1] G. Spadaro, "Problemi relativi ai romanzi greci dell'età dei Paleologi I: Rapporti tra Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρόνα e Φλόριος καὶ Πλατζιαφλόρε," Ἑλληνικά 28 (1975): 302-327 (= Spadaro I); idem, "Problemi... II: Rapporti tra la Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, la Διήγησις τοῦ Βελισαρίου e Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρόνα," Ἑλληνικά 29 (1976): 278-310 (= Spadaro II); idem, "Problemi... III: *Achilleide*, Georgillàs, *Callimaco*, *Beltandro*, *Libistro*, *Florio*, *Imberio* e Διήγησις γεναμένη ἐν Τροίᾳ," Ἑλληνικά 30 (1977-78): 223-279 (= Spadaro III); idem. "Sul Teseida Neogreco," *Folia Neohellenica* 2 (1977): 157-160 (= Spadaro IV); idem, "L'inedito Polemos tis Troados e l'Achilleide," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (= *BZ*), 71 (1978): 1-9 (= Spadaro V); idem, "Spaneas e Glikas: Note Filologiche," Δίπτυχα 1 (1979): 282-290.

style.[2] D. Michailidis has stressed the influence in these matters of the individual copyists.[3] There has been much discussion of a proposal by Gareth Morgan that the Escorial text of *Digenis Akritas* is the aide-mémoire of an oral bard, and has thus in some way been distorted by the pressures of oral performance:[4] this idea was taken up by Linos Politis[5] and accepted quite broadly, but has recently been subjected to several strong attacks. Finally, there have been attempts to approach the problems by a more systematic application of the comparative methods of oral poetry, stemming from the initial proposals of Albert Lord and Constantine Trypanis.[6] Hans Eideneier has examined the influence of oral transmission in the textual history of the animal poems;[7] Roderick Beaton has found oral influence of a limited kind in the surviving texts of *Digenis Akritas*;[8] the writers of the present article have been responsible for a comprehensive attempt to explain all the above problems by the hypothesis of a continuous oral tradition, influencing both the composition and textual transmission of the poems;[9] an early stage of this last proposal was carefully criticised by Andras Mohay.[10]

[2] M. K. Chatziyakoumis, Τὰ μεσαιωνικὰ δημώδη κείμενα: Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη καὶ στὴν ἔκδοσή τους (Athens, 1977).

[3] D. Michailidis, "Palamedes Rediens: La Fortuna di Palamede nel Medioevo Ellenico," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 8-9 [XVIII-XIX] (1971-72): 261-280.

[4] G. Morgan, "Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration," Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 14 (1960): 44-68.

[5] L. Politis, "L'épopée byzantine de Digenis Akritas: Problèmes de la tradition du texte et des rapports avec les chansons akritiques," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: La poesia epica e la sua formazione, 1969* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, 1970), pp. 551-581.

[6] A. B. Lord, "Notes on Digenis Akritas and Serbocroatian Epic," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 375-383; idem, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 207-220; C. A. Trypanis, "Byzantine Oral Poetry," *BZ* 56 (1963): 1-3.

[7] H. Eideneier, "Zum Stil der byzantinischen Tierdichtung," communication read at the XVI International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Vienna, 1981 (*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32, no. 3 [1982]: 301-306). We should like to thank Professor Eideneier for providing us with a copy of this communication.

[8] R. Beaton, "Was Digenis Akrites an Oral Poem?," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (= *BMGS*), 7 (1981): 7-27; idem, "'Digenis Akrites' and Modern Greek Folk Song: A Reassessment," *Byzantion* 51 (1981): 22-43.

[9] E. M. Jeffreys and M. J. Jeffreys, "Imberios and Margarona: The Manuscripts, Sources and Edition of a Byzantine Verse Romance," *Byzantion* 41 (1971): 122-160; eidem, "The Traditional Style of Early Demotic Greek Verse," *BMGS* 5 (1979): 115-139; M. J. Jeffreys, "Formulas in the Chronicle of the Morea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 27 (1973): 164-195; idem, "The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek," *Mosaic* (Manitoba), 8 (1974): 169-193; idem, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse," *DOP* 28 (1974): 141-196.

[10] A. Mohay, "Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Acta Classica* (Debrecen), 10-11 (1974-75): 175-182.

These varied efforts have taken place with little mutual communication and in some cases without reference to the published conclusions of other scholars. Criticism of opposing views has often been brief and dismissive, without a serious attempt to discuss them in their own terms and to evaluate them fairly. This tendency is only partially justified by the immense labour required to collect evidence in support of most of the proposals mentioned above, which must be matched by similar or even greater efforts from those who hope to test or refute them. We feel that it is time to collect together the various proposals which have been made and to attempt a preliminary evaluation.[11] Greatest emphasis will naturally be placed on the ideas which are most wide-ranging and elaborated at greatest length, though due weight must be given to other work wherever possible. We hope that Ihor Ševčenko, whose profound knowledge of the styles of Byzantine literature is only the most important facet of a lifelong devotion to style of every kind, will find something appropriate in the subject of this offering.

* * *

Let us begin with the best-defined of our three problems, that of the textual transmission of the poems which survive in two or more manuscripts. It will be necessary to divide the discussion into two parts, according to the number and scale of the changes made by the copyists in the models before them.

First, there are a few cases of manuscripts which may only be described as complete reworkings of the texts they include, with particular emphasis on simplification of language. One thinks particularly of the Escorial manuscript Sc. Gr. Ψ 4.22 as studied in relation to *Libistros and Rhodamne* and *Digenis Akritas*, and of the London manuscript BM add. 8241 of the *Achilleis*. Chatziyakoumis uses these as evidence for his suggestion of a popularising movement in the decades around 1500, which not only led to the writing of most of our surviving manuscripts, but also found their linguistic form too learned, and in some cases proceeded to simplify it. He points out that this simplification frequently breaks the decapentasyllable, adding or subtracting syllables from the basic fifteen, in ways which often cannot be corrected by normal editorial

[11] The comments made by E. M. Jeffreys ("The Popular Byzantine Verse Romances of Chivalry: Work done since 1971," *Mantatoforos* 14 [1979]: 20-34; "The Later Greek Verse Romances: A Survey," *Byzantine Papers*, ed. E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt [Canberra, 1981], pp. 116-127) are too brief to be satisfactory.

practice. In fact, as he says, great care is needed in such cases if an editor is to combine the reworked manuscript with other, more regular versions in the reconstruction of a common archetype. It is hard to avoid stylistic unevenness. At the same time the reworked text is worth publishing in its own right, with due respect for its language and its metrical irregularities. Chatziyakoumis suggestively links these signs of metrical collapse to later tendencies to rhyme these poems (*Imberios and Margarona*, *Digenis*) or even to write them as prose (*Digenis*).[12]

One of these reworked texts, the Escorial *Digenis*, has examples of two kinds of "error" which led Morgan to propose an interesting theory about its origin. There are, as we have said, many hypermetric lines, mostly with more than fifteen syllables. In a significant minority of these cases, an editor may "heal" the metre by removing either an intrusive vocative or a strangely repeated group of syllables, which reminded one commentator of a record with the needle stuck in one groove.[13] Both these features are to some extent reminiscent of the performance of modern Greek folk-song: therefore Morgan suggested that this manuscript had been written down in some way which retained from an oral performance of the poem elements which conventionally are edited out of all written versions of Greek oral material. From this observation it was a short step to the suggestion that the original from which *Digenis* E was copied was a kind of aide-mémoire for an oral bard. Linguistic features suggested that he was singing in Crete.[14]

Morgan's suggestion, after a period of neglect, was accepted by Politis and subsequently taken up by a number of others.[15] It has recently, however, been decisively rejected by Karayanni, Chatziyakoumis, and Alexiou.[16] Their reasons seem to fall into two groups: first, that it is most unlikely that performance features of folk-song should have been recorded in a text; second, that the extra syllables noted by Morgan do not in fact represent likely performance features of Cretan folk-song in the fifteenth century. It is perhaps worth remarking, however, that the

[12] Chatziyakoumis, Τὰ μεσαιωνικὰ δημώδη κείμενα (as in fn. 2), p. 248.

[13] D. C. Hesseling, "Le roman de Digenis Akritas d'après le manuscrit de Madrid," Λαογραφία 3 (1912): 540—cited by Politis, "L'épopée byzantine," (as in fn. 5), p. 570.

[14] Morgan, "Cretan Poetry" (as in fn. 4).

[15] Politis, "L'épopée byzantine" (as in fn. 5), pp. 569-571; C. A. Trypanis, review of E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites* (Vienna, 1971), in *Gnomon* 45 (1973): 615; M. J. Jeffreys, "Literary Emergence" (as in fn. 9), p. 183.

[16] I. Karayanni, Ὁ "Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας" τοῦ Ἐσκόριαλ: Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ κειμένου (Ioannina, 1976), pp. 133-147; Chatziyakoumis, Τὰ μεσαιωνικὰ δημώδη κείμενα (as in fn. 2), pp. 248-9; S. Alexiou, Ἀκριτικά (Iraklio, 1979), pp. 38-40.

critics of Morgan's position have not agreed on an alternative explanation for the hypermetric lines.[17] We should like to reserve judgement on this issue, till it has been further discussed by those more expert than ourselves in the history of the performance of Greek folk-song.

We shall return later to this small class of manuscripts which are complete reworkings of the texts they contain. It is now time to discuss the remaining manuscripts of vernacular poetry, which form a second, much larger class, allowing less radical changes from the prototype. An excellent example is to be seen in Schmitt's text of the *Chronicle of the Morea.*[18] Apart from infrequent lacunas, manuscripts H and P, edited in parallel on facing pages, show substantial uniformity in the general structure of the work and the order of events. Usually each line in one text may be convincingly paralleled to an equivalent line of similar shape in the other—unlike the serious variants visible, for example, in Lambert's edition of *Libistros and Rhodamne*,[19] where the reworked manuscript E is edited in parallel with more conventional manuscripts. However, when one examines the equivalent lines in Schmitt's edition, it is rare to find them identical. There are constant changes in detail—in the forms of proper names, in the cases of nouns and tenses of verbs, in the omission or substitution of short words like adverbs and prepositions, and in word-order. Less often, one half-line or full-line cliché may be substituted for another.

It is important to examine these changes without preconceptions derived from the connotations of the words "copy" and "copyist," and from the methods of the scribes who preserved classical texts. It is apparent from the most cursory examination of the textual variants of the vernacular manuscripts that they were not "accurate" copies more or less spoiled by "errors." There is no sign that any of the copyists of these texts was aiming at word-by-word and letter-by-letter reproduction of the lines before him, or that he would even have understood the meaning of that phrase. The rule was variation, and the identical copy was an exception, or perhaps a lucky accident.[20] To express more exactly the

[17] To the authors cited in the previous note, add R. Beaton, "Was Digenis Akrites an Oral Poem?" (as in fn. 8), pp. 22-23, and idem, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 78-86.

[18] J. Schmitt, ed., *The Chronicle of the Morea* (London, 1904; reprinted 1967).

[19] J. A. Lambert, ed., *Le Roman de Libistros et Rhodamné* (Amsterdam, 1935).

[20] See the discussion in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung*, vol. I (Zurich, 1961), especially H.-G. Beck, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur," pp. 470-493; we propose to return to this question in the future.

cultural dynamics of the situation as we interpret it, we may say that the copyist's duty demanded accurate reflection of the general sense of the source text, but that at the level of the individual word or termination the pressures for exact reproduction were so weak that they rarely succeeded. In spite of this, we have a feeling that the copyists will have felt that they were doing their job conscientiously, even in passages where a modern textual critic is able to find a significant change or two in every line. In other words, the concept of accuracy in a vernacular Greek manuscript copy of this period did not extend to reverence for its every word. The content was to be preserved, but the linguistic form was fluid. We shall have to seek a reason why copyists made a distinction here between manuscripts of vernacular verse and those at more formal levels of Greek.

In such a situation, we must take obvious precautions in cases where one scribe has copied more than one of these poems. It is possible that common features shared by such texts should not be ascribed to the creative phase of their composition, but to the more mechanical phase of subsequent textual transmission. This is the principle used by Michailidis to explain the material from other texts found in the long addition at the end of the *Achilleis* in the Naples manuscript Neap.Gr. III B 27, lines 1759-1820.[21] His arguments are careful and persuasive, though limited in application, as Spadaro points out, by the fact that the interpolated *Achilleis* is the first of the relevant texts to have been copied into the Naples manuscript. Thus, if the interpolation is due to the scribe of that manuscript, his knowledge of the other texts involved is likely to have been gained in a preliminary reading rather than in the process of copying them, leaving a situation identical in principle with the conventional plagiarism described by Spadaro.[22] As for the fundamental question whether the *Achilleis* addition derives from the texts with which it shares lines (Michailidis), or has served as their source (Spadaro), we feel that neither case is as yet fully convincing. We shall develop later in this paper a line of argument which will tend to raise the level of proof demanded from those who seek to show the influence of one text on another, beyond, in our opinion, the levels so far reached in this case. We do not yet feel that this difficult problem has found a solution.

[21] Michailidis, "Palamedes Rediens" (as in fn. 3), p. 274, building on the proposals of H. Schreiner, "Die einleitenden Überschriften zu den von der gleichen Hand überlieferten Texten in Cod. Neap. Gr. III AA. 9 und Cod. Neap. Gr. III B 27," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966): 290-320.

[22] Spadaro, III: 276, fn. 1.

Michailidis's general principle, however, of allowing for the influence of copyists, must be borne in mind through all our discussions.

But so far our examination of textual traditions has been carried on in completely literate terms, on the assumption that every new manuscript was produced by a scribe who read a previous text on the desk before him and wrote it out. This is an assumption not shared by all scholars who have dealt with this subject—like Morgan, whose theories on *Digenis* E we have discussed. Trypanis, for example, in his review of Trapp's edition of *Digenis*, suggests that each of the manuscripts of that poem is a separate recording from oral tradition.[23] Eideneier, in his recent examination of the style of the animal poems, connects their manuscript variations closely with oral pressures, particularly those of oral performance: "Es spricht einiges dafür, daß die uns vorliegenden Dichtungen der byzantinischen Volksliteratur Niederschriften von für den mündlichen Vortrag konzipierten Werken sind. Nur so scheinen mir die zahlreichen Abweichungen und sinnvollen Varianten innerhalb der einzelnen Handschriften des gleichen Werks erklärbar zu sein."[24]

Beaton makes a distinction between the oral processes of composition, performance, and transmission, and issues salutory warnings to those who would follow Lord in assuming that all three are automatically present in cases where there is evidence for the existence of one. With careful qualifications of this kind he discusses the influence of the oral dimension in the history of the text of *Digenis*. He finds "evidence for oral composition, performance and transmission (although not simultaneously) alongside the manuscript tradition at almost all its known stages."[25] In more detail: "No version of *Digenis* shows convincing signs that it is the product of composition in performance. Composition by theme and a varying degree of formulaic stylisation in all three versions [G, E and A, those which Beaton analyses] suggest oral composition at an earlier stage. Two versions (G and E) seem to have been intended for oral presentation, while E and A (both relatively late in the poem's transmission) reveal the influence of contemporary oral folk poetry. Finally, the integral but inconsistent use of formulas and systems in E and A may imply the influence of orally transmitted versions."[26]

Both the animal poems and *Digenis* are, in our view, atypical of the vernacular texts we are examining. The former, as Eideneier explains,

[23] Trypanis, review of Trapp (as in fn. 15), pp. 614-17.
[24] Eideneier, "Zum Stil" (as in fn. 7), p. 305.
[25] Beaton, "Was Digenis Akrites an Oral Poem?" (as in fn. 8), p. 27.
[26] Beaton, "Was Digenis Akrites an Oral Poem?," p. 16.

contain few verbal repetitions, and are tightly structured by the contrast of speech and counter-speech between the different animals and birds which are their characters. Even within the speeches a regular pattern may be observed. These formal characteristics — together with the lack of repetitious evidence — caused us to omit these poems from our own investigations. It is interesting that Eideneier finds so much oral influence in such unpromising material. As for *Digenis*, it is bitterly disappointing that a text which has more epic characteristics than any other in this genre of literature should refuse so stubbornly to be categorised as the Modern Greek *Iliad* or *Roland*. Our view on its textual history is very similar to Beaton's. We feel sure that oral composition, performance, and transmission have all had a part to play, but are equally certain that the links between the surviving texts — with the exception, perhaps, of the genesis of the Escorial manuscript's exemplar — should be expressed exclusively in terms of written manuscripts. The only unconventional element is the compilation which produced manuscript Z, on which we have spoken at length elsewhere.[27]

In an article written a decade or more ago, we, too, argued for oral influence — in this case, in the textual history of *Imberios and Margarona*, operating though the faulty memories of "minstrels" who learned the text by heart for their performances, and later wrote it down without reference to a written original.[28] We would no longer give the same emphasis to this suggestion as we did in 1971, but would restrict the influence of memorisation to a possible role in reworked texts like those in Sc.Gr. Ψ 4.22. We no longer believe that it was important in the textual history of *Imberios*. Our minds have been changed by editing the huge romance, the *War of Troy*, which has five major manuscripts and two substantial fragments. Its more than 14,000 lines are a fairly close translation from the French *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Ste. Maure, and can only result from a single act of translation made in a purely literary way from text to text. All seven Greek manuscripts show variations among themselves and from the reconstructed original version, variations of the same order as those described above between manuscripts H and P of the *Chronicle of the Morea*. Yet repeated discussions during the reconstruction of more than 14,000 lines have thrown up no evidence against the assumption of a purely textual tradition, with a relationship which may be expressed in a *stemma*

[27] M. J. Jeffreys, "Digenis Akritas Manuscript Z," *Dodone* 4 (1978): 163-201.
[28] Jeffreys and Jeffreys, "Imberios and Margarona" (as in fn. 9).

codicum, with the help of the unusual insights provided by the existence of the French original.[29] The similarity between the manuscripts in the overall structure and arrangement of so many lines makes it unlikely, in our view, that any manuscript was written from memory. The changes are nearly all on a small scale. We would attribute them to a tradition of copying within a psychological framework based on oral modes of thought, like that we have described, with little emphasis on verbal accuracy in copying.

Additional support for this view may be found in the nature of manuscript A of the *War of Troy* (Coislin 344). This is perhaps the oldest of the extant witnesses to the text (dated around 1450), and at times it is the most correct and reliable of the manuscripts, apparently copying a good exemplar with reasonable fidelity. At other times the same copyist seems to tire of his mechanical task and allows his poetic inspiration to take over. As a result, for several lengthy passages, A's relation to the archetype (as reconstructed from the other manuscripts) is extremely loose. After these adventures, however, it returns to a position of faithfulness. We have found ourselves speculating about the length of the copyist's working day, and whether his poetic talent is set off by hunger or indigestion! This manuscript is worth a more detailed study, as a useful insight into the mentality of copyists of vernacular texts.

We may give here only a provisional solution to the contradictions of Coislin 344 and the more general puzzle mentioned above as to why the copyists follow different tactics in vernacular manuscripts from those appropriate to more formal texts. In the first place, it seems reasonable to assume that the more formal language acted as a distancing factor, discouraging personal interventions by the scribe, while the vernacular encouraged them. Secondly, we shall try in the rest of this paper to show that the fifteen-syllable verse and the vernacular level of the language were used together in oral verse of the time, which has left only indirect signs of its existence. We believe that most of the copyists of vernacular manuscripts would regularly hear (if they did not sing themselves) poetic works of some length in the language, metre, and style of the poems they were asked to copy. These works, like oral poetry in most societies, will not have had a fixed text, in the sense that literary poetry has a fixed,

[29] E. M. Jeffreys, "The Manuscripts and Sources of the War of Troy," in *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 1971*, vol. 3 (Bucarest, 1976), pp. 91-94; Jeffreys and Jeffreys, "The Traditional Style" (as in fn. 9). The edition of the text by E. M. Jeffreys and M. Papathomopoulos has long been on the verge of completion; it is due to appear in the series Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη.

written or printed text. The poets, relying on their memory or even recreating the songs at each performance in the way described by Lord for Yugoslavia, would have aimed at accurate repetition in each performance.[30] Doubtless they would have felt that they had succeeded if the changes in their oral versions were of the same order as those we have observed in the textual transmission of the vernacular texts. We would link these two kinds of variation closely together: we think that the copyists, in recognising that the texts before them had many features of their current oral poetic tradition, allowed the standards of their copying to be influenced by the fluid oral standards of that tradition. They read a few lines and then wrote them out, using the same mixture of memory and re-creation as the oral poets—an oral variant, if you wish, of the theory of "inner dictation."

* * *

However, in talking about oral vernacular fifteen-syllable verse and its influence on the textual transmission of the poems under consideration we are anticipating our discussion of the remaining two problems which were announced as the subject of this paper, those of the repetitious nature of the poems and of their mixed language. Let us begin with repetition: why do these works repeat so many of their lines and half-lines, both within each poem and from one poem to another? Since this problem is most commonly examined in terms of the influence of one text on another, it will be useful to begin with some definition of the possibilities of relationship between two of these poems.

Let us assume that two of the popular romances, A and B, have some striking verbal similarities. How could they have come about? Within the framework of Byzantine vernacular poetry, what are the possible conclusions which may be drawn?

(1) The similarities are due to chance, to the constraints of the decapentasyllable, to the nature of the Greek language, or to the fortuitous choice of a similar story-pattern. A and B are in fact quite independent of each other.

(2) The similarities were not original features of both works, but were introduced (into one or both) by a copyist who transcribed them both, making changes within the psychological framework discussed above. A and B were originally independent texts.

[30] There is a large bibliography on this topic; a useful orientation can be found in R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry* (Cambridge, 1977), especially pp. 139-153.

(3) The similarities are the result of plagiarism. A copied B, B copied A, or A and B were both copied from a third text or group of texts.

(4) The similarities are drawn from, or modelled on, a common stock of formulaic phrases, like, for example, those of the Homeric poems or the *chansons de geste*, phrases of the type πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς or *le cheval brochet*.[31] These do not mark dependence of A on B or B on A, but merely show that both use traditional phrase-patterns which must in some way be derived from an oral tradition.

(5) A combination of (3) and (4), perhaps with some influence from (2) also. The similarities are, in their majority, formulaic in the sense mentioned in (4), but in some cases they are so unusual and numerous, concentrated perhaps in similar areas of A and B, that the theory of derivation from the same formulaic tradition does not suffice to explain them. They must have closer links. This may simply imply that A and B were written in the same area and at the same time, or it may mean that they had the same author, or it may be a case of plagiarism as in (3). But in view of the formulaic nature of A and B as a whole, more striking proof of such closer links must be demanded here than in the case of poems which are not formulaic. Care must also be taken to allow for factor (2), which may distort the evidence.

This list marks the point of sharpest dissension in this area of study. The papers of Giuseppe Spadaro are written to prove position (3), whilst those of the present writers are in favour of position (4). We hope, however, that this dissension will prove to be more apparent than real. In each of Spadaro's main articles there are some qualifications which we read as implying a limited acceptance of (4), moving in the direction of (5). Our studies, on the other hand, have so far concentrated on the *Chronicle of the Morea* and the *War of Troy*, single poems which hold a rather isolated position in this genre. When dealing with the mutual relationships of the shorter romances, we too must shift our emphasis from (4) to (5). Let us examine the two positions, beginning from that of Spadaro.

His most effective line of argument is one which owes much to the work of E. Kriaras.[32] It involves three texts in each case: one of the

[31] M. Parry, "The Traditional Epithet in Homer," in *The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. A. Parry (Oxford, 1971), pp. 51-52; J. J. Duggan, *A Concordance to the Chanson de Roland* (Columbus, Ohio, 1969), pp. 52-53.

[32] E. Kriaras, "Die zeitliche Einreihung des 'Phlorios und Platzia-Phlora'-Romans im Hinblick auf die 'Imberios und Margarona'-Roman," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München, 1958* (Munich, 1960), pp. 269-272.

Greek poems which is a version of a western original, the French or Italian original itself, and a second Greek poem which has taken over a phrase from the first. His first and best example uses *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, its Greek version the romance of *Florios and Platziaflora*, and another Greek romance *Imberios and Margarona*.[33] We shall quote the lines which give the core of Spadaro's evidence:

Quando l'avrai tu non porai morire
in fuoco, nè in aqua, nè in bataglia (*Cantare*, stanza 91).

καὶ ὡς ὅτου νὰ ἔχῃς μετὰ σὲν τοῦτο τὸ δακτυλίδιν,
ποτὲ θανάτου συμφοράν, ποτὲ μηδὲν φοβᾶσαι,
οὐδὲ ἱστιάν, οὐδὲ νερόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπὸ ξίφος (*Florios*, 1193-95)

There is a strong presumption here that the sequence "fuoco ... aqua ... bataglia" of the *Cantare* has caused the Greek ἱστιάν ... νερόν ... ξίφος. This Greek line is then used elsewhere:

καὶ ὥστε τὸ ἐγκόλπιον βαστᾶς το μετ' ἐσένα,
ποτὲ θανάτου συμφοράν, ποτὲ μηδὲν φοβᾶσαι·
οὐδὲ κοντάριν δύναται ποσῶς νὰ σὲ φονεύσῃ,
οὐδὲ ἱστία, οὐδὲ νερόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπὸ ξίφους (*Imberios*, 230-33)

The Greek passages have, in fact, two substantially identical lines in common: the first, *Florios* 1194 = *Imberios* 231, is of some use as evidence for plagiarism, but it is not really convincing. In the first place, there is little proof that *Florios* 1194 was first produced as a response to the *Cantare*. It could easily have been part of the Greek poet's stock of formulas, his closest way of rendering the "tu non porai morire" of his original. Second, there is good evidence that the second hemistich, at least, was a cliché. Spadaro quotes a *varia lectio* in the *Florios* text which is much closer to the wording of the *Cantare*, but this does not help his case, since this other reading is not taken up in *Imberios*, nor anywhere else, to our knowledge.[34]

The second similar line, however, *Florios* 1195 = *Imberios* 233, is much sounder evidence. It is possible, of course, that it, too, was part of the formulaic stock, but little support may be found for this hypothesis. It seems much more likely that the Greek line was created in the translation from the *Cantare* to *Florios*, and taken from there for use in *Imberios* 233. This one line comes close to providing a formal proof of Spadaro's theory that the *Imberios* poet had plagiarised *Florios*. If we

[33] Spadaro, I: 307-309, where full bibliographical details for the works cited are given.
[34] Spadaro, I: 308-309: *Phl.* 1194 ποτὲ μηδὲν φοβᾶσαι (Kriaras): υἱὲ νὰ μὴ ἀποθάνῃς L ποτὲ μὴν ἀποθάνῃς V.

wished to reject this evidence, we could suggest that, by coincidence, the Italian poet of the *Cantare* had used a phrase which would slip directly into a pre-extant formula in Greek, which happens to have been preserved in the manuscripts only twice, in the passages quoted here. We should not, however, expect many people to be convinced by such an explanation if it had to be repeated several times.

But Spadaro's evidence does not force us to assume more than one coincidence of this difficult sort. He uses this pattern of argument on about a score of other occasions, but none of the other examples is as clear and convincing as this. In no case is there any doubt that the Italian or French phrase of the original has triggered the Greek phrase which Spadaro cites from the translation. But nowhere can a convincing case be made that the Greek phrase *must* have been put together at the moment of translation, that the original has compelled the wording of the Greek line, as in the sequence "fire ... water ... battle" examined above. In view of the importance of this argument, we should like to give a list of the key phrases of the original and the translation in all Spadaro's examples of this kind. They are often put in italics by Spadaro to pick them out from the longer but much less significant evidence which he gives surrounding them. This supporting material is omitted here for reasons of space, as are quotations from the second Greek text (*Imberios* or the *Achilleis*) which, Spadaro claims, is plagiarising the translated phrases which we cite. Greek phrases not taken up by this other Greek text, and therefore irrelevant to the argument, are also omitted or put in brackets:[35]

con molti cavaleri in sua compagnya
e del povol menava sì gran gente (*Cantare*, stanza 5)

πλῆθος πολλῶν καβαλλαριῶν (ἔσυρεν συντροφία)
καὶ πεζικὸν ἀμέτρητον (ἐμπρός του μετ' ἐκείνων)
(*Florios*, 30-31, cf. *Imberios*, 783)

Le balie ... da lo re molto fono pregate
che molto ben li doveser servire (*Cantare*, stanza 13)

(τὲς βάγιες δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρακαλεῖ, προστάζει.
τὰ δύο βρέφη ἐξακριβῶς θηλάζειν καὶ φυλάττειν ...
νὰ τὰ φυλάττουν πάντοτε, καλῶς νὰ τὰ προσέχουν)
(*Florios*, 139-40, 142, cf. *Imberios*, 60-62)

We can see no point in this example, since Spadaro quotes no verbal repetition from one Greek text to another.

[35] The following passages are discussed at Spadaro, I: 309-312.

e per vedere istava una gran gente (*Cantare*, stanza 38)
τριγύρωθεν νὰ στέκεται λαὸς πολὺς νὰ βλέπῃ
(*Florios*, 548, cf. *Imberios*, 120)

un cavaliere è qui venuto (*Cantare*, stanza 45)
εἷς καβαλλάρης ἔφθασεν, ἦλθεν ἀπ' ἄλλον τόπον
(*Florios*, 616, cf. *Imberios*, 94)

o alto re di gloria ...
signiore, aiuta chi ha la ragione (*Cantare*, stanza 50)
Θεὲ πατέρων κύριε ... παντάναξ, παντοκράτορ ...
βοήθει τὸν ξενούτσικον ...
(*Florios*, 692-93, 699, cf. *Imberios*, 402-404)

farol risusitar se fosse morto (*Cantare*, stanza 58)
νεκρὸς ἂν ἦτον, πίστεψε, πάραυτα ν' ἀνασάνῃ
(*Florios*, 804, cf. *Imberios*, 474-75)[36]

or va, che Macometto sì ti vaglia (*Cantare*, stanza 91)
Ἄπελθε, τοίνυν, ἄπελθε, υἱέ, μὲ τὴν εὐχήν μου
καὶ ὁ Μαχουμέτης μετὰ σὲν (νὰ ἔναι πάντα, υἱέ μου,
νὰ σὲ βοηθῇ εἰς τὸν δρόμον σου,) νὰ σὲ κατευοδώνῃ
(*Florios*, 1157-59, cf. *Imberios*, 202-204)

E un mercatante in piè si fu levato (*Cantare*, 70)
Καὶ εἷς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἐκ τοὺς πραγματευτάδες,
στήκεται ὀρθὸς στοὺς πόδας του ...
(*Florios*, 944-45, cf. *Imberios*, 674)

Elsewhere, Spadaro seeks to use the connection between the *War of Troy* and its French original, the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Ste. Maure, to show that the former text was plagiarised in the writing of the *Achilleis*.[37]

Quant vint contre le tens novel,
que doucement chantent oisel
quel la flor pert e blanche e bele,
e l' erbe est vert, fresche e novele;
quant li vergier sont gent flori
e de lor fueilles revesti
l' aure douce vente soëf ... (*Roman de Troie*, 953-59)

[36] Spadaro (III: 248-49) claims that the phrase was copied into a third text. Could it not have been a formula?
[37] Spadaro, V: 1-8, and II: 294-95.

(ὅταν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ χειμῶν, κατέλαβεν τὸ ἔαρ,)
ὅταν τὰ ἀηδόνια κιλαδοῦν καὶ τὰ πουλιὰ λαλοῦσι,
ὅταν ἀθοῦσι τὰ φυτὰ καὶ θάλλουσι τὰ πάντα,
(τότε κινοῦνται οἱ ἄνεμοι πνέειν γαληνοτάτως
(*War of Troy*, 126-29, cf. *Achilleis* N, 733-42)

d'or e de pieres estelez (*Roman de Troie*, 6223)
λιθάρια πανυπέρλαμπρα μετὰ μαργαριτάρων
(*War of Troy*, 2535, cf. *Achilleis* N, 335-39)[38]

Peleüs fu uns riches reis,
mout proz, mout sages, mout corteis:
par Grece alot sa seignorie (*Roman de Troie*, 715-17)
Ἦν τις Ἑλλήνων βασιλεύς, εὐγενικός, ἀνδρεῖος,
πλούσιος καὶ πανευτυχής, χώρας τῆς Μυρμιδόνος
(*War of Troy*, 1-2, cf. *Achilleis* N, 20-21)

Jason oï la desfiance,
grant duel en ot e grant pesance (*Roman de Troie*, 1061-62)
(ταῦτα εὐθὺς ὡς ἤκουσε ὁ Ἰασοῦς ἐθλίβη)
καὶ ἠλλοιώθη ἡ ὄψις του ἀπὸ θυμοῦ μεγάλου
(*War of Troy*, 175-6, cf. *Achilleis* N, 1490)[39]

Hector ne muet ne ne chancele (*Roman de Troie*, 8343)
ποσῶς οὐδὲν τὸν ἔσεισεν αὐτὸν ἀπὲ τὴν σέλλαν
(*War of Troy*, 3408, cf. *Achilleis* N, 1474-75)[40]

E quant ço vint à l'ajornant:
"Dame," fait il (*Roman de Troie*, 1651-2)
αὐγίτσα ἐκατέλαβεν καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὴν κόρην
(*War of Troy*, 527, cf. *Achilleis* N, 1088)[41]

Sire, douz amis, sire chiers,
vaillanz sor trestoz chevaliers (*Roman de Troie*, 16377-78)
αὐθέντη μου ἀκριβέστατε, εὐγενικὲ στρατιῶτα,
ὅπου ἦσουν ἄνθος καὶ τιμὴ ὅλων τῶν ἀνδρειωμένων
(*War of Troy*, 7151-52, cf. *Achilleis* N, 452, 1546)

li vostre chevaliers ...
vos prie e requiert doucement
quel receveiz si ligement

[38] Note that the phrase which Spadaro suggests is being created in translation here also exists at *Bel.* 520[a], *W of T* 1797[b]. For the abbreviations used in these footnotes see fn. 65 below.
[39] Cf. *W of T* 9446[b].
[40] Cf. *W of T* 4722, 7029; 10719[a].
[41] Cf. *W of T* 900[a], 5685[a] etc.; *Ach.N.* 1370.

qu' al nul jor mais chose ne face
que vos griet ne que vos desplace (*Roman de Troie*, 1601-8)
(παρακαλῶ σας τὰ πολλὰ νὰ μοῦ δεχθῆς τὸν ὅρκον)
λίζιος σου νὰ γένωμαι ὅλος τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ σου
(*War of Troy*, 503-504, cf. *Achilleis* N, 265)

toz armez (*Roman de Troie*, 1739)
ἀρματωμένοι δυνατά (*War of Troy*, 579, cf. *Achilleis* N, 1217)[42]

e doucement lor dit e prie (*Roman de Troie*, 946)
ὅλους ἐπαρεκάλεσε μετὰ καλῆς καρδίας
(*War of Troy*, 124, cf. *Achilleis* N, 207, 466)[43]

c' une grant feste fist li reis ...
e quant ele ot duré set jorz (*Roman de Troie*, 800, 814)
ἑορτὴν λαμπρὰν ἐποῖσεν ...
ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐκράτησεν ἡ ἑορτὴ ἐκείνη
(*War of Troy*, 44, 50, cf. *Achilleis* N, 71, 1711)

Spadaro, who believes that a fuller text of the *Cantare* than we possess was available to the Greek translator of *Florios*,[44] is willing to use textual variants from any of that poem's manuscripts to support his case, on the grounds that any preserved reading could go back to this lost manuscript. He also uses manuscript variants from all the other texts involved, to make the similarities in some cases slightly closer than those we have given here. Even so, we feel that he fails to make his major point in any case after the first, which we discussed at length above. For the quotation of the French or Italian original to be useful in this argument, it is not enough to show that the Greek text is a faithful translation of it: it is necessary to convince the reader that the Greek phrase concerned is not a formulaic cliché, but a new phrase created for the purpose of the translation, and subsequently used in another text. Since we accept this evidence in only one case, for us the possibility of coincidence there remains open. While proof of the dependence of *Imberios* and *Florios* is almost, but not quite, complete, we do not think that Spadaro has proved in this way that the author of the *Achilleis* has drawn from the *War of Troy*.

Though Spadaro seems to give special weight to the examples we have discussed, the remainder of the evidence he quotes, which is in fact the greater part, has no reference to originals in West European

[42] Cf. *W of T* 3907[a], 9698[a] etc.
[43] Cf. *W of T* 410[b], 1760[b], 3108[b] etc.
[44] Spadaro, *Contributo sulle fonti del romanzo greco-medievale "Florio e Plaziaflora"* (Athens, 1966), p. 45, fn. 6, and I: 307-308, fn. 5.

languages. He provides long lists of parallels between the texts he is examining, ranging from passages of striking similarity down to some of the most common half-line clichés in this genre of literature. The position he is seeking to support, is quite plain from a number of passages: "E'evidente, infatti, che i poeti della letteratura greca medievale in lingua volgare si sentivano legati da uno stesso indirizzo poetico, appartenevano ad una stessa scuola poetica, per così dire, e quindi subivano, ovviamente, il fascino delle opere precedenti, alle quali spesso si ispiravano e dalle quali attingevano ... oltre che motivi, emistichi, versi interi, insomma tutto quel formulario che all' occorrenza utilizzavano con molta comodità e grande vantaggio, sebbene a scapito dell' originalità."[45]

Less clearly defined, however, are the positions which Spadaro is rejecting in his work. He points out several times that the parallels he lists cannot be the result of chance[46] — a judgement with which we can all agree. Sometimes he points out that a particular similarity cannot result from the work of a copyist[47] — and nobody, we think, would try to ascribe all these parallels to the copyists' interventions. Rather more common are references to oral poetry, bards, *loci communes*, and *luoghi comuni*.[48] But these references show, to our mind, a disappointing lack of information and understanding about the large volume of analysis of oral-formulaic poetry in ancient, medieval, and modern societies. It appears that all Spadaro's knowledge about these theories is derived from a few generalised comments of Hesseling and the more specific proposals of an introductory study of ours. Apart from the patient building up of his own position, his counter-arguments are largely restricted to phrases like "versi che non possono essere considerati luoghi comuni."[49] No attempt is made to define that term, or its relation to the specialised sense of "formula" in studies of oral-formulaic poetry.

However Spadaro defines *luoghi comuni*, not all the phrases on his lists are treated as decisively outside that definition. Some cause doubts: "Ed ecco un elenco di questi emistichi che pur presentandosi come luoghi comuni, possono non considerarsi come tali nel caso nostro,"[50] or "versi ... che potrebbero far pensare a luoghi comuni."[51] Other phrases are excluded from the status of evidence in support of plagiarism

[45] Spadaro, V: 9.
[46] Spadaro, I: 309; II: 308; III: 231-32.
[47] Spadaro, I: 313, fn. 5 and 325, fn. 1; II: 283; III: 259.
[48] E.g., Spadaro, I: 324; II: 297-98; III: 228-230.
[49] Spadaro, I: 313; II: 297.
[50] Spadaro, I: 325.
[51] Spadaro, III: 259-60.

because they are common to more than two poems of the group: "Ovviamente non può provare molto il fatto che ... si incontrano emistichi identici quali ...,"[52] or "E' naturale che questi [i rapporti esistenti tra *Libistro* e *Florio*] non si possono stabilire per il fatto che entrambe le opere presentano emistichi uguali, che si incontrano pure in altri testi, come ...."[53] Though Spadaro never says so, we can only assume that these are dangerously close to the definition of *luoghi comuni*. Finally there are categories of evidence which are explicitly mixed: "Non mancono, poi, emistichi che nella grande maggioranza dei casi prevengono sicuramente dall'imitazione dell'*Achilleide*—per taluni di essi, comuni ad altre opere, si possono avere dei dubbi ...,"[54] or "Si aggiungano a questi versi numerosi emistichi, identici o quasi, parecchi dei quali sembrano appartenere esclusivamente a queste due opere ...."[55] The looseness of these categories invites us to examine the lists for ourselves and to draw our own conclusions.

What in fact is the importance of phrases which occur in several of these poems? Once plagiarism between two specific texts has been proved, on the basis of material unique to those texts, is it useful to Spadaro's argument to round out the picture by adding long lists of phrases which might have been drawn from one to the other, but for which there are also several other preserved sources? To take a common phrase at random, ὡς ἔπρεπεν ἀξίως is found in two lists of hemistichs perhaps drawn by *Imberios* from *Florios* and *Belisarios*, and in two others of possible drawings by *Belisarios* and the Διήγησις γεναμένη ἐν Τροίᾳ from the *Achilleis*.[56] These lists are introduced by words which indicate different levels of reservation about the value of their evidence in establishing links between the two texts under discussion in each case. But the implication is always that the existence of these phrases gives support to Spadaro's case, even though that support may be weakened by the phrases' wide occurrence.

In fact, however, it must be borne in mind that Spadaro's case does not need defence against those who regard these parallel phrases as fortuitous. The most likely alternative view is that the phraseology of these texts derives from or is modelled on a common stock of formulas, available for use by all the poets and probably spread by oral verse which has left no other sign of its existence. Within this context ὡς ἔπρεπεν

[52] Spadaro, III: 229.
[53] Spadaro, III: 236.
[54] Spadaro, II: 289.
[55] Spadaro, III: 245.
[56] Spadaro, I: 325 and II: 297; II: 290 and III: 258, fn. 2.

ἀξίως and other similar phrases, found in several of the poems, may be used to support a dangerous argument against Spadaro's thesis. There are more than 50 hemistich phrases in this category, given on various lists in his articles.[57] He marks them as of restricted use in supporting his theory of plagiarism: in fact, their major significance is as the first stratum of evidence in favour of the alternative theory of oral-formulaic influence in this genre of poetry. There are a further 137 phrases included on lists of mixed evidence, referred to above, where he does not differentiate between material unique to the two texts he is discussing, and that which is found more widely.[58] Our examination of these lists, allowing for the unique phrases and for duplication, leaves another group of more than 50 hemistich phrases used in at least three separate poems. Even in Spadaro's work, therefore, we may find more than 100 phrases which would be called *luoghi comuni* in Spadaro's terms and formulae in ours.

We have now discussed two major classes of Spadaro's evidence: that which uses quotations from French or Italian source-texts, and that which relies on phrases found in several poems, whose value as evidence for his case Spadaro himself doubts. We have found that the first class — apart from one phrase which might be a coincidence — has no greater weight as evidence than parallels based on similarities between the Greek texts only. The second class forms in fact a good argument against Spadaro's position on its most exposed flank. But a large proportion of the evidence has yet to be reviewed — not forgetting the first of the two categories just mentioned, whose importance has been reduced but certainly not negated.

Our greatest criticism of Spadaro's work is that it does not present enough evidence. It may seem strange to make such a complaint over a series of six studies covering more than 130 pages and largely made up of long lists of parallel lines, sometimes presented as bare tables, sometimes with analysis and explanation in the text. The problem is that the large volume of evidence provided gives the impression that it covers all the common material in this genre of literature, whereas in fact it represents only a small fraction. Why is this a significant fault? We must remember that the main argument lies between Spadaro's claim that there is enough evidence of parallelism between texts to prove plagiarism, and the counter-claims of the supporters of the oral-formulaic methodology, who maintain that there is too much evidence of parallelism for us to accept plagiarism as the most important — let alone the only — explana-

[57] Spadaro, I: 325-26; III: 228, 231, fn. 2, 234, 236-37, 262, fn. 1.

[58] Spadaro, II: 289-90, 297, 308-309; III: 229, 245-46, 251, 258-59.

tion. We would say that there is so much common material in these texts that we must conclude that most of it derives, directly or indirectly, from a common pool of formulae, which can only have been carried in oral tradition.

Part of our complaint concerns the form in which evidence is reported in Spadaro's articles. After the first of his Studi, which is a meticulous piece of work with references and cross-references far and wide in Byzantine vernacular poetry, he restricts himself to a series of comparisons of one text with another, giving few references outside the two texts being compared or cross-references from one comparison to another. He gives an impression of being overwhelmed by the mass of material. As a result, a phrase like ὡς ἔπρεπεν ἀξίως, as reported above, may be used to swell five lists of parallels between a succession of pairs of texts, while only the most attentive reader will observe that strong evidence is building up that this phrase was a formulaic cliché. Other examples, chosen at random, include the less common phrase ὥρα μεσονυκτίου,[59] used in three lists with some discussion in the text, and ὁ (καὶ) μέγας τροπαιοῦχος, found in four lists.[60] Similar problems exist for most of the hundred phrases in his articles which we would claim as formulas on the basis of evidence he supplies. That evidence is not given in a form which permits the reader to compare Spadaro's position with its most likely competitor. At the same time relevant evidence is ignored if it comes from texts outside the group of ten or a dozen poems which he has chosen to compare — even from the *Chronicle of the Morea*, which Spadaro has studied exhaustively in previous work.

But the most serious reason for the incompleteness of the evidence is Spadaro's neglect of the internal repetitions within each poem. Frequently, in comparing our files of repetitions with those given in Spadaro's lists, we find that he has compared one half-line in one poem to one in another, in cases where there may, in fact, be three examples in one of the poems. It is plain that Spadaro does not think it relevant to his purpose to note this fact, since he is dealing with the relationship between texts, not with the style of each text individually. But he gives his conclusions in these terms: "Mi fermo brevemente su alcuni di essi, per poi esaminare sin da principio tutte le affinità, somiglianze e corrispondenze esistenti tra le due opere che fanno escludere nel modo più assoluto la teoria dei luoghi comuni...,"[61] and "Nessuno, credo, può mettere in dubbio che talune affinità e somiglianze ... sono dovute

59 Spadaro, II: 289 (discussion), 290; III: 229, 246.
60 Spadaro, II: 290; III: 227, fn. 2 (on 228), 244, 256.
61 Spadaro, II: 297-98.

a semplice imitazione e ritengo che sia da escludere nel modo più categorico l'ipotesi dei luoghi comuni o dell'influsso della poesia orale per spiegarle."[62] How can such firm statements be made without attempting a definition of *luoghi comuni*, or an examination of repeated phrases, except where they happen to be found in different texts?

As an indication of the incompleteness of Spadaro's evidence against the oral-formulaic theory, we have turned to *Imberios*, the text most discussed in his articles, and to one of the passages whose parallels are most completely covered in his work (Table 1).[63] Even here there are a number of repetitions, both internal to *Imberios* and from other poems of the genre, which he has not found it relevant to include. We suggest that the additional evidence would change our interpretation of the parallels which Spadaro has noted, by giving the impression that the latter are not isolated instances of copying but merely examples of the use of common phrases, which is typical of all the vernacular poems. At the same time it is possible to see here in practice the eclectic way in which Spadaro believes that the poets worked, taking a line or two in turn from different areas of more than one different model. This approach is common in Byzantine literature, where it is a critical cliché to point out that the word "plagiarism" needs a different definition from that used in more individualistic societies. We must ask ourselves, however, whether Spadaro's proposal is appropriate to the branch of Byzantine literature under consideration.[64] To our mind, the "borrowed" phrases are not such as to encourage literary imitation, while it is hard to imagine poets who could not produce large quantities of decapentasyllable verse at the popular linguistic level; without a need for written models. After all, even the manuscript copyists, as we saw earlier, did not copy their exemplars without some degree of recomposition.[65]

[62] Spadaro, III: 228.

[63] From our chart of Spadaro's references to *Imberios*, the only passage more fully covered by his parallels was the one we analysed previously (*Imb.* 93-143: *Byzantion* 41 [1971]: 143-48). Other passages are covered very sparsely; e.g., Spadaro suggests no sources at all between *Imb.* 526-633.

[64] Compare the prose letters of the twelfth-century monk Iakovos (Ms Par.Gr. 3039), which we plan to publish. Iakovos plagiarises so extensively that scarcely two or three words in each letter are his own. But he is making a stilted cento of distant, learned Fathers of the Church, in stark contrast to the poets discussed here—who, Spadaro alleges, plagiarise their contemporaries, making fluent and variable verses.

[65] Abbreviations used in Table I:

A: all the comments made passim by Spadaro, whose papers are cited by Roman numeral and page number (e.g., II: 304).

B: additional parallels, not cited by Spadaro.

327[a]: refers to the first half of the line 327; 327[b] refers to the second half; all citations by

Table 1

Ὁρίζει ὁ ρήγας ὁ φρικτὸς νὰ διαλαλήσουν τώρα
εἰς ὅλην τὴν Ἀνάπολην μὲ τὰ περίχωρά της
μικροὶ μεγάλοι, ἅπαντες καὶ ἐδικοὶ καὶ ξένοι
ἵνα καβαλλικεύσουσιν, νὰ ἔλθουν εἰς τὴν ρένταν,
νὰ κονταροκτυπήσουσιν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ ρήγα·
καὶ εἴτις ἐξέβη πρόθυμος ἀνδραγαθίας νὰ ποίση
καὶ εἰς ὅλους τοὺς καβαλλαριοὺς νὰ ξέβη καβαλλάρης
καὶ νὰ νικήση εἰς τὰ ἅρματα καὶ εἰς τὰς κονταρέας,
νὰ τὸν ρεχθῇ ἡ ρήγαινα καὶ ἄνδραν νὰ τῆς τὸν δώση.
Ἀκούσασίν το οἱ ἅπαντες, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι.
Ἐκεῖ ἐπεριμαζώχθησαν τοῦ κόσμου οἱ ἀνδρειωμένοι.
Γίνεται ρέντα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν καβαλλαρίων.
Νὰ εἶδες χαρὰν ἀνέκφραστον, μεγάλην εὐφημίαν.
Νὰ εἶδες ἅρματα ἔκλαμπρα, καλοὺς καβαλλαρίους,
αὐθέντας καὶ τοπάρχοντας, μᾶλλον καὶ κεφαλάδας.
Στέκεται ὁ ρήγας ὁ φρικτὸς μετὰ τὴν ρηγαινάν του
καὶ ἡ θαυμαστὴ ἡ θυγάτηρ του ἀπὲ τὰ παραθύρια
νὰ βλέπουσιν τὴν ταραχὴν τὸ τίς θέλει νικήσει.

Imb. 327-344

A

327ª cf. ὥρισεν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὁ θαυμαστός *Ach.N* 1458ª (II: 304)
329ª = 310ª, *Bel.*ª 181 (II: 297)
330ª = *Ach.N* 1459ª (II: 304)
330ᵇ cf. καὶ ὑπᾶσιν εἰς τὴν ρένταν *Ach. N* 1457ᵇ (II: 304)

line number alone refer to *Imberios and Margarona* (ed. E. Kriaras, Βυζαντινὰ Ἱπποτικὰ Μυθιστορήματα [Athens, 1955], pp. 199-249).
= indicates that the line(s) cited are identical.
Editions used:
Ach.N.: ed. D.C. Hesseling, *L'Achilléide Byzantine* (Amsterdam, 1919), pp. 42-90 (Naples MS).
Ach. O.: *Achilleis*, ed. S. Lambros, *Collection de romans grecs* (Paris, 1880), pp. 239-288 (Oxford MS).
Bel.: ed. E. Follieri, "Il poema bizantino di Belisario," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: La poesia epica e la sua formazione, 1969* (Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, 1970), pp. 583-651 (Naples MS).
Bel.Rim.: Ριμάδα περὶ Βελισαρίου, ed. G. Wagner, *Carmina graeca medii aevi* (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 348-78.
Belth.: *Belthandros and Chryzantza*, ed. E. Kriaras, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-130.
Byz.Il.: ed. L. Norgaard and O. L. Smith, *A Byzantine Iliad* (Copenhagen, 1975).
Chron.: ed. J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of the Morea* (London, 1904).
Lib.Sc.: ed. J. A. Lambert, *Le Roman de Libistros et Rhodamné* (Amsterdam, 1935), pp. 125-329 (Scaliger MS).
Phl.: *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlorza*, ed. E. Kriaras, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-196.
Tocco: ed. G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia* (Rome, 1975).
W of T: ed. E. M. Jeffreys and M. Papathomopoulos, Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρῳάδος (in press).

332 cf. εἴτιναν δὲ εὕρω πρόθυμον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πολέμου *Ach. N* 240; εἴ τις ἐξέβη πρόθυμος νὰ πράξῃ ἀνδρειωμένα *Bel.* 192 (II: 296)
334-35 cf. 781-82, 312-13; *Lib. Sc.* 1170 (III: 232)
336^{b} = 130^{b}, 242^{b}, 883^{b}; *Phl.* 135^{b}, 409^{b}, 1840^{b}; *Bel.* 359 (I: 326; II: 297)
337 and apparatus = *Byz.Il.* 879-880 (III: 260)
338 = *Lib.Sc.* 1177; cf. ἂς γένῃ ... *Lib.Sc.* 2045 (III: 230)
339-40 cf. νὰ εἶδες χαρὰς ἀμέτρητας ... μεγάλην εὐθυμίαν *Ach.N* 677-8 (II: 304)
342-43 cf. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνίστατο ἐκ τῶν παραθυρίων *Phl.* 709 (I: 322)

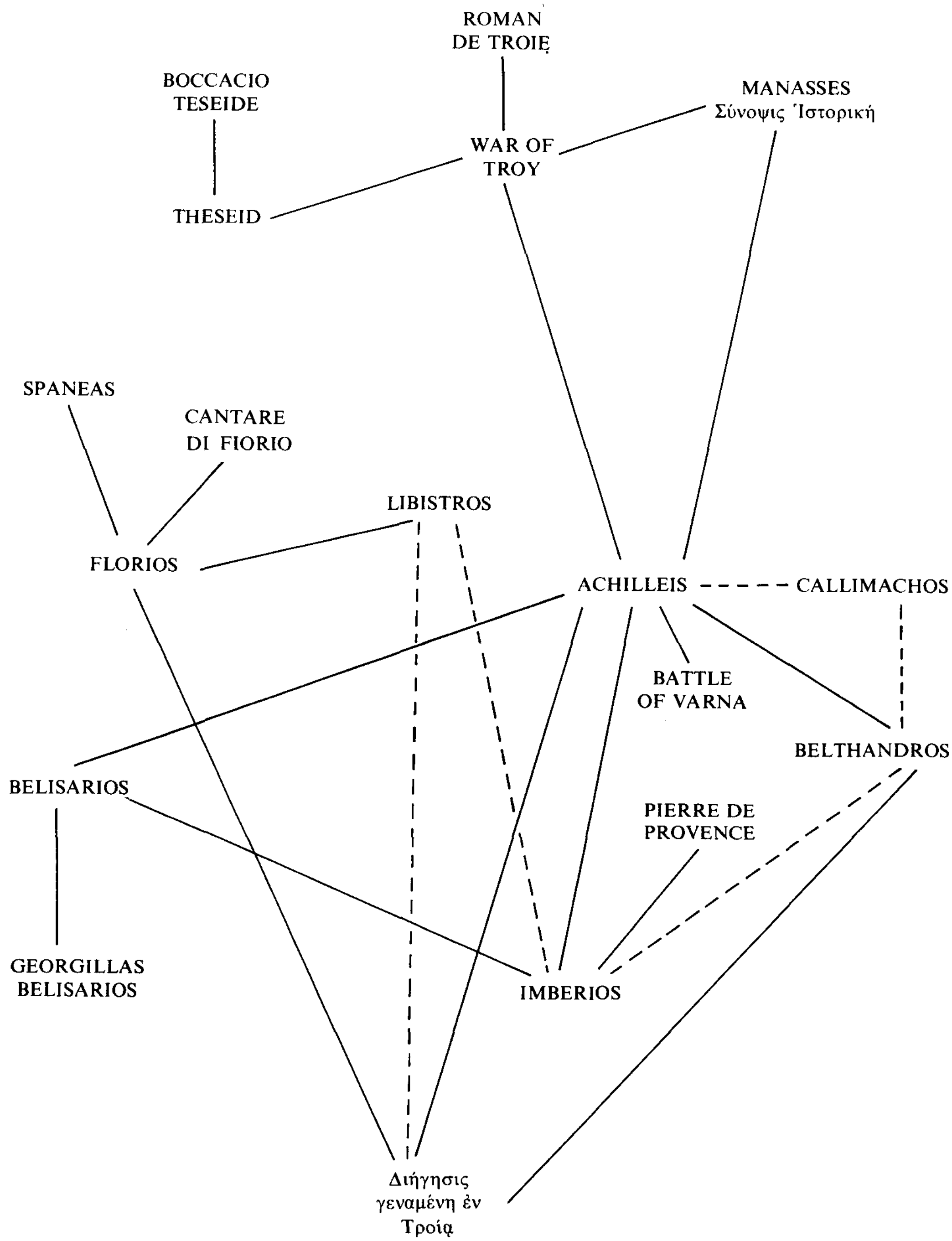
B
327^{a} = 60^{a}, 408^{a}
328^{b} cf. μετὰ τῶν περιχώρων *Chron.* 2967^{b}
329^{a} = e.g. *W of T* 7123^{a}, 7579^{a} etc.
329^{b} = 892^{b}; *Tocco* 1512^{b}, 1817^{b}
330^{a} = 316^{a}
330^{b} cf. ὑπάγει εἰς τὴν ρένταν 123^{b}, νὰ σέβη... 377^{b}, ἐπῆγαν... 783^{b}
331^{b} = 397^{b}
335^{b} cf. ἄνδρα...δώσω *Phl.* 799^{b}; ἄνδραν οὐδὲν τὴν δίδω *Belth.* 975^{b}
336^{b} = 608^{b} and over 100 instances elsewhere
338^{b} = *Chron.* 6515^{b}
339 = 471
339^{b} = *Bel.Rim.* 248^{b}
340^{b} = *W of T* 2561^{b}, 2727^{b}, 2821^{b}, 2877^{b} etc.
343^{b} cf. ἀπὲ τὸ παραθύριν *Phl.* 1617^{b}, 1622^{b}; ἐκ τῶν παραθυρίων *Ach. N* 1463^{b}
344 = 121; *Phil.* 637

The last point to be made in connection with Spadaro's proposals is to set out in diagram form the pattern of influences between this group of poets, as we construct it from his articles. In the following table (Table 2, p. 332) the direction of copying is from texts at the top of the page to those lower down, in cases where the connection is indicated by unbroken lines. Broken lines are used to join texts where Spadaro feels that he has proved the existence of plagiarism, but there is insufficient evidence to show which writer copied which. Apart from texts which are joined by unbroken lines, no attempt had been made to arrange the items in chronological sequence, or any other pattern.[66]

We must admit to finding this complex web of relationships rather incongruous, and not at all in keeping with the unpretentious phraseology of the texts in general and of the lines Spadaro cites as evidence in particular. Yet again it is clear that the evidence is incomplete, and the web is not so complex as it would be if Spadaro's methods were applied

[66] The evidence for this table has been gathered from all Spadaro's papers cited in fn. 1. We have found it impractical, for reasons of space, to document each of its connections.

Table 2


ROMAN
DE TROIE
BOCCACCIO
TESEIDE
MANASSES
Σύνοψις Ἱστορική
WAR OF
TROY
THESEID
SPANEAS
CANTARE
DI FIORIO
LIBISTROS
FLORIOS
ACHILLEIS
CALLIMACHOS
BATTLE
OF VARNA
BELTHANDROS
BELISARIOS
PIERRE DE
PROVENCE
GEORGILLAS
BELISARIOS
IMBERIOS
Διήγησις
γεναμένη ἐν
Τροίᾳ

to every possible pairing of the texts in the tables. It would be possible, for example, to make good cases (in his terms) that the War of Troy was plagiarised by several more texts than the two which he cites, and to establish links between other pairs which he has not considered. The result would be an assumption that each writer was aware of most of his predecessors, implying wide availability of manuscripts of the poems during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when their composition is usually dated. This assumption is not supported by the evidence of surviving manuscripts which, as Chatziyakoumis has pointed out, were mostly written later, around 1500.

* * *

This is not the place to bring forward evidence in favor of the oral-formulaic hypothesis which we find preferable to the proposals of Spadaro. We should like largely to resume here the conclusions of the articles which we have devoted to the subject, and to add a few more general comments, seeking to build up theoretical statements into practical, if generalised, suggestions of what actually occurred.

One of our papers reported on a complete collection, made with the aid of a computer, of half-line repeated phrases in the *Chronicle of the Morea* and the Byzantine *Alexander*-poem. The length of phrase and degree of variation in wording permitted were adapted from standards developed for medieval French. The *Chronicle of the Morea* was found to have 31.7 percent of repeated half-lines, or 38.4 percent by a slightly less rigorous interpretation of the rules. Equivalent figures for the *Alexander* are 9.4 percent and 12.8 percent, respectively. This striking difference —and comparisons with the statistics in other languages, especially for the French *chansons de geste*—suggest that we should regard the *Chronicle* (in manuscript H) as a formulaic text and the *Alexander* as not formulaic.[67] The consequences of this judgement had been stated earlier in the article: "When examining a formulaic poem, a scholar must be sensitive to the possiblity that the poet was illiterate, his story and language traditional, the textual situation complicated by different dictated versions, and that literary judgement may need to be formed on unusual criteria."[68]

In a subsequent study we examined the *War of Troy* for formulas, this time using samples rather than a full analysis. The poem was found to

67 Jeffreys, "Formulas" (as in fn. 9), pp. 188-191.
68 Jeffreys, "Formulas," p. 172.

have 29.3 percent and 35.0 percent of repetitions on the same scales as those used above, bringing it into the same formulaic category as the *Chronicle of the Morea*. As a close translation of an enormous French original, it must have been created in written form. The relationship between the formulas of the Greek and the wording of the French was examined: some formulas proved to be based on regular phrase-patterns of the French, others seemed to be clichés added in translation, set off by a French word (e.g., μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι, by a word meaning "all") or a situation (e.g., πολλὰ εἰς ὀλίγην ὥραν, at the climax of a battle). The conclusion reached was that the *War of Troy* is a text transitional between oral and written techniques, a poem created in writing in the style of oral poetry. It was left an open question how many of the formulaic phrases were drawn directly from an oral tradition, and how many were made by the Greek translator because formulas were an essential part of the style he was using — probably the only style he knew for vernacular narrative.[69]

In our view formulaic analysis of a poem gives no immediate information about that poem. If, however, it shows a substantial percentage of formulas (above, say, 20 percent), the poem must have been connected, directly or indirectly, with a tradition of oral poetry. We propose that research be concentrated away from the individual Byzantine vernacular poems, and on the oral tradition which must lie behind them — its metre, its language, its subjects, its formulaic techniques, its social position and function. Information on all these should be sought by combining analysis of the vernacular texts with examination of contemporary writing at more educated levels of Greek. Later, it may be possible to turn the direction of research back to the poems, to place them in relation to the framework of the tradition which by then will have been reconstructed, and to see whether some poems share so many lines that we must assume special links between them. These links may be of the kind proposed by Spadaro.

An important feature of the vernacular oral tradition must have been the decapentasyllable, the metre of nearly all the early textual remains of the late Byzantine vernacular. Another of our studies attempted to define the social and educational position of this verse, and to sketch its history. We concluded that it is unlikely that the verse had a learned origin, in spite of its use, in formal language, by some of the most learned men in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium. They usually wrote in

[69] Jeffreys, "The Traditional Style" (as in fn. 9), p. 138.

this form under protest, because it had been imposed by a patron or it was in some way appropriate for poems addressed to the imperial family. It seems, paradoxically, that this was a popular verse form which had special acceptance in the imperial court. Its roots may go back to antiquity, and its use for popular oral verse is likely to date at least from the end of the tenth century, when it was used for many of the inspired but artless hymns of Symeon the New Theologian. The earliest dated examples of the verse are imperial laments of the early tenth century (published by Ihor Ševčenko). But a spring song from Constantine Porphyrogennetos' *Book of Ceremonies* is probably earlier still: curiously enough, it gives the impression of a folk song in learned dress, written in the tradition of the χελιδονίσματα or swallow songs, one of the most conservative of Greek folk-song types.[70]

Two more recent discoveries have a little weight in suggesting an even longer history for the metre. Neither gives unequivocal evidence. The first is a papyrus (P. Turner 8) of the second century A.D., containing a text of mixed prose and verse. Lines 9-17 are catalectic iambic tetrameters which appear to give unusual emphasis to the mid-verse break. There are few resolutions, and each line ends with a penultimate stress accent. The editor, M. W. Haslam, believes that the metre exemplified in the papyrus developed into political verse "by direct and as it were underground descent."[71] The other point is one to which our attention has kindly been drawn by Professor Cyril Mango. In a Daniel apocalypse which Mango has dated convincingly to the winter of 716-17, one manuscript (Bodl. Canon. 19, of the fifteenth century) breaks into four lines of political verse on fol. 148ᵛ, beginning with a familiar triple pattern:

πάλιν ἐθνῶν ἐπιδρομαί, πάλιν Ῥωμαίων φόβος,
πάλιν σφαγαὶ καὶ ταραχαί...

In this case the identification of the political verse is sure, though a little editorial intervention is needed in the third of the four lines.[72] But this

[70] Jeffreys, "The Nature and Origins" (as in fn. 9); idem, "Byzantine Metrics: Non-literary Strata," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31 (1981): 313-334.
[71] M. W. Haslam, P. Turner 8: "Narrative about Tinouphis in prosimetrum," *Papyri Greek and Egyptian ... in honour of Eric Turner* (London, 1981), pp. 35-45; L. Politis, Νεώτερες ἀπόψεις γιὰ τὴ γέννηση καὶ τὴ δομὴ τοῦ δεκαπεντασύλλαβου (Athens, 1981); M. J. Jeffreys, "Rhythm and Metre: A Supplementary Review of Three Recent Publications," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32, no. 1 (1982): 239-245.
[72] K. Berger, *Die Griechische Daniel-Diegese* (Leiden, 1976), 9.3 and apparatus (pp. 15, 21); C. Mango, in an appendix to his paper, "The Life of St. Andrew the Fool reconsidered," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982): 310-313, and in a personal letter of 25 April 1982.

passage is rather weak as evidence for the existence of political verse in the early eighth century. As Mango has pointed out to us, the manuscript is very late and corrupt, and it is difficult to be sure that the verse was in the original. Still, this remains an interesting possibility.

At this point we should like to introduce the third of the problems of style which we promised to treat in this paper — the mixed language of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century vernacular texts discussed here. This problem has a long history in the debates over the Modern Greek language question. We have several times expressed the opinion that it is capable of solution by the same means as those used by Milman Parry to point the way to the solution of the Homeric language question.[73] By this theory, a tradition of oral poets who have developed formulaic phrases and patterns of language to fill a particular metrical form are thrown into a dilemma when there is substantial change in the spoken language of their area. Either the old formulas must be recast where necessary to accommodate the new linguistic forms, or they must be retained, in spite of their archaism, because of their usefulness in the poets' composition. The Homeric tradition seems often to have opted to keep the archaism. Thus the language of Homer is a mixture of several historical layers: new forms where the poets could substitute them without breaking the old patterns, archaic forms where they could not.[74]

On this issue we feel ourselves in danger of falling into the pointless repetition of our clichés. For more than a decade we have been sure of the usefulness of Parry's method in solving this significant medieval linguistic problem, yet we have not done the considerable research needed to complete the solution. A major difficulty is that the proof must be published all at once, or not at all. A solution must explain most, or preferably all, of the linguistic variety in the texts, in ways which correspond to what we know of the history of the spoken language in this period, and the metrical problems likely to arise in formulaic composition in the political verse. Nothing less than a complete study could carry much conviction.

Since we have no new research to report, we can only comment on the remarks of others. Mohay seems to accept our suggestion in the case of

[73] M. J. Jeffreys, "Studies in the Language and Style of the Medieval Greek Chronicle of the Morea" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1972), pp. 106-143; idem, "Formulas" (as in fn. 9), pp. 193-94; idem, "The Literary Emergence" (as in fn. 9), pp. 176-77; E. M. Jeffreys, "The Later Greek Verse Romances" (as in note 11), pp. 120-22.

[74] M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-making. II: The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 43 (1932): 1-50.

the archaic longer form of the third person plural of the present tense, ending in -ουσι. He points out that the form is preserved even now in folk song for metrical reasons. But he rejects this proposal completely in the case of the preposition μετά, which, as he points out, had been constructed with the accusative, not the genitive, in common speech, since at least the tenth century. There had also been, before the twelfth century, a shortening of μετά to μέ. He therefore concludes that the existence of μετά with the genitive in fourteenth-century texts must be due to learned influence, and not the oral preservation of earlier popular forms.[75] Eideneier, who is otherwise much more willing than Mohay to accept the thesis of oral influence in these poems, refuses to accept the formulaic status of phrases like μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι and μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης. He points out that "diese hochsprachlichen festen Redewendungen" survive to some extent in the modern language today.[76]

For us, however, the archaic details of these phrases create a totally different impression. We see them as authenticating the status of the phrases concerned as traditional oral formulas, just as elements of Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic Greek in Homer were used by Parry to demonstrate the traditional nature of Homeric language. The wide use of these formulas in the fourteenth-century poems, and their links (in some cases) to Modern Greek turns of phrase, merely confirms for us the importance of the tradition from which they were drawn. It must have had a wide range in Greek-speaking lands, and some significance in the development of expression in Modern Greek.

As for the dating of the tradition, one may only begin from generalisations when speaking of an oral form which, from its own nature and that of Byzantine society, cannot have left direct signs of its early existence. We have recently drawn attention again to the enormous void during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods in the records of secular metrical expression suitable for the popular ear. In our opinion, by the eighth and ninth centuries at least, there must have existed a popular metrical form with a more uncompromising rhythmical base than the surviving written remains, which all show some desire for compromise with the ancient quantitative metres — in Maas's phrase, the "historical orthography of versification."[77] It is another matter, however, whether modern scholarship can find enough evidence to reconstruct what that popular

[75] Mohay, "Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit" (as in fn. 10), pp. 178-79.
[76] Eideneier, "Zum Stil" (as in fn. 7), p. 302..
[77] Jeffreys, "Byzantine Metrics" (as in fn. 70), p. 314.

form was, or whether it can discover a direct continuity with the tradition vaguely discernible in the tenth and eleventh centuries, almost tangible in the twelfth, and finally clearly traceable in the fourteenth.

Slightly more definite proposals may be based on the language of the more archaic formulas of that tradition. Adopting for the moment Mohay's dates, as reported above, in connection with μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης, one could imagine that this formula was in use by the tenth century, and that it resisted the development of the spoken language to μετὰ χαράν μεγάλην long enough to be attacked by the much more dangerous change of μετά to μέ (more dangerous in that it reduced the number of syllables and threatened an organic change in the formula). The phrase was retained for its useful metrical properties in filling the second half of the line, regardless of the fact that it was now an archaism in two respects, the form of the preposition and the case it governs. The formula is likely to have played some part in the survival in Modern Greek of the expression μετὰ χαρᾶς.

So far as the subjects of the poems of the tradition are concerned, we make a preliminary proposal of two strands, the historical and the romantic. The first is suggested by the κλέα ἀνδρῶν sung by the "Paphlagonians" in a much-cited note of Arethas,[78] and confirmed by historical elements of the *Digenis Akritas* poem. Less tangible evidence is provided by the vernacular *Belisarios*, which certainly shows knowledge of events in Constantinople throughout Byzantine history, but is less likely than *Digenis* to have preserved that knowledge in traditional verse. Once popular verse in the traditional style is systematically written down, in the fourteenth century and after, we have long historical texts like the *Chronicle of the Morea* and the *Chronicle of the Tocco*.

The presence of romance in the popular oral tradition is amply confirmed by the preponderance of that genre in surviving fourteenth-century poems. Earlier evidence is provided by the romantic elements of *Digenis*, particularly phrases from Achilles Tatius in the Grottaferrata manuscript's description of Digenis' palace. We have also pointed out the existence of romantic elements—ideas, phrase-patterns and vocabulary—in many twelfth-century decapentasyllabic poems on a more learned linguistic level, particularly those of the Mangana codex, Marc.Gr. XI. 22. Many of these poems were performed before large audiences, and we would argue that their metrical form shows sensitivity

[78] S. B. Kougeas, "Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις τοῦ Ἀρέθα λαογραφικαὶ εἰδήσεις," Λαογραφία 4 (1913): 239.

to popular verse-forms.[79] It is interesting to speculate whether their romantic innovations, and the parallel phenomenon of the twelfth-century "learned" romances, represent the creation of the vogue for popular romance, or a literate response to a pre-extant oral form.

At a quite different level, some suggestions on the content of the tradition, in the fourteenth century at least, could derive from examination of those repetitions which occur in several of the popular poems of that century. These are the phrases, discussed earlier, which Spadaro is reluctant to use as evidence of plagiarism from text to text, and which we suggest were carried in oral verse. A listing of these phrases would be a useful preliminary to several kinds of subsequent research on this branch of literature. One of the most significant would be analysis of repeated phrases which suggest connections with particular genres of oral poetry, or perhaps even with specific subjects.

We would suggest that the oral tradition came close to achieving written expression in the twelfth century, in a well-known group of vernacular experiments, whilst at the same time causing a great deal of ceremonial verse in formal language to be written in the decapenta-syllable.[80] In the case of "Ptochoprodromos" and Michael Glykas, the tradition seems only to have influenced their metre and their willingness to use vernacular vocabulary and morphology. There are few signs of formulas, and the mixed language tends to be divided into passages of high and low style, the self-conscious variations of educated poets in control of their medium. There is no sign of the uniform language mixture discussed above in connection with the fourteenth-century texts, which we have proposed as a traditional oral *Kunstsprache*. The *Spaneas* poem, though blurred by its textual complexity, gives rather more signs of the influence of the oral tradition.

This self-confident widening of the cultural base of Byzantine written literature did not survive the traumas of the last quarter of the twelfth century and the terrible shock of the Fourth Crusade. Having been close to the mainstream of European literary development, Byzantium in the Nicene period turned back to its classical sources and thus condemned itself to the status of a literary backwater, interesting only for its preservation of classical writers. When vernacular material reappears

[79] E. M. Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background to the *romans d'antiquité*," *Byzantion* 50 (1980): 455-486; M. J. Jeffreys, "Triple Patterns in the Dekapendasyllabos," *Festschrift Baud-Bovy* (forthcoming).

[80] See H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinische Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), pp. 101-109; M.J. Jeffreys, "Nature and Origins" (as in fn. 9), pp. 149-61.

in the fourteenth century, only one poem, *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, is likely to have been produced at the imperial court, and that, to judge from its low formulaic density and comparatively educated language, was some way from the living oral tradition. It seems that it was more common for vernacular poems to be written outside Byzantine lands — in Frankish Greece, for example, in the case of the *Chronicle of the Morea*. One must assume that Frankish patrons preferred comprehensibility to linguistic purity.

We do not believe that any of these poems is a traditional oral poem in the full sense, that is, that it was either created or transmitted independently of a written text, and taken down during an oral performance. Most of the poems, as Spadaro shows, are described by their creators in the conventional terms of book and writer rather than song and singer; it is interesting, though, that this information is sometimes given in repeated phrases reminiscent of oral formulas.[81] There is no evidence that any of the composers was illiterate. We think that formulaic decapentasyllables in mixed language were used so frequently because they were the only medium which came to mind for somebody who wished to write a popular narrative — far safer, for example, than prose, which bristled with the linguistic tabus of education. Some of the writers concerned may have had the experience of giving traditional oral performances. All would have had the experience of hearing them. The poems which resulted would thus have had more or less resemblance to the oral form.

In the present state of research it would be premature to express a firm opinion as to which of the surviving poems provides the best reflection of the lost oral material. However, our exhaustive examination of the formulas of the *Chronicle of the Morea* and our preliminary investigation of its language suggest that the poem (in manuscript H) provides a fair example of the traditional oral style. As for the emotive issue of the length of the oral songs, we are wary of assuming that they were as long as the nine thousand lines of the *Chronicle* or the fourteen thousand of the *War of Troy*, much as we should like to find evidence for a Byzantine oral epic. Some evidence exists that one effect of the introduction of writing into an oral tradition was to encourage the production of texts much longer than the tradition's usual poems.[82] Perhaps then it

[81] Spadaro, I: 324, fn. 5. The cross reference ὀπίσω στό βιβλίον μου is found five times in the *Chronicle of the Morea*.

[82] Evidence challengingly presented by Professor Jack Goody in a lecture given in the Humanities Research Centre of the Australian National University in August, 1981.

would be wiser to imagine Moreot narrative songs of the length of some of the *Chronicle*'s livelier episodes, like that of the exploits of Geoffrey of Karytaina at Pelagonia.[83] A further problem whose discussion must be postponed till more evidence is collected is the historical continuity of this narrative poetic tradition with the various forms of Modern Greek folk song. Useful pointers for a historical framework are provided by Beaton.[84]

Our last points concern the two observations of Chatziyakoumis already referred to — that the vernacular poems seem to have been rewritten around the year 1500 in a more consistent demotic language, and that most of their manuscripts are preserved in Western Europe. The second of these statements needs evaluation in the context of the survival of all manuscripts (especially non-ecclesiatical manuscripts) written around that date, to see whether it is unusual to find a large proportion in Western libraries. Let us assume for the moment, however, that the observation is found to be significant, suggesting that many of these texts were written in the Western *diaspora*: how may these data be interpreted, in the light of our proposal that the poems' style is that of an oral-formulaic tradition?

We would suggest that the reason for the writing of these manuscripts was a sense of the loss of the tradition and of the need to preserve all available records about it. It may be that it was becoming weaker in Greek lands: it seems certain that educated Greeks in Italy would have felt that the existence of contemporary Greek literary and non-literary forms was threatened. At the same time, the printing of classical texts would have provided a paradigm for them to follow. As for the standardization of language, this may have resulted from the copying of the poems outside the direct influence of an oral tradition, which had kept archaic grammatical patterns in regular use. A learned copyist in Italy, who might have little opportunity of hearing traditional oral material, would find these texts as puzzling as have modern literary and linguistic historians, and could well decide that it was necessary to impose conventional linguistic uniformity. In one respect, even this would be a continuation of the practices of the traditional past. The copyists of these manuscripts had never shrunk from making changes in them — in fact, such interventions seem to have become an unconscious part of normal scribal practice.

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[83] Centered round the heroic lines 4018-71.
[84] *Folk Poetry* (as in fn. 17), pp. 174-78.

In this final part of the paper we should like to collect together proposals for future research, many of which have been mentioned in the earlier sections. The first is an oft-repeated plea for good editions of the texts, several of which have been promised but are slow to appear.[85] We hope that these will take up the challenge of the unusual textual problems caused by constant minor variations in copying, as discussed here. This will usually mean an attempt to reconstruct a single hyparchetype, especially in cases like that of the *War of Troy*, where a single written original must have existed. The editions should contain a section in their introductions dealing with traditional elements, especially formulaic repetition and mixed language. A major problem in the editions — as well as a major route to the solution of their problems — is connected with that minority of manuscripts which represent drastic reworkings of the poems they contain. Much work is needed, for example, on the manuscripts of the *Achilleis* before that poem can be satisfactorily edited, and this work should give useful insights into the textual problems of other poems. Did the wide variations in length of text result from the mechanisms of oral performance? Are the proposals made in the last paragraph above of any use? We hope to assist in this process by making an analysis of the erratic MS Coislin 344 of the *War of Troy*.

We hope that the line of investigation pioneered by Spadaro will be continued, but with more respect for the repetitious style which is a fundamental characteristic of this whole genre. It is important to discover which texts are linked by similar circumstances of composition, common authorship, or even by conventional literary influence and plagiarism. But these questions may be discussed only on the basis of striking parallels, which must be distinguished from the formulaic repetitions which affect more than 30 percent of the lines of several poems. At the same time, it would be useful to collect phrases repeated in several poems, in order to investigate the oral tradition in which they were carried.

An important, though intimidatingly difficult, line of advance lies through a study of the mixed language of this group of poems, using the techniques developed for Homeric language by Milman Parry. Such research might have much to contribute to the general history of the medieval Greek language. This study could well be linked to a more abstract approach to the formula called for by Beaton and Eideneier, that is, to the "poetic syntax" of the poems — the modification and

[85] A partial list is given by E.M. Jeffreys, "The Later Greek Verse Romances" (as in fn. 11), pp. 123-24.

interaction of formulaic systems within the framework of the mixed language and the decapentasyllable line.[86]

It is necessary, finally, to take up the points of Chatziyakoumis, and to investigate the circumstances in which surviving manuscripts were produced. In a textual situation as flexible as this, it would be highly significant to discover that most of our surviving manuscripts were written around 1500 outside Greek-speaking lands, based on prototypes written within Greek lands a century or more earlier. Did this narrative oral tradition — like most oral traditions of the past — provoke attempts at preservation only at the moment when extinction threatened? If so, perhaps our research should be concentrated on manuscripts (like H of the *Chronicle of the Morea*) that allow us insight into the poems when they were copied within the range of influence of their traditional stylistic context.

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[86] Beaton, *Folk Poetry* (as in fn. 17), pp. 40-57; Eideneier, "Zum Stil" (as in fn. 7), p. 305.

Some Little-Known or Misinterpreted Evidence about Kievan Rus' in Twelfth-Century Greek Sources

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

Relations between Byzantium and Kievan Rus' in the tenth century[1] have always attracted more attention than those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For instance, in Levčenko's general survey less than 30 pages are dedicated to the twelfth century,[2] whereas the history of the tenth century occupies almost 300 pages. In Pašuto's book on the diplomacy of Rus', allocation of space seems to be more balanced; however, the chapter on the twelfth century[3] is based primarily on Kievan sources and deals above all with ecclesiastical connections. Yet, there are some scattered data in Greek sources that have escaped scholarly attention or have been misinterpreted. Although they do not radically change our image of Rus'-Byzantine relations in this period, they do introduce some significant alterations into this picture. Together they suggest that Byzantium played a greater part on the northern shore of the Black Sea than either Levčenko or Pašuto assumed.

[1] The most recent publication on this topic is A. N. Saxarov, *Diplomatija Drevnej Rusi: IX-pervaja polovina X v.* (Moscow, 1980).
[2] M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 472-497.
[3] V. T. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 186-201. No more than three pages are dedicated to twelfth-century Rus' in D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971), pp. 229-32. See also his "The Relations between Byzantium and Rus (eleventh to fifteenth centuries)," in *Meždunarodnyj kongress istoričeskix nauk*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Moscow, 1973), pp. 202-217, and "Byzance et la Russie de Kiev," *Messager de l'Exarchat du Patriarche russe en Europe occidentale*, vol. 29 (1959), which was republished in his *Byzantium and the Slavs* (London, 1971), pt. 4, pp. 20-35. Quite recently, after this article was already written, M. V. Bibikov brought forth a general survey of Byzantine sources for the history of Rus' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: "Vizantijskie istočniki po istorii Rusi, narodov Severnogo Pričernomor'ja i Severnogo Kavkaza (XII-XIII vv.)," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* (Moscow, 1981-82), pp. 5-151. Here the author deals more with approaches to the material than with the material itself (the history of study, methodology, "the Athonian charters as a source," and so on).

It was G. G. Litavrin who first drew attention to a passage by Manuel Straboromanos, a contemporary of Alexius I, affirming that the emperor had acquired several regions, among them the area of the Cimmerian Bosporus; according to Litavrin, this area encompassed both sides of the Bosporus strait.[4] Confirmation of this is to be found in a letter by Theophylact of Ochrid to Gregory Taronites written at the beginning of the twelfth century. There Theophylact mentions the onslaught of the Turks (Seljuks) who menaced "the Greek cities on the Pontos between the Tanais river and the sea of Maeotis."[5] *Hellenides poleis* on the eastern (?) shore of the Azov sea were attacked during the reign of Alexius, if not by the Seljuks themselves, then by the Polovcians acting in alliance with them.

Byzantium continued to be interested in this area throughout the entire twelfth century. The Byzantine rhetor Michael, the pupil or nephew of the metropolitan of Thessalonica, left several speeches addressed to the emperor Manuel I. One of them can be dated to 1153, since the orator states that ten years of Manuel's reign have already passed.[6] In this panegyric Michael praises both the emperor's good deeds and his victories over the Muslims, the Dacians on the Danube (meaning the Serbians), and the Gepids (i.e., the Hungarians) (p. 141.9-10). We are told that Manuel, after routing the Dacians, advanced together with his Dacian allies on the Gepids, crossed the river, and committed Pannonia to flames. The "satrap of the Gepids" (the Hungarian king) took flight, and the Byzantines achieved victory without a battle (p. 146.26-147.1), having taken many captives — at least ten men each (p. 147.7).

These events are well known from other Greek sources, both chronicles (those of Nicetas Choniates and Kinnamos) and poems (of Pseudo-Prodromos). The Hungarians surrendered to Manuel in 1151. What is unique in Michael's speech, however, is the evidence he gives after his account of the victory over the Hungarians — evidence which, to my

[4] G. G. Litavrin, "A propos de Tmutorokan," *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 221-234, and, with some corrections, his "Novye svedenija o Severnom Pričernomor'e (XII v.)," in *Feodal'naja Rossija vo vsemirnoistoričeskom processe* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 237-242. The entire text was published by P. Gautier, "Le dossier d'un fonctionnaire d'Alexis Ier Comnène, Manuel Straboromanos," *Revue des études byzantines* 23 (1965): 191. The problem is not touched upon in D. Obolensky, "The Crimea and the North before 1204," *Archeion Pontu* 35 (1978): 123-133.

[5] J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae ... Series Graeca* (hereafter *PG*), vol. 126, col. 412 A. On this letter, see S. I. Maslev, *Proizvedenija na Teofilakt Oxridski, arxiepiskop bŭlgarski, otnosjašči ce do bŭlgarskata istorija* (Fontes Graeci historiae byzantine, 9, no. 1) (Sofia, 1974), pp. 26ff. with bibliography.

[6] W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinarum*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1892; reprinted Leipzig, 1982), pp. 135.17-20.

knowledge, has not yet been put to use by scholars.[7] The author proclaims that the echo of Manual's victory resounded as far as among the Tauroscythians, dwellers on the mainland, and among Sicilian islanders (p. 142.9-11). The Sicilians must have been Normans who were at that time at odds with Byzantium and who probably supported the Hungarians, while the antique ethnonym "Tauroscythians" doubtlessly referred to the inhabitants of Kievan Rus'.[8]

Thus Michael describes a broad anti-Byzantine coalition that included Hungary, Kiev, and Sicily, and the orator emphasizes how the "Tauroscythian," hearing the din of winged rumor, became confused and drooped his head in sorrow (p. 142.13-14). At the panegyric's end, Michael returns again to the subject of Kiev. He says that Manuel, year after year, expands his empire and takes more and more captives. "It is marvelous that you made the neighbors of yesterday's captives experience, in their turn, in proper sequence the same calamity" (p. 151.29-30). And he continues: "Your march is successful, and probably the ruler of the north (ὁ βορρᾶς) will accost you with a clear voice as you appear going north from the lake of Maeotis" (p. 152.1-3).

Who is the ruler of the north? I. Dujčev surmises that the term "the northerners" in John Mauropous designated Bulgarian tropos;[9] by contrast, P. Diaconu saw in the northerners of Mauropous Varangian mercenaries.[10] Neither the first nor the second identification will do in this case. Constantine Porphyrogenitus listed as northerners the Khazars, Hungarians, and Rus',[11] but by the twelfth century the Hungarians had moved far westward and the Khazars had ceased to be a significant power. Eustathius of Thessalonica established a list of peoples who frequently visited Constantinople in Manuel's day — besides the Muslims, Scythians (the inhabitants of the steppe), and Paeonians (Hungarians), he names those who dwell beyond the

[7] The subject was treated only in my short note "Neizvestnoe grečeskoe svidetel'stvo o russko-vizantijskix otnošenijax v XII v.," *Feodal'naja Rossija* (as in fn. 4), pp. 235ff. M.V. Bibikov, "Drevnjaja Rus' i Vizantija v svete novyx i maloizvestnyx vizantijskix istočnikov," *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 298ff., repeated my thesis without referring to my article.

[8] On the term Tauroscythian in Byzantine texts, see E. I. Solomonyk, "Pro značennja termina 'tauroskify,'" *Arxeolohični pam"jatky URSR* (Kiev), 11 (1962): 153-157 (a quite incomplete list). See also her "Taury i Taurika (pro poxodžennja ètnonima i toponima)," *Arxeolohija* (Kiev), 20 (1976): 46-50. Also Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki," p. 63.

[9] I. Dujčev, *Proučvanija vŭrxu bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie* (Sofia, 1945), p. 33.

[10] P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas Danube* (Bucarest, 1970), p. 59, fn. 167.

[11] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (Washington, D.C., 1969), cap. 13.24-5.

Istros (Danube) and those on whom the north wind breathes.[12] In a geographical treatise Eustathius expressly called "northerners" such "tribes" as the Germans, Alans, Tauri, Rus', and Khazars, as well as those whose names were simply borrowed from ancient sources: the Melanchlaeni, Hippemolgi, Geloni, Agathyrsi, and so on; Eustathius located them to the north of the Istros.[13] John Tzetzes mentions northern peoples several times: first, he reckons among them the aforementioned Agathyrsi and Geloni, semi-legendary tribes of antiquity — it is significant that he locates them to the north of the Black Sea.[14] Further, Tzetzes writes that the north wind breathes on the Scythians and on the Black Sea,[15] both being evidently in the same area. His last and most important reference is a list of Scythian tribes, among whom he numbers the Abasgians, Alans, Sacae, Dacians, Sauromatae, the actual Scythians, the Rus' and "every other people on whom the north wind breathes."[16] If not the only northerners, the Rus' were, in Byzantine eyes, the northern people par excellence.

We might even suggest that the ὁ βορρᾶς in Michael's speech was Jurij of Suzdal', Byzantium's ally in the struggle against Izjaslav of Kiev, who sided with Hungary. Michael's wording is not, however, clear; probably he did not mean a real expedition by Manuel, but only some plans cherished in Constantinople. But what matters is the apparent interest of Byzantium in the region on the Azov sea, very close to the area acquired, according to Straboromanos, by Alexius I.

In the edict of 1166, Manuel I assumed titles which were supposed to allude to his real or imagined victories; there he is called ruler over the Hungarians, Bosnians, Croatians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and so forth; among those triumphal epithets is a series connected with the regions of the Crimea and the Azov sea, namely, those of the Zichians, Khazars, and Goths.[17] The introduction of the epithets "of the Zichians,

[12] Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Opuscula* (Frankfurt a.M., 1832), p. 200.65-8.

[13] C. Miller, *Geographi graeci minores*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1861), p. 269.18-26. It is noteworthy that the Bulgarians, named a little later in the text, are not included by Eustathius in the group of northerners.

[14] John Tzetzes, *Historiae* (Naples, 1968), pt. 8, pp. 752-759. See also his *Epistulae* (Leipzig, 1972), p. 62.14-5. He stresses further that the Maeotis is very close to the north.

[15] Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 8: 674.

[16] Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 12: 897-900. On the "north" in Eustathius of Thessalonica, Michael the Rhetor, Nicholas Mesarites, and Pseudo-Prodromus, see Bibikov, "Drevnjaja Rus' i Vizantija," pp. 299 ff.

[17] The text has been discussed by many scholars. See, first of all, A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 140-45, and N. Bănescu, "La domination byzantine à Matracha (Tmutorokan), en Zichie, en Khazarie et en 'Russie' à

Khazars and Goths" could be explained by the expedition mentioned in Michael's speech.

A few years later, in the chrysobull of 1169, Manuel I expressly proclaimed that he regarded Tmutorokan' (τὰ Μάτραχα) and the enigmatic Ῥωσία as parts of his empire.[18] This statement is supported by a poem of John Tzetzes, in which the decisive word was corrected or, rather, distorted by the editor, Kiessling. In this poem Tzetzes complained about the domination of evil and illiterate men who should have dwelled in the land of frogs (γῆ βατράχων) and not in Constantinople.[19] The land of frogs was created by the classicist Kiessling, to whom the manuscript reading γῆ Ματράχων remained unintelligible (Professor J. Gouillard was kind enough to confirm for me that Paris. 2750, fol. 205 in fact has γῆ Ματράχων); nonetheless, the manuscript reading is correct — Tzetzes contrasted the capital with the distant provinces of Tmutorokan'.

There is one further source which can shed new light on the Byzantine possessions in the area of the Cimmerian Bosporus, namely, letter no. 3 of Michael Choniates, addressed to a certain Constantine Pegonites. Choniates is a famous writer, and his letter has been studied by many scholars, including Stadtmüller, the author of a monograph on Michael Choniates. The letter was written, according to Stadtmüller, before 1182,[20] and was pervaded by Michael's care for his younger brother, the future historian Nicetas.

The letter says that Pegonites was assigned to collect taxes (τῶν φορολογικῶν ... πραγμάτων); this fact, by the way, permits us to guess that our Pegonites was the same person as (or a relative of) a certain Pegonites, the praktor of Samos in the reign of Manuel I.[21] The essence of the problem, however, is not the identification of Constantine Pegonites, but the localization of his activity.

"You live next to the Chalybes-smiths," wrote Choniates, and basing

l'époque des Comnènes," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine* 22, no. 2 (1941): 71ff. A new edition is C. Mango, "The Conciliar Edict of 1166," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 324.1-11.

[18] F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 2 (Munich and Berlin, 1925), no. 1488.

[19] John Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum chiliades* (Leipzig, 1826), pp. 515.151-2.

[20] G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome, 1934), p. 116. The letter has been published by S. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, vol. 2 (Athens, 1880), p. 5.

[21] F. Miklosich and I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, vol. 6 (Vienna, 1890), pp. 107.33, 111.30, 112.4. F. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1411, dates praktor Pegonites's activity to the period before 1157, which makes his identification with Constantine not very probable.

himself on these words, Lampros, the editor, located Pegonites's activity in Armenia. Stadtmüller differs somewhat from Lampros, since he surmises that Pegonites was sent to Pontos in Asia Minor. Both Lampros and Stadtmüller followed the ancient tradition which had located the Chalybes in either Pontos or Armenia. I think, however, that both scholars were wrong, since they did not take into consideration the entire context of the letter.

Even before Lampros had brought out his edition, Uspenskij studied Michael Choniates's works. Although he touched on the letter to Pegonites only superficially and did not try to substantiate his idea, he expressed an opinion which seems to me more reasonable than the traditional localization. Uspenskij asserted that Pegonites "was probably a tax collector in a region close to Rus'."[22] Let us scrutinize the text of the letter with this in mind.

Choniates says to Pegonites: "Now you are a neighbour of (ἀγχιθυρεῖς) the Hyperboreans and oft times visit the regions (τὰ κλίματα) of Pontos that were notorious in antiquity for their bad treatment of strangers." In order to locate the regions here described, we should take into consideration three points: (1) Pegonites dwelt close to the Hyperboreans; (2) he had frequently visited the regions of Pontos notorious in antiquity for their bad treatment of strangers; (3) these regions were called τὰ κλίματα ("klimata"). Let us investigate these points one by one.

Certainly, Choniates would not have designated the inhabitants of Pontos in Asia Minor or of Armenia as the Hyperboreans. In fact, in other letters he identifies the Hyperboreans with the Cimmerians and speaks also of a Scythian or Hyperborean desert (p. 100.23-4, 101.4, 216.28). Moreover, his younger brother Nicetas, who was a subordinate of Pegonites, used the term "the Scythians-Hyperboreans" specifically for the Rus'.[23] The ethnicon of the Hyperboreans leads us not to Armenia, but rather to the northern shore of the Black Sea.

[22] F. Uspenskij, "Neizdannye reči i pis'ma Mixaila Akominata," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* 201 (1879): 390. See also his "Sočinenija Mixaila Akominata," *Zapiski Novorossijskogo universiteta* 32 (1881): 204. For a fuller treatment, see A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij podatnoj sborščik na beregax Kimmerijskogo Bospora v konce XII v." in *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 93-101, and, more briefly, G. G. Litavrin and A. P. Kazhdan, "Otnošenija Drevnej Rusi i Vizantii v XI–pervoj polovine XIII v.," in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1967), p. 77f.

[23] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* (Berlin, New York, 1975), p. 129.29-30.

The Greeks used the word Pontos as the name for the Black Sea in general, and specifically for its southern coast. However, Michael Choniates speaks in his letter not simply of Pontos, but of those regions of Pontos which were notorious in antiquity for their cruel treatment of strangers. Hence he alludes to the ancient legend of the Tauri, who sacrificed strangers to Artemis. Euripides's tragedy *Iphigenia in Tauris* is based on this legend, and Strabo VIII,3.6, affirms that the Black Sea was called "Inhospitable" because of the ferocity of the tribes that lived around it, in particular the Scythians, who sacrificed strangers. The legend about the inhospitality of the Tauri was well known in Byzantium in the twelfth century; Eustathius of Thessalonica mentions it in his *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*.[24]

But if the Pontos in Choniates's letter is Tauris, then his usage of "klimata" becomes understandable. Though this term could be applied to any geographical zone,[25] it also had a more specific meaning; as Vasil'evskij demonstrated, "the expression 'klimata' was often used to designate the southern area of the Crimea."[26] I will not repeat here the numerous sources cited by Vasil'evskij; instead, I point to a single passage from Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De adm.imp.*, cap. 42, title), in which the imperial author promised to give a description of regions "as far as the Khazar city of Σάρκελ (Sarkel) and Ῥωσία and the Νεκρόπυλα, which are in the Sea of Pontos, near the Dnieper River; and as far as Kherson together with the Bosporus, between which there are the cities of the Klimata." The Byzantine governor of the Crimea was called the strategos of the klimata.[27] Thus Choniates's usage of the title "Klimata of Pontos" seems to confirm our suggestion that Pegonites's activity should be located a short distance from the Crimea.

In another paragraph Choniates defines Pegonites's location in different words: "Tauroscythia, which lies on the other side of the strait, scares me and I am afraid the evil habit of killing strangers might come across from there." The new phrasing conveys essentially the same idea: Choniates expresses in both sentences the same anxiety lest Pegonites imitate the cruelty of his present-day neighbors, who dwell, as he says in the first case, in the klimata of Pontos or, as he says in the second phrase,

[24] Müller, *Geographi*, 2:271.35-7.

[25] E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata* (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 231.

[26] V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 196f.

[27] N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 353.

in Tauroscythia. The klimata of Pontos are identical with Tauroscythia, that is, the Crimea.

Thus, according to Choniates, Pegonites was active close to the Crimea. But what does this mean? Is it not possible to understand Choniates as indicating that Pegonites was sent to the southern coast of the Black Sea, the area that had long been connected with the Crimea by a direct route?

Sailing the direct route from the Crimean shore to Sinope on the southern coast of the Black Sea took about five days even in the fourteenth century: the metropolitan Pimen sailed past Kaffa and Surož (Sugdeia) in the Crimea on 5 June 1389 and arrived at Sinope on June 10;[28] Eustathius of Thessalonica gives a shorter time (perhaps drawn from ancient tradition), but even according to his information, the way from the Ram's forehead in Cimmeria to Karambis in Paphlagonia could last three days.[29]

We have to bear in mind that Choniates's contemporaries were fearful of the open sea and preferred to sail, in the words of Theophylact of Ochrid, "nearly touching the shore with the oar."[30] Especially important for our purpose is a letter by Eustathius of Thessalonica addressed most probably to Nicephorus Comnenus, who died about 1173. Eustathius sent his letter from Constantinople to the island of Kos, to which Nicephorus was assigned as ἄρχων. Eustathius refers to his letter as "coming across the sea" and complains that tidings about Nicephorus arrive very slowly, as the fathomless sea lies between the two friends.[31] If Constantinople seemed to be separated from Kos by a fathomless deep, it is quite natural to assume that a Byzantine of the twelfth century could not conceive of the way from Sinope to the coast of the Crimea as being a short one, particularly since the voyage across the boundless expanse of the Black Sea appeared at that time highly dangerous. The same Eustathius, while relating that the ancients found the Black Sea unfriendly to travelers and dangerous for ships, adds that this opinion had remained valid until his day.[32] Even coastal navigation in the Black Sea (between Trebizond and Constantinople) was for Choniates's contemporaries a difficult and painful exprience.[33]

[28] M. N. Tixomirov, "Puti iz Rossii v Vizantiju v XIV-XV vv.," in *Vizantijskie očerki* (Moscow, 1961), p. 7.
[29] Müller, *Geographi*, 2: 244.15-25.
[30] *PG*, vol. 126, col. 501c.
[31] Eustathius, *Opuscula*, pp. 319.53-5.
[32] C. Müller, *Geographi*, pp. 244.5-8.
[33] L. Petit, "Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Etienne Skylitzès, métropolitain de

We should acknowledge that Pegonites, who was active close to the Hyperboreans in Tauroscythia and often visited the klimata of Pontos, was a Byzantine official on the northern, not on the southern, shore of the Black Sea.

Let us return once more to the Chalybes-smiths. We must not conclude from Choniates's letter that Pegonites necessarily dwelt next door to the Chalybes, as Lampros and Stadtmüller interpreted the text. "Or else (ἢ τάχα, lit. 'are you probably')," he writes, "do you live in the proximity of the Chalybes-smiths ... so that you could have armed your love with a Chalybian sword?"—a question rather than an affirmation. Let us assume nevertheless that Choniates gave a positive answer. In this case it would be relevant to understand who his Chalybes were. Byzantine authors have been often rebuked for the looseness of their ethnic terminology; such names as Persians, Turks, Scythians were severally applied to a broad range of various peoples. Eustathius, in his *Commentary on the Iliad*, quoted Strabo (XII, 3.20-21), who had identified the Chalybes with the Halizoni, or Alazones, who in turn are called Scythians.[34] Thus Choniates's friend did not exclude the possibility that the Chalybes were of Scythian stock.

The ethnicon "Chalybes" had the connotation "skillful smiths." Eustathius, following Strabo, emphasizes that the Chalybes once possessed silver mines and now have mines of iron ore. Who, then, could have been the Chalybes-smiths of Michael Choniates?

Abaev has expressed the hypothesis that the medieval name for Kerch, "Kr"čev," was connected with the vocational term "k"rčij," meaning "smith, moulder."[35] Were that true, it would be natural to assume that medieval Kerch was a developed center of metallurgy, and in that case we could not exclude the possibility that Choniates had Kerch in mind when he spoke of Pegonites's stay not far from the smiths.

This suggestion may be supported by the words of Choniates that we have left unexplained until now. He defined Tauroscythia as a region located on the other side (τὸ ἀντίπορθμον) of the strait. If the Greek word πορθμός (lit. 'ferry or place crossed by a ferry') could be, albeit

Trébizonde," *Izvestija Russkogo arxeologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole* 8 (1902): 11.171; see also 13.228-9.

[34] Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentia*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1971), pp. 571 ff. (on Il. 2:857).

[35] V.I. Abaev, "Iz istorii slov. Drevnerusskoe kŭrčij 'kuznec' i toponim Kerč," *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1959, no. 1, pp. 96ff. A different etymology of the toponym Kerch/Kerč is proposed by O.N. Trubačev, "Slavjanskie ètimologii," *Ètimologičeskie issledovanija po russkomu jazyku* 2 (1962): 39ff.

rarely, applied to a sea in general, ἀντίπορθμος is attested only in the sense of "across the strait, on the opposite side of the strait." Thus it is more probable that Choniates had in mind not Tauroscythia located on the Black Sea, but rather Tauroscythia separated from Pegonites's district by a strait, by a narrow line of water. The strait in question can be only the Cimmerian Bosporus.

Thus Choniates depicts Pegonites as a tax collector active in the area of Tmutorokan'. Tauroscythia is located on the other side of the strait, perhaps around the town of smiths, Kerch-Korčev. Choniates's letter guides us to the same region as was mentioned in the chrysobull of 1169.

In another letter Choniates, writing to his friend Michael Autoreianos, mentioned that his brother Nicetas was sent "directly to Paphlagonia" (vol. 2, p. 7.20). Since this letter (no. 5) was dispatched later than that to Pegonites (no. 3), it seems quite feasible that Nicetas received his new assignment while still on the Cimmerian Bosporus and went "directly" across the Black Sea to his new province without visiting Constantinople.

Choniates's letter to Pegonites permits us to surmise that Byzantium around 1180 possessed a real authority on the Cimmerian Bosporus, and that Byzantine officials were collecting taxes in those parts. A Byzantine seal of a certain Michael, archon of Matracha, Zichia, and all of Khazaria, leads us to the same area. Bănescu, who dated this seal to the end of the eleventh century, asserted that Byzantium at that time subdued vast territories along the coast of the Caucasus and in the steppe around the Azov sea.[36] Soloviev demonstrated that Bănescu's localization of Zichia and Khazaria was erroneous;[37] for example, the term Khazaria referred at that time to the Crimea rather than to the vast steppe on the Lower Volga. However, Soloviev's idea that Michael the archon of Matracha, Zichia, and Khazaria should be identified with the Rus' prince of Tmutorokan', Oleg Svjatoslavič, is not valid. Archons of different Byzantine towns are known,[38] and the archon of Matracha could have been a Byzantine governor—the more so since from Alexius I to Manuel I, Byzantium exercized a certain power in this region.

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[36] Bănescu, "La domination byzantine," p. 57f.

[37] A. Soloviev, "Domination byzantine ou russe au nord de la Mer Noire à l'époque des Comnènes?," in *Akten des XI. Internazionalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses* (Munich, 1960). p. 572.

[38] H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 54-61; on the seal of Michael see p. 58, fn. 1.

The Rus' were active in Byzantium during the twelfth century, and Mošin has showed convincingly how deeply they were involved in Byzantine political life of that period.[39] The corresponding evidence contained both in the Rus' chronicle and in Kinnamos has also been used many times. Less known is information conveyed by several minor Byzantine sources of the twelfth century; thus Laurent has published a seal dated in the eleventh or twelfth century with the name of a certain John the Rusin on whom the title of "protovestes" was bestowed.[40] The inscription made on an encolpion (to be dated in the twelfth century) mentions another Rusin, Theodore, who claimed to have belonged to a princely family.[41] The "Rus'" topic is constantly present in the works of leading writers. If the evidence concerning political events has already been collected and thoroughly studied, the so-called *kulturgeschichtliche* testimonies, by contrast, have attracted little attention. Even if their content is meager, the abundance of this evidence itself testifies to the considerable interest of twelfth-century Byzantines in the life of their northern neighbors. Tzetzes wrote to the metropolitan of Dristra about an inkstand made of "fish bone" (i.e., walrus's tusk) and describes the object as being "of Tauric or Rus' carving."[42] While commenting on this in the *Historiae*, Tzetzes notes that the Tauri and the Rus' are the same people.[43] Though in the letter to the metropolitan of Dristra Tzetzes exclaimed that he could not speak the "barbarian language" so as to communicate with his slave Vsevolod-Theodore, who was of Mysian, not Rus' origin,[44] he bragged in the epilogue to his *Theogonia* that he knew various foreign languages and could accost the Rus' by saying: "Zdraste, brate, sestrica" and "Dobra deni" ("Hello, brother [and] sister" and "Good morning").[45] Tzetzes was interested in the geography and toponomy of the area north of the Black Sea. His explanation for the

[39] V. Mošin, "Russkie na Afone i russko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI-XII vv.," *Byzantinoslavica* (hereafter *Bsl*), 9 (1947): 55-85, and 11 (1950): 32-60.

[40] V. Laurent, *La collection Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), no. 69.

[41] S. Lampros, "Ho Markianos kôdix 524," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 8 (1911): no. 254.

[42] Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, p. 119.5-8. On this letter, see J. Shepard, "Tzetzes' Letters to Leo at Dristra," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 6 (1979): 196-198 (translation), 215-221 (commentary).

[43] Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 11: 872-876.

[44] Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, p. 120.17-18.

[45] H. Hunger, "Zum Epilog der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 46 (1953): 305.26-8, reprinted in his *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung* (London, 1973).

local name of the Maeotis is many times commented on;[46] less known is his evidence concerning the marvellous lake of Siaka or Siachar, in which the water is so light that even the foliage falling on its surface would sink to the bottom.[47] Tzetzes located this strange lake in the land of the Cimmerians, whose dwellings were scattered in ravines and forests that never saw the sun. If we assume that this story hints at Karelia, with its mountains, woods, lakes, and endless winter nights, the name Siaka could be identified with the Karelian lake Seg-ozero (the lake of Seg); but the identification of legendary regions is always very dubious.

A nodding acquaintance with the Rus' language may be found in several Byzantine texts of the period. The word "zubr" (wild ox) is used by Nicetas Choniates,[48] while Eustathius of Thessalonica found in a "barbarian" language a faint echo of the Homeric word μήκων 'poppy,' in the form μάκων,[49] readily recognizeable from the Slavic or Rus' *mak*. In another work Eustathius said that some tribes prepared an intoxicating, winelike drink from barley, and the "semi-barbarians" called it οὐλοβῖναι; according to Eustathius, this word stemmed from the Greek οὐλαί designating barley-corns, and the Latin *vinum* 'wine'. The etymology is artificial and wrong; as a matter of fact, *ulobinai* is a slightly distorted form of the old Rus' word *olovina*, meaning fermented liquor made from wheat or barley; the word has been used by Rus' medieval translators to transfer the Greek σίκερα and ζῦθος 'beer'.[50] Even more relevant is another piece of evidence from Eustathius: he says that the Egyptians, as well as, later, some Scythian tribes, used to carve

46 Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 8: 760-771. See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1958), p. 343, with references to previous articles on the subject.

47 Tzetzes, *Historiae*, 12: 847-852. The image was very dear to Tzetzes; see, for instance, H. Hunger, "Johannes Tzetzes, Allegorien zur Odyssee, Buch 1-12," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 49 (1956): 298; another version of this story is reported in Tzetzes's Life of Saint Lucia (A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* [St. Petersburg, 1909], p. 82.9-12), a curious hagiographic work frequently elaborating on the topics touched upon in Tzetzes's *Historiae*. Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki," p. 66, mentions Siaka, referring, however, not to these works of Tzetzes, but to his scholia to Lycophron, where I could not find a trace of this fabulous lake. Bibikov's identification of Siaka with the Sivash does not seem valid: there are no mountains around the Sivash, and its salted brine is somewhat heavier than normal water.

48 Choniates, *Historia*, p. 333.52. On the Crimean fish βερζίτικον, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1958), p. 89.

49 Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, 2: 584.21-4.

50 Migne, *PG*, 136, col. 680 D. See I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1902), pp. 660 ff. The Slavic origin of the word has not been recognized by Ph. Kukules, *Thessalonikes Eustathiu ta laographika*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1950), p. 214.

letters on wooden boards and boxes, and now these ξύλινα βιβλιδάρια 'wooden books' are common among the inhabitants of Tauris.[51] As van der Valk, Eustathius's commentator, notes, it is quite probable that the Byzantine writer referred to a contemporary usage among the Rus'.

There are other important observations concerning the northern shore of the Black Sea in Eustathius's *Commentary on the Iliad*: he knows that "up until now" (εἰσέτι) the burning of the dead remains habitual among the "northern barbarians";[52] he mentions (following Athenaeus) that the Borysthenes (Dnieper) sometimes has violet-colored water;[53] he describes the Alan fashion of cutting hair to resemble a bowl.[54] And in another work, his satire on monastic life, Eustathius speaks with indignation of monastic luxury — the monk's food included roe of fish that the river Tanais brings to the Black Sea.[55]

Byzantine poets of the twelfth century do not neglect to mention the Rus', albeit usually in a quite vague context. An anonymous poet praises Manuel I, who frightened "the entire people of Rus'," and won trophies over six kings — those of the Germans, Carinthians, Rus', Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles (Λέχοι).[56] We may tentatively surmise that these poems refer to the same events as those described by Michael in the speech analyzed above, but the attribution of these victories remains precarious, and even if attached to some concrete Byzantine expeditions, these scanty lines cannot be made to yield much meaning.

Prodromos indicates several times that τὸ Γαλατικόν was trembling before John II. Since τὸ Γαλατικόν or Γαλάται appear in Prodromos together with the Scythians and Dalmatians, it would be natural to connect them with the princedom of Halych.[57] However, this infor-

[51] Eustathius, *Commentarii*, 2: 272.6-12.
[52] Eustathius, *Commentarii*, 1: 69.20-1.
[53] Eustathius, *Commentarii*, 3: 150.27-9.
[54] Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1830), p. 275 (1292.61-3).
[55] Eustathius, *Opuscula*, pp. 231.5-10.
[56] Lampros, "Ho Markianos kôdix," no. 318.13, 320.6-7. See S. Šestakov, "Zametki k stixotvorenijam *codicis Marciani graeci 524*," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (hereafter *VizVrem*), 24 (1923-1926): 49f.
[57] W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* (Vienna, 1974), no. 1.91 and 95, 4.225, 44.112. On the relationship between Byzantium and Halych/Galich, see E. Frances, "Les relations russo-byzantines au XII^e siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube," *Bsl* 20 (1959): 50-62; O. Jurewicz, "Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Russland in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Byzantinische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 333-357. Neither contains any reference to Prodromos. Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki," p. 65f., listed Prodromos's poems concerning "Galatians" — he only "forgets" to mention that all his information is borrowed from my article, "Dva novyx vizantijskix pamjatnika XII stoletija," *VizVrem* 24 (1964): 77.

mation, too, is far from being explicit. More important and more complicated is another poem by Prodromos, in which he claims proudly that his uncle, named after Christ, was a bishop (πρόεδρος) of the Rus' land.[58]

Scholars have long ago noticed these words and juxtaposed them with the title to the rules established by John II, metropolitan of Kiev, and addressed to a certain monk Jacob; in this title John is given the epithet "called Christ's prophet." The suggestion has been advanced that the Greek metropolitan Christ Prodromos was transformed by the translator into "Christ's prophet."[59] This hypothesis is attractive but not sufficiently founded.

First, the Greek πρόδρομος ought to have been translated *predteča* 'precursor', rather than *prorok* 'prophet'. It is far-fetched to suggest that the translator had it in mind that the Precursor, i.e., John the Baptist, was also called "Christ's prophet." Secondly, a Byzantine, when taking the monastic habit, usually chose a name which began with the same letter as his baptismal name. Hence the transformation of a Christ into a John is unlikely to have taken place. Moreover, even if Prodromos's uncle had been baptized Christ in Byzantium, he was known as John in the Kievan state, and it would have been strange for him to sign his works with his old secular name, Christ Prodromos. Further, there was no such baptismal name as Christ among the Byzantines: "named after Christ" (χριστός ὠνομασμένος) meant Manuel in the language of Prodromos and his contemporaries since in the Gospel (Math. 1:23) the name Emmanuel is interpreted as "God with us" and applied to Jesus. Prodromos calls Manuel I "emperor who has God's name."[60] The epithets "named after God" (θεονυμούμενος) or "after Christ" (χριστοκλυτώνυμος or χριστώνυμος) were also applied to Manuel,[61] just as the epithet χαριτώνυμος designated John. Finally, Prodromos was born around 1100, whereas John II occupied the Kievan see from 1077 through 1088. Since Prodromos claims that he was brought up in piety by his grandfather and his uncle, "named after Christ," this

[58] Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, no. 59.188-9.

[59] This hypothesis, already advanced by V. Vasil'evskij (*Trudy*, 1: 174f.), has been recently supported by Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, p. 23. See, however, my objections in "Dva novyx vizantijskix pamjatnika," p. 66f.

[60] Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos*, no. 30.358-59.

[61] K. Krumbacher, *Michael Glykas* (Munich, 1894), p. 450.71; C. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im XII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 61.7, 67.71; W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinarum*, vol. 2 (Petrograd, 1917; reprinted Leipzig, 1982), p. 211.19.

uncle could not have been John II, who had died a generation before Prodromos's birth.

Thus there are no grounds for identifying Prodromos's uncle with John II. Since his name was, in all probability, Manuel, he could be the same person as Manuel, the bishop of Smolensk, whose seal was published by Laurent.[62] Having become bishop of Smolensk in about 1137, he could quite easily have been Prodromos's uncle. But even this identification is no more than a hypothesis.

These scattered pieces of evidence, however insignificant each may seem, are collectively of considerable value. They testify to the real interest in the Kievan state expressed by Byzantine society in the twelfth century.

Dumbarton Oaks
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[62] V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Paris, 1963), no. 795. On his activity (at least until 1156), see M. D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X-XII vv.* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 348-389.

On the Izbornik of 1073

HORACE G. LUNT

The nine-hundredth anniversary of the *Izbornik of 1073*, the second-oldest dated Slavic manuscript and the largest and most opulent of all the early codexes, was to have been marked by the publication of a new edition.[1] When the date arrived, there was a series of scholarly meetings, but the published result has been only a few essays, none of them of major import.[2] It is particularly disconcerting that even the leading Soviet specialists in various fields were unable to examine the manuscript itself in order to settle such elementary questions as the make-up of gatherings.[3] One hopes that the authorities of the Moscow Historical Museum will relent sufficiently to allow proper technical studies to be made, and particularly to ensure that a full photographic record is made before the manuscript deteriorates further. At the very least, good microfilm copies should be made available to the scholarly world.[4]

[1] The photolithographic edition of 1880, published by the Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti (St. Peterburg) in 360 copies at the expense of the wealthy merchant T. S. Morozov, though not fully accurate, has served generations of scholars. The currently available reprint, reduced in size but fully legible (*Monumenta linguae slavicae*, vol. 3, [Wiesbaden, 1965]), has been helpful to Western scholars, but remains unmentioned by Soviet authors. Only part of O. M. Bodjanskij's scholarly edition survived; it was printed posthumously in *Čtenija v imp. Moskovskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix*, 1882, bk. 4. An introductory note by A. Djuvernua contains important observations that deserve further investigation. [See fn. 52, below.]

[2] The most important, by Soviet and Bulgarian scholars, appeared in *Izbornik 1073 g.: Sbornik statej*, ed. B. A. Rybakov, (Moscow, 1977). I cite the manuscript as I73, this volume as IS.

[3] See IS 20. Thus R. A. Simonov, writing about the possible shape of a symbol representing "900," was able without trouble to obtain a microfilm of the well-known early tenth-century Paris manuscript *Coislin*. 120 and reproduce the pertinent page (IS 171) so the reader sees at once the special *sampi*. In sharp contrast, the Soviet scholar was forced to speculate for several pages about the shape of the symbol in I73, because he could neither look at the single page in the museum in Moscow nor obtain a photograph.

[4] It is a sad commentary on the state of Slavic studies in the twentieth century that the best description is still A. Gorskij and K. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1859), pp. 365-405 (reprinted as vol. 2 of *Monumenta linguae slavicae*, [Wiesbaden,] 1964). The authors make occasional

Not only do the recent publications fail, on the whole, to record progress in the study of I73,[5] but they tend to repeat long outmoded views and to magnify old misunderstandings. I should like, therefore, to look briefly at the contents of the work, to make some observations concerning the codicological history of the manuscript, and to call attention once again to the relationship of the Slavonic florilegium to its Greek prototype.

As is well known, the four-line colophon of *Ioann dijak* states that the *Izbornik* was written for Grand Prince Svjatoslav in 1073.[6] This dedication is affirmed by a laudatory poem which is found at the beginning of the codex[7] and again immediately after the colophon. A Russian manuscript of about 1500 with almost exactly the same content has the same poem at the beginning, but with the name Simeon instead of Svjatoslav.[8] In conjunction with the obvious South Slavic origin

reference to an earlier account based on the careful copy of I73 made by the artist Ratšin in 1817 for Count Rumjancev, namely, Aleksandr Vostokov, *Opisanie russkix i slovenskix rukopisej Rumjancevskogo muzeuma* (St. Petersburg), 1842, pp. 499-506. Excellent though these works are on their own terms, they are hardly up to date.

[5] For example, L. P. Žukovskaja touches on the immensely interesting vocabulary of I73 only by rearranging the lexical material she culled from Nevostruev's description ("Leksika Izbornika 1073 g. v 'Opisanii rukopisej Sinodal'noj biblioteki,'" IS 152-169), with skimpy random notes on I. I. Sreznevskij's treatment in his *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka* (St. Petersburg, 1893-1912; reprinted, Graz, 1955-56 [still available] and Moscow, 1968 [out of print]). I comment briefly on certain points in fn. 51, below.

[6] The last three lines of the colophon were written with a different pen and, according to Gorskij and Nevostruev (*Opisanie*, 2, pt. 2 : 367), at least part is on scraped parchment; IS 218 has a fairly clear reproduction (mislabelled [as 2 verso], this is fol. 263c). These lines should be examined and photographed with up-to-date ultra-violet, infra-red and other techniques to see if any of the erased words can be discerned. [See post-script, p. 376.] I assume that Ioann is the scribe who wrote folios 86a15-264a24; another scribe, perhaps a supervisor, began and ended the manuscript.

[7] It starts on folio 2 verso, where the text is crowded into an elaborately illuminated ornamental frame, but spills over to folio 2 recto, which is occupied by a portrait of Christ. Surely the portrait represents the original verso; this folio was incorrectly placed when the volume was bound. It would be normal for the poem to start on the recto, and for Christ to be placed facing the full-page picture of the church and church fathers. In the 1965 reprint, oddly enough, a mirror image of 2^r was printed.

[8] This Kiril-Belozero manuscript (Kir.Bel. 5/1082) was first reported to be dated 1445. Djuvernua, however (cf. fn. 1, above), mentions no date. L. Masing argued persuasively (*Archiv f. slav. Phil.* 8 [1885]: 373-4) that the letters allegedly standing for "953" and taken to mean "6953" = 1445 were in fact "ami" or "amn" and clearly meant "amen"; he found the script very similar to a manuscript dated 1507. One wonders why the explicit date is given in the unsigned introduction to IS (p. 3) and by several authors, e.g., IS 25, 52, 222; only B. St. Angelov is more circumspect, IS 250. Masing's brief discussion (pp. 388-389) shows that KB and I73 derive from a common ancestor, while Djuvernua's notes (cf. fn. 1, above) make it clear that KB occasionally preserves older readings. Kuev for unstated reasons declares it to be an "almost exact copy" of I73.

of the text and translation, this fact has traditionally been accepted as proof that the original was dedicated to Simeon of Bulgaria (d. 927).

What is the subject matter of this volume? How is it presented? Russian and Bulgarian scholars seem to be impelled to insist on the high intellectual level of the Izbornik, and particularly its "encyclopedic character." The unsigned introduction to IS speaks of "articles on astronomy and the philosophy of nature, mathematics and physics, zoology and botany, grammar and poetics, history, ethics and Christian theology" (p. 3). It is true that these topics are all mentioned, but this description—and others like it in several of the articles in IS—raise expectations in a modern reader that certainly will not be met by the text itself. Gorskij and Nevostruev were quite right to class this codex among "dogmatic and spiritual-moral" works; this is primarily a collection of articles and excerpts from scripture and the church fathers, supplemented by lists of general data to help explain some of the difficult questions which might occur to the reader as he goes through the texts.

The items of less specific religious nature have been enumerated briefly by Ihor Ševčenko,[9] but it should be emphasized that most of the pieces dignified by the title of treatise are in fact merely lists. Six of them together occupy just over four columns, 250c7-251c15: a list of "planets" and signs of the zodiac, a list of Roman months with notes on diet or habits,[10] and the names of Jewish, Macedonian, Greek, and Egyptian months. The four items on the preceding pages, 247c18-250c, give a more detailed chronology of the life of Jesus and how dates are calculated, but they hardly constitute encyclopedic information on astronomy. These sixteen columns of *varia chronologica*, together with the final eight and one-half columns, 264a-266b, that contain the list of Roman emperors, take up less than two percent of the manuscript.

The Izbornik as a whole is made up of six thematic groups of works or excerpts of extremely different size and composition.[11] The chronological items comprise section V (plus the final addendum). Section I

[9] "Remarks on the Diffusion of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs," *Slavonic and East European Review* 59 (1981): 332-333.

[10] E.g., "7. September 30 [days], don't eat milk; 8. October 31, don't eat acid [foods] (*ocьtena*). 9. October [*sic*!] 30, don't wash yourself often; 10. December 31, don't eat cabbage." The rule for July is "Refrain from *afrodisii*." The untranslated ἀφροδίσια 'sexual pleasures' is glossed by the scribe or a contemporary as *otъ mnogyixъ brašьnъ* 'much food'. Is this prudery or ignorance?

[11] The scribe of I73 has confused major and minor items in providing numerical labels for sections of text. It is the sense and provenance of the works that determine the subdivisions I am discussing here.

includes the opening eight articles on the nature of the Holy Trinity and of true faith, plus the ninth, which gives an account of the six Ecumenical Councils and their decisions (fol. 4-27b, about nine percent of the whole codex).

Section II, folios 27b-223b, over seventy-five percent of the codex, is itself a florilegium, the *Questions and Answers* attributed to Anastasius of Sinai. This compilation, known in several recensions, consists of numerous and heterogeneous component parts that are organized according to a clear plan.[12] A question is posed, and Anastasius provides his answer, followed by appropriate quotations from scripture or the church fathers that affirm and elaborate on the points he has made or else explain some of the allusions. In the portion we will discuss in some detail below, for instance, Question 20 is, in shortened paraphrase, "What power enables false believers often to prophesy and work miracles?" Anastasius's own long answer is backed up by passages from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Romans, the Constitutions of the Apostles, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, and Chrysostom. Question 21 ("Why don't men know the day of their own death...?") has but four supporting authors — Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Diadochus, and Nilus.[13]

Much of the text is straightforward and clear. Many passages, however, contain elaborate metaphorical explanations, involving parables, allusive comparisons, analogies and antitheses, complex allegory, and

[12] Marcel Richard, who has surveyed the whole material, classes this work as a *monastic* florilegium (not "sacro-profane"); he has outlined its history. The 154-question version of this work (with seven unnumbered questions), which was compiled in the eleventh century, is available in volume 89 of Migne's *Patrologia graeca*, and thus serves as the usual basis for reference. 173 reflects a widely-known, 88-question edition of about 900, itself based on somewhat older sources. The text is well preserved in two early copies, *Vaticanus graecus* 423 and *Coislin.* 120 (Paris), to which we will return. Anastasius of Sinai lived in the eighth century, and a number of the questions must be labeled "pseudo-Anastasius." See Richard, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 5 (1964), cols. 475-512, esp. 500-501; also, "Les véritables 'Questions et réponses d'Anastase le Sinaite," *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, *Bulletin No.* 5 (1967-68), pp. 39-56. Richard does not deal with the florilegia like ours in which the *Questions* are imbedded. This perhaps is a problem which Slavists should investigate in connection with the history of 173.

[13] The quotations vary considerably in length. Taking Vat.gr. 423 as the standard, 20A (i.e., the question plus answer) occupies 357 lines; 20B (Jeremiah 23:16, 21) 7 lines; 20C (Ezekiel 14:7-10, 13:17) 23; 20D (Eccl 8:7-8, 11:5) 14; 20E (Wisdom 9:13-17) 10; 20F (Rom 11:33-4) 6; 20G 26; 20H 40; 20I 78; 20J 18. 21A has 90 lines; 21B 23; 21C 26; 21D 32; 21E 33. Parenthetically, let me note that scribes were particularly likely to become confused when copying the short bits, and it is understandable that such items can be omitted or else put in at a later point in the expected sequence.

hair-splitting definitions based on concepts drawn from various philosophical traditions and couched in phrases built, with varying degrees of skill, on classical rhetorical theory and practice. Some are abstruse but understandable; others range from nebulous to impenetrable. It makes sense, then, that the next block of four articles (divided into twenty items by the scribe, 223c-241c) should consist of works dealing with such terms as nature and essence, the difference between real and spiritual, and enumerating rhetorical devices.[14] While a reader may find some profit in this section III, this seven percent of I73 hardly constitutes encyclopedic treatment of rhetoric or philosophy, let alone grammar.

Section IV again discusses the nature of God, especially the Holy Trinity, in four more excerpts which take up somewhat more space than the chronological pieces, 241c-247c. Finally, the Ten Commandments are given, followed by three lists of the canon of books of the Old and New Testaments (with apocrypha and pseudepigrapha), a list of the prophets, a brief outline of the lives of the prophets, and finally a list of the twelve and the seventy apostles of Christ.

There is, to be sure, a great deal of curious information scattered among the answers. Question 40, "What was the ephod, through which the high priest asked questions of God?," requires an answer mentioning emeralds; a supplementary excerpt from Chrysostom refers also to "twelve stones," and this in turn is elucidated in a piece by Epiphanius defining twelve (semi-)precious stones, where they come from (including fantastic details), and their medical properties. (Incidentally, this section is a treasure-house of words denoting color, cf. fn. 51, below.) But such nuggets cannot change the fact that I73 reflects a religious compilation based on an average monastic library,[15] not a comprehensive source of general information.

[14] The section by Choeroboscus on tropes and figures has been given a great deal of attention in recent scholarship, including two articles in IS, and from the time of Buslaev it has been almost required in chrestomathies of Rusian language and literature. (Thus it is the sole representative of I73 in O. I. Bilec'kyj's *Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury*, published in 1967.) Yet is a faulty copy of a mediocre translation of a poorly abridged technical work that at best is very difficult to follow and at worst simply incomprehensible: all this was spelled out in detail by Ihor Ševčenko in his review of Justinia Besharov, *Imagery of the Igor' Tale in the Light of Byzantino-Slavic Poetic Theory* (Leiden, 1956), in *Speculum* 32 (1957): 538-543.

[15] This is Richard's judgment of the Anastasius florilegium, but it applies as well to the whole volume. Indeed, the entire body of early Slavonic translations represents at best a narrow selection — with a strong monastic bias — from the vast treasures presumably available in Byzantium; see the stern assessment by Francis J. Thomson, "The Nature of the Reception of Christian Byzantine Culture in Russia in the Tenth to Thirteenth

The size of 173 and its rich ornamentation, together with its association with the glorious Simeon, understandably led nineteenth-century philologists to assume that 173 must have been copied directly and faithfully from the Preslav original, which — they believed — must also have been a magnificent codex. However, it is little short of astonishing that contemporary scholars can repeat — and embroider on — this romantic notion.[16]

A casual observer leafing through the volume will notice rich illumination on the first four folios, then absolutely nothing to catch one's eye until folio 128, both sides of which are full-page illustrations, while 129r has an elaborate head-piece. Much further on, the margins of 250v and 251r are occupied by illustrations of the signs of the zodiac which obviously were added after the text had been written in the normal space. Finally, the last words of a prayer preceding the colophon (*vъ minuštija věky věkomъ aminъ* 263c) are written in a narrowing space, allowing room for a bird on each side of the column. An obvious question arises: why the special pages in the middle of the codex?[17]

A satisfactory explanation was proposed by Robert H. Whitman in his 1963 Harvard dissertation, and his major conclusions have long been available to the scholarly world.[18] However, it seems necessary once again to present and reinforce the salient points. We must look more closely at the text and its subdivisions.

The text is broken into a large number of individual articles which are provided with headings; an article may occupy several pages or only a

Centuries and its Implications for Russian Culture," *Slavica Gandensia* 5 (1978): 107-139.

As to the content, the space devoted to the Holy Trinity is entirely in keeping with the concerns of the time of Photius and his successors. The role of the *Filioque* in the expulsion of the disciples of Methodius from Moravia is reported in detail in the Greek *Life* of Clement of Ohrid by Theophylactus; we can speculate, therefore, that it was Clement or Naum or another of the Moravian missionaries who selected this particular florilegium for translation into Old Church Slavonic, in order to prepare Slavic Christians to deal with advocates of the *Filioque* or related unorthodox doctrines.

[16] M. V. Ščepkina, IS 232ff., P. N. Dinekov, IS 279.

[17] The verse encomium occupies 263d and most of 264a, still in the hand of the scribe who wrote the bulk of the text (from 86a15), as though a continuation of the colophon (cf. fn. 6, above). Then follows a chronological outline very like Nicephorus's *Chronographia brevis* (to 266b9) in the hand of the first scribe. Since a very similar text occurs in a comparable position in a Greek parallel manuscript, Coislin. 120, one may conjecture that it was inadvertently left out by the impatient Ioann (if he was indeed the major scribe) and had to be added by the supervisor of the whole work.

[18] "The Morphology of the *Svjatoslav Izbornik of 1073*" (unpublished); "The 1073 *Izbornik*: The Manuscript and its Sources," *Indiana Slavic Studies* 4 (1967): 252-267; "Une interpolation tardive de l'*Izbornik* de 1073," *Revue des études slaves* 46 (1967): 27-33.

couple of lines. Superficially it would seem that this is simply an assemblage of texts of differing length, but an attentive reader quickly sees that some items are clearly subordinate to others. Apparently the copyists who were required to reproduce the collection were chiefly concerned with keeping track of the items in order to make sure that all were accounted for. Therefore each section, major or minor, was assigned a number.

Folios 123-128r contain a list of 189 titles or introductory words which turn out to correspond almost exactly to the marginal numeration of the sections of text from 129a to the last item before the colophon.[19] The final twenty-one lines of the column preceding this index, 122d, was left blank after the end of a section completed at line 8.[20] The verso of folio 127 was also left blank, but a patristic passage was written in later (15th century?). Thus one text and numbered series of items ends at 122d; a table of contents for a new series follows immediately, then come a blank page, two full-page illustrations, and an illuminated half-page with the first text of a second numbered series. It certainly looks as though 123 marks the beginning of a new volume. Yet folios 124-130 constitute signature number 17 of I73, if the extant numbers at the foot of 124a and 130d are to be trusted.[21]

The answer, as Whitman concluded, is that I73 was copied from a model which consisted of two separate volumes.

Could the two-volume izbornik[22] have been the original work made for Simeon? Surely not: the boundary was put at an inappropriate place in the text, and the mechanical division was badly botched. The second

[19] Discrepancies in the list and text are displayed in a tabular comparison of the number and order of selections of I73 and later Russian copies published in 1886 by Leonard Masing, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 9 (1886): 77-112. The tables show that items in the first part of I73 are numbered from 1 to 206, then by error 77 to 104, giving a total of 234 individual sections; the second part has 194.

[20] The space was subsequently partly filled by a rather crude design with two birds and a few words. It should be noted that the leaves here are out of order, probably because of an error in binding. The sequence is 117, 149-152, 122-130; then a quaternion is missing. Folio 123 was thus close to the mid-point of the whole codex.

[21] See L. P. Žukovskaja, IS 19-20. She suggests that a folio is missing after 128, and 126 is the half-sheet. It would seem more likely that 126-27, with the end of the index, are a single sheet, while 128, entirely done by the illustrator(s), is the odd folio. Žukovskaja does not make it clear that signature 16 was a full quaternion made up of folios now numbered 116-17, 149-52, 122-23; she fails to mention that the number 16 at the foot of 116a was omitted in the photolithograph, but noted in the long list of errata published by A. A. Šaxmatov, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 6 (1882): 590-597.

[22] The terms *miscellany* and *syllogē* have been used for this work; I prefer to keep the Slavonic title.

volume begins with a text that is clearly a subdivision of a larger unit, as we see below, but that same text is already included toward the end of the first volume, along with some material which is extraneous to the unit in question.

Moreover, the codex which was the basis for the division was itself already faulty because of a mechanical error, as Whitman pointed out. The scribe of this earlier codex had transposed two blocks of text, thereby disturbing the sequence of material by splitting and joining three individual passages in a way that made little or no sense. However, the slightly odd sentences that resulted in three separate places did not cause later scribes to realize that anything was amiss.[23] Here it is possible only to sketch the complexities of the perturbations underlying the midpoint of I73, for the problems cannot be fully delineated — much less solved — without the material from several manuscripts I do not have access to.[24]

The original sequence is surely that preserved in the two early tenth-century Greek manuscripts, *Vaticanus graecus* 423 and Paris *Coislin.* 120, which correspond closely to I73 and its later congeners.[25]

The display in Table 1 (p. 368)[26] concerns Question 20 with its nine supplementary texts, 21 with four, 22 with six, and 23 with four. The two Greek manuscripts are compared to I73 and to a fifteenth-century Russian manuscript, *Rumjancev* 6, at the Lenin Library. R6 does not

[23] Masing was concerned with comparing items numbered by the scribes of I73, KB, etc.; his footnotes concerning the disturbance here are cryptic. The disturbance is not indicated in the tables by L. P. Grjazina and N. A. Ščerbačeva that display the sequence of textual items in I73 and five manuscripts of the Lenin Library, IS 74.

[24] Beside the 1880 photolitograph and its 1965 reprint, I have only a microfilm of Rumjancev 6, Masing's R1.

[25] Descriptions were published by Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 2 (= *Codices* 330-363, The Vatican, 1937), pp. 138-141, and *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs*, vol. 2: *Le Fond Coislin* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscripts, 1945), pp. 109-111. I will discuss the relationship of V423 to C120 in more detail below; my references to them are based on photo-copies graciously made available to me by Ihor Ševčenko. I should like to thank Jeffrey Featherstone and Sophia Georgiopoulou for their generous help in reading the manuscripts and for answers to many related questions about Byzantine literature and language. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Featherstone for transcribing several passages from the photos.

[26] The table displays the relationship of the Greek model (and, by inference, its presumably equivalent OCS version) to the hypothetical Rusian model that has the typical perturbation exibited in R6, and the further deviation of I73 from the Rusian prototype.

This method of display was worked out by Hugh M. Olmsted for dealing with the extraordinarily complex sborniki of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries; see his "Studies in the early manuscript tradition of Maksim Grek's collected works" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1978).

contain all the texts of I73, but in these passages it can serve as the model which shows the reversal of blocks of text in precisely the spots we must assume for I73.

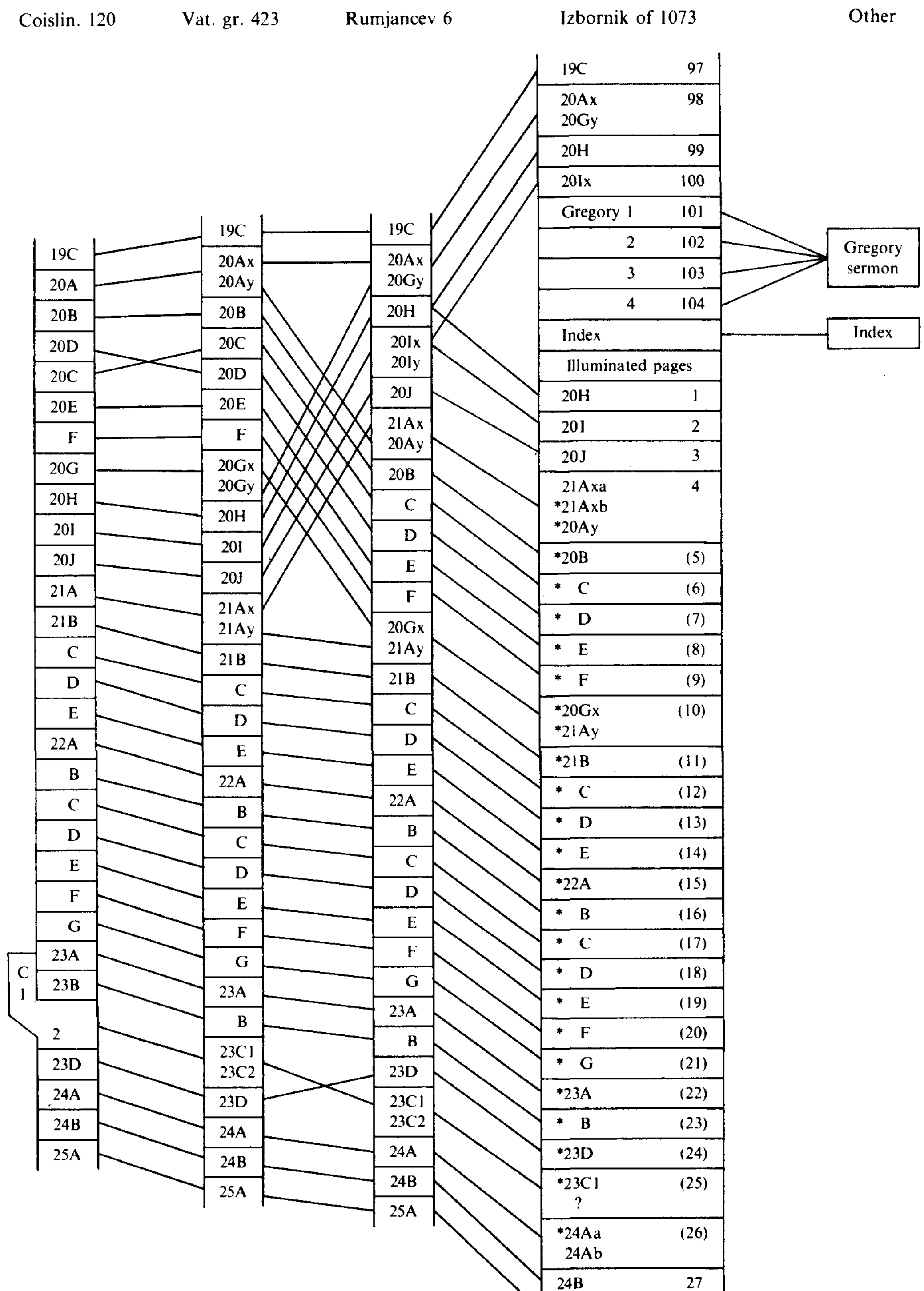
In this discussion, two reasons for subdividing a given textual unit must be distinguished. For a subdivision arising because of a loss of folios in a manuscript, I use the symbols *a* and *b*. For a division caused by a mechanical error, I use *x* and *y*. Thus 20Ax is the first portion of the answer to Question 20 up to the point where an earlier scribe erroneously skipped to 20Gy, i.e., the second fragment of the sixth text adduced as a supplement to the original answer.

The scribes of the two Greek manuscripts obviously understood the structure of Anastasius's work, and the questions are usually numbered correctly, that is, the main subdivisions are recognized and labelled.[27] In contrast, the Slavic scribes seem to have been little concerned with the real sense of the material; we have to assume that they were inattentive, for otherwise their errors and inconsistencies are impossible to account for. The numbering in I73 (and analogous numbers in several later texts) demonstrates that the model at hand was concerned only with providing each selection, or item, with a separate label. There are places where a major subdivision is unnumbered, e.g., Question 60, at 181a3.[28] In the part we are examining here, the heading plus the incomplete first sentence of 20I constituted a section which, in the opinion of the scribe of I73, merited the number 100.[29] Since the sense did not matter much, it was possible for a scribe to transpose texts in such a way as to divide items 20A, 20G and 21A and reunite them into the sections labelled 98, 4, and 10 in I73. In Table 1 the hybrid subdivisions are 20Ax/20Gy, 21Ax/20Ay, and 20Gx/21Ay. Analysis of I73 is complicated here by the loss of signature number 18, which originally followed folio 130, but the index allows us at least to establish the name and order of the items.

[27] In terms of the 154-question sequence, V423 and C120 reflect a four-part arrangement with separately numbered questions: 1-22; 23-53; 54-59, 142-143; 144-151, 60-70, 128, 71-74, 152-154. The actual labels in the manuscripts are confused or omitted in the second "chapter" but agree in the other three. The division neatly fits Richard's observation that the first group deals with moral problems, the other three with the Bible—specifically questions about the Old Testament, the Epistles, and the New Testament.

[28] On the other hand, where PG 89 573 has two questions, 33 and 34, I73 145d25-26 agrees with C and V in having a single continuous text.

[29] The same sort of muddle occurs on 213v, where the scribe became confused and put in a portion of a previous item (213d5-19 = 213b23-c8, with interesting variations of detail), then repeated a second item (213c9-d23 = 213d20-214a15: heading changed from *Theologovo* to *Bogoslovьca*!), with a number for each heading.



Coislin. 120
Vat. gr. 423
Rumjancev 6
Izbornik of 1073
Other
19C
20A
20B
20D
20C
20E
F
20G
20H
20I
20J
21A
21B
C
D
E
22A
B
C
D
E
F
G
23A
23B
C
1
2
23D
24A
24B
25A
19C
20Ax
20Ay
20B
20C
20D
20E
F
20Gx
20Gy
20H
20I
20J
21Ax
21Ay
21B
C
D
E
22A
B
C
D
E
F
G
23A
B
23C1
23C2
23D
24A
24B
25A
19C
20Ax
20Gy
20H
20Ix
20Iy
20J
21Ax
20Ay
20B
C
D
E
F
20Gx
21Ay
21B
C
D
E
22A
B
C
D
E
F
G
23A
B
23D
23C1
23C2
24A
24B
25A
19C 97
20Ax 98
20Gy
20H 99
20Ix 100
Gregory 1 101
2 102
3 103
4 104
Index
Illuminated pages
20H 1
20I 2
20J 3
21Axa 4
*21Axb
*20Ay
*20B (5)
* C (6)
* D (7)
* E (8)
* F (9)
*20Gx (10)
*21Ay
*21B (11)
* C (12)
* D (13)
* E (14)
*22A (15)
* B (16)
* C (17)
* D (18)
* E (19)
* F (20)
* G (21)
*23A (22)
* B (23)
*23D (24)
*23C1 (25)
?
*24Aa (26)
24Ab
24B 27
25A 28
Gregory sermon
Index

Table 1

Thus, hybrid item 4 is represented only by two lines of the heading, symbolized here as 21Axa; by inference we posit continuation of the text in a form symbolized as 20Axb plus 20Ay.[30] Transposition of items 23C and D is typical of what can happen with short subdivisions. C1 is the names of forty great rivers, C2 the names of twelve great mountains. The index of I73 mentions the rivers only; there is no way to guess whether the label is abbreviated, or whether the short list of mountains was indeed omitted.

Masing's tables show that all Slavic manuscripts known to him have two serious lacunae. First, the text jumps in mid-sentence from a subdivision of Question 48 to one of 52, so that all of Questions 49-51 are lost. In R6 the scribe places no marking at all between the dangling relative pronoun *o nem'ze* and the vocative *gospodi* of a totally unrelated sentence. I73 recognizes the anomaly at least by marking the spot, 163c24, with the four-dot lozenge usually used to indicate the end of a heading or full subsection. Second, I73 215d26 is close to the end of Question 152B, but 27 is well down in Question 153; the equivalent of V423 371v24-372r7 or C120 187v28-188r25 has been lost. Here neither I73 nor R6 has any punctutation to mark the break. It seems highly improbable that such meaningless juxtapositions could have occurred in the original translation or even a careful copy made for the original patron. These gross errors surely constitute proof that there were intermediary copies between Simeon's time and Svjatoslav's.[31]

A manuscript of more than about 275 parchment folios is somewhat unwieldy, and is easier to handle if divided into two volumes, even though that might not be the original intention of the scribe. Thus Vat. gr. 423, whose pages measure 235 × 165 mm., is at present bound in two covers, having been divided at a spot where a section ended on the last page of a gathering. The first page of the second volume is labelled 27 in a Greek hand younger than the manuscript itself to identify the signature, and with the modern numeral 227 to indicate the folio. The text starts with the heading of 23C1, that is, within Question 23. It seems

[30] A sequence like 23Ax 23Ay is used in the V423 column to show where the potential break would be in the correct original text. In the I73 column, asterisks mark items assumed to have been present on the pages of the now missing eighteenth signature.

[31] One assumes from Masing's presentation that KB shares the transposition in Questions 20 and 21, and is divided into two sequences of items like I73. The first part ends with the hybrid 20Ax/20Gy, but omits the incorrectly placed 20H and fragmentary 20Ix, as well as the third of the four Gregory excerpts. Still another minor omission would not show up in Masing's tables, for the item number is untouched: in Question 26 the question itself is truncated and a line or two of the answer is lost, I73 135b = R6 140r.

very likely that a Slavic predecessor of I73 was also a quarto volume which was arbitrarily divided. Secondarily, a scribe added the four short excerpts from the sermon by Gregory of Nazianzus on baptism at the end of the first volume.[32] At about this time, indices were prepared for the two volumes; sometime afterwards, we may presume, the whole work was again copied into a single codex. This then would explain the very close similarity of the Belozero volume (containing the poem to Simeon) and I73. A major difference, however, would be an intermediary copy with two folio volumes, and illustrations at the beginning of each.

Why should this florilegium be produced with such lavish care? No elaborately illustrated codex in the Byzantine tradition has this sort of text. I submit that we have here an arbitrary choice dependent on local Rusian criteria.

The ornamentation, as V. D. Lixačeva demonstrated, IS 204-216, derives from nearly contemporary Byzantine models. While the picture of the princely family may ultimately have been inspired by an older Bulgarian family portrait, this need not have been so. Indeed, we might speculate that there was an older portrait of Jaroslav, surely the most influential patron of Slavic letters in Rus'; we might even conjecture that the izbornik itself could have been dedicated to Jaroslav in its earliest luxurious Rusian edition.[33]

Was the OCS translation dedicated to Simeon? The poem was surely added before 1073, but was it originally written for this izbornik? The text celebrates the erudition of Simeon and praises his sponsorship of the translation of edificatory works, specifically St. Basil. The first selection in I73 is indeed by this prolific writer; but it is a very specific piece about the definition of a true Christian, and not the kind of general work the poem seems to allude to. Zoe Hauptová argues convincingly that the encomium was intended rather as an introduction to the Hexameron of Ioan Exarch.[34] Though surely a product of Simeon's time and milieu, the izbornik was not necessarily dedicated expressly to him.

[32] The four excerpts, published by Whitman in RESl (see fn. 18 above), were surely taken from a Rusian copy of the sermon very like the one that survives in the well-known eleventh-century volume of thirteen sermons, as Whitman convincingly demonstrates.

[33] The number of syllables in the names Simeon, Jaroslav, Izjaslav, and Svjatoslav are the same, so the substitution of one for another makes no difference in the syllabic meter of the poem. [See postscript, p. 376.] It should be emphasized that the inclusion of the poem on folio 2v certainly looks like a last-minute change of plan. The carefully illuminated frame is far too small to have been originally intended for this text.

[34] Zoe Xauptova, "Poxvala carju Simeonu, ee avtor i vizantijskie obrazy," *Starobъlgarska literatura*, bk. 10, 1981, pp. 88-94.

Let me then state tentative theses to be tested by further research. First, we may assume that this modest florilegium was introduced to Bulgarian readers in the form of a quarto volume, with no special ornamentation. A copy, possibly already with a significant lacuna in the Questions of Anastasius, found its way to Rus' with other volumes of the extensive literature that had been translated in Byzantium and Moravia, and perhaps Pannonia, Rome, and Croatia in the ninth century, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the Bulgarian Empire, and perhaps also the Holy Land, during the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Second, in an early copy made from this South Slavic codex, portions of Questions 20 and 21 were transposed. Third, this faulty copy became the model for a version which was divided into two volumes, each provided with an index; at this point the encomium to Simeon was added at the end of the second volume.[35] Fourth, an elegant edition with illustrations at the beginning of each volume was made, very likely dedicated to a Rus' prince, let us suppose Jaroslav. And finally this two-volume work was reproduced in a single tome, with up-dated art-work and an appropriately modified dedication to the current patron, Svjatoslav.

What about the text or texts from which the translation was made?

Vostokov knew the Paris Greek manuscript *Coislin.* 120 only from Monfaucon's 1715 description, but he recognized that it was essentially the same florilegium as I73. At the same time, he saw differences that proved C120 could not have been the actual original from which the Slavic translators worked in Simeon's Bulgaria. Bodjanskij commissioned an exact copy of C120, and he based his edition of I73 on it; this copy has apparently been available to other scholars in Moscow from time to time. *Codex Vaticanus graecus* 423 has often been mentioned in connection with I73,[36] but it has not yet been exploited for scholarly purposes. A recent enthusiastic note holds that I73 follows V423 "section after section and page after page," but the author stops short of the claim that this was indeed the original.[37] A more sober look reveals,

[35] I assume that the index to the first part was either lost in the last-minute rearrangement when the dedication to Svjatoslav was put in at the beginning of I73 or — more likely — in later centuries.

[36] See especially Ihor Ševčenko, in *Speculum* 32 (1957): 78.

[37] Božidar Pejčev, "*Cod. Vat. gr.* 423 - ein Analogus dem Izbornik J. 1073," *Palaeobulgarica* 1 (1977): 78. Pejčev's breathless air of discovery is hard to understand in view of the fact that the correspondence between V423 and C120 was mentioned by Robert Devreesse both in his 1937 description of Vatican manuscripts and his 1945 description of the Coislin collection, as was duly noted by Whitman (1967, fns. 13 and 14). For more recent scholarly notices, see Ihor Ševčenko, *Slavonic and East European Review* 59 (1981): 332, fn. 27.

as might be expected, that V423, too, has its defects. There is no need to claim that either of these early tenth-century manuscripts was known to Simeon's bookmen; what is important is that the discrepancies between them are trivial and the coincidence of both—or, more rarely, only one—of them with I73 is close to one hundred percent.[38] We can confidently posit that C120, V423, and a third contemporary copy which found its way to Bulgaria all stem directly from a single model.[39] On the whole, the portions that concern Slavists are best preserved in 423, but it does have omissions and minor deviations where 120 and I73 agree on details we must ascribe to the prototype. Unfortunately, 423 becomes illegible at the end (I73 258c14; the final page, 423v, presumably had the text of I73 258c14-d19).[40]

V423 was carefully written by a fairly literate and attentive scribe; there are few erasures and almost no corrections. C120, on the other hand, is full of mistakes, omissions, erasures, and marginal notations.[41] Many errors were corrected by the scribe, still others by later hands.

[38] The only substantial difference is that C has a much fuller version of one article than V and I73. The first item following Anastasius in what I have called section III is a piece on nature and essence and categories, attributed to Theodore of Raithou (I 223c-235a, subdivided into sections labelled 150-172); in C it contains additional sections that are equivalent to ten or eleven folios of I73. It is probable that V and I result from abridgement of this longer version.

[39] Emil Georgiev blandly states that the Greek florilegium was compiled by Bulgars under the direct supervision of Simeon, IS 263-272. It is an implausible assumption.

[40] Pejčev states that folio 228v (a misprint taken over from Devreesse for 227v) "contains remarks on the activity of Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos between 911-925" and therefore could not be a model for I73. But the entire entry, the last in a list of patriarchs, is "90. Νικολάος πάλιν" (both words abbreviated); the dates were supplied by Devreesse to identify which Nicolas is meant. The entry thus tells us only that C120 was written no earlier than 911. Now, the final entry in I73 has as the most recent rulers in Contantinople Constantine and Zoe, long ago identified as Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his mother, who died in 920; at least in terms of date, C120 could have been known when the translation was made. Pejčev states that the omission of Patriarch Nicolas from V423 means it is older than C120. But the list in question is positioned in C120 well after the point where V423 breaks off; we simply cannot know what V423 had after the end of the article on the lives of the prophets.

As for C120, it continues after the list of the first followers of Christ with lists of patriarchs, then has a gap and returns to articles about philosophical categories, breaking off again in mid-sentence. In terms of percentage, therefore, C is more heavily weighed in favor of philosophical definitions than V and I. But it is still far from being encyclopedic.

[41] For example, see the photo in IS 171. The original scribe noted that "crucifixion" is pertinent to the word "birth" in the text equivalent to I 250a14; compare Migne PG 92 1057B, where the same addition is made. Lower down a much later scribe has added first πλήρη (I73 *isplъnъ*) and still lower καὶ ἑξῆς ὑπέπεσε τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ 'and next he [man] fell into sin'. I73 250b2-4 is either based on a different phrase or was incorrectly translated: *vidě i poplъzъša sę grěxъmь* '[God] saw him who had lapsed because of sin'.

The minor differences between C120 and V423 shown in Table 1 are typical of the relationships throughout the two manuscripts; V423 is generally more reliable, and the common ancestor of the Slavic manuscripts went more often with 423 than with 120. Here we see a transposition of two subsections of text, 20C and D (whereby the Slavic and V423 affirm the order illustrated by still other versions of the Questions). The list of rivers and mountains, 23C1-2, is a part of the text in V423 and R6 (and probably KB); in C120 it is written in the right and bottom margin accompanying the text of 23B. In terms of content, it is obviously intended as a supplement to that item.[42]

To establish the Greek model of the OCS translation, we need both V423 and C120. For example, Izb 120b28 *i opečaliti* has no equivalent in V258v22, but καὶ καταλυπεῖν C131v1. V omits "the holy city of Jerusalem new" which is in C and Izb 214b2-4. The beginning of the answer to Question 154 is correct in C (ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία τυπός ἐστιν...), garbled in V (Τύπος ἐστιν..., without subject) and also, in a different way, in I73 (217d27, *Božьja bo c[ь]rky jestь razumьnaago mira* — the word *obrazъ* is omitted).[43] I73 15b24 reflects the defective scribal text of C 18v20 as printed by Bodjanskij 35.26, but V 30r21-23 has the correct full sentence — which was added by a later corrector in C. At times neither corresponds exactly to I73, e.g., 212a: *jestь bo sudii pravьdьnъ i jestь sudi nepravьdьnъ*, but V ἔστιν γὰρ κριτὴς δικαῖος καὶ ἄδικος, C ... καὶ ἔστιν ἄδικος.

It seems safe to assume that all copies of the Greek florilegium had certain items in the margins; later copyists could decide to include them in the text. A marginal addition to a subsection of Question 1 of Anastasius in both C and V (f. 34v and 62, respectively) becomes a separate section in I73 (32b6-14), numbered 30. In both Greek manuscripts it is in the margin corresponding to the last few lines of I73 31b, in the section labelled 28.[44] C120 shows a more conservative stage of development here, as in the case of item 23C. In a number of instances, a scholion which is marginal in C has been incorporated

[42] This is an answer to the question as to whether paradise is real or imaginary. Since paradise is equated to the Garden of Eden, and Genesis names known and real rivers flowing from there, then, the argument goes, paradise must indeed be real and perceptible. Someone obviously felt it necessary to supply information about the chief rivers of the world; for good measure the great mountains were added. The lists are not in the longer version, PG 89 540-541.

[43] Still another variant is in PG 89 813C, Ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία τυπός ἐστι....

[44] The Migne recension of Anastasius lacks this text and many others that are marginal in C or V or both.

into the normal text in V, retaining the label scholion; I73 always omits the label.

Question 29 is accompanied by a marginal scholion at C122r (approximately I73 141a22), which has become part of the text in I73 140c25-d14; but in V it appears after the next section (roughly I 141a22), labelled scholion. Question 28, "Why did God order Abraham to be circumcised?," is followed in V by a paragraph clearly labelled scholion, 234v15-24, which is absent in C,[45] but joined directly to the question without label in I73 136d27. In the question, C spells the name Keturah correctly, Χεττούρας (gn. sg.), I73 *xetury*. V both here and in the scholion unexpectedly has Γεττούρας, while I73 maintains *xetьtury*. In the following section, C and V list the sons of Shem in the margin (120v, 236r), and then C has the sons of Japheth in the margin, while V makes the list part of the text, 236v13-24, though the heading is in the top margin. I73 has both in the text, 137d28-a8 and 138d15-139a9.[46]

A number of aspects of the language of I73 have been examined: it is safe to say that almost every problem should be looked at again by scholars who consistently refer to the Greek text. One hopes that the edition of the Greek now being prepared by Mario Capaldo will appear soon.[47] In the meantime, it may be noted that on the whole the translation, very likely the work of several individuals, is generally of good quality. The chief difficulties arise when the text is particularly difficult in terms of content or style; sometimes the translator is unable to create suitable lexical or phraseological means of expression, and sometimes he obviously has not understood the meaning and translates essentially morpheme for morpheme.[48] I shall confine myself here to a

[45] The photo-copies do not always reproduce the inner margins of C's folios. It is possible that this scholion is in the margin of 120r, though it seems a less appropriate spot. However, the relationship between the various illustrative passages is tenuous, and scribes obviously could have different opinions. Here we move quickly from Abraham back to Noah, then to Noah's descendents.

[46] Linguistically, it should be noted that the Chaldeans, Χαλδαῖοι, become *xladъ* I73 138a4 (but in the originally non-marginal text, *xaldei*, 138a18), while Ἀρμένιοι become *ramene* 138a8 but *arъmeniu* in line 13. These two hypercorrections belong to the scribe of I73, and apply only to the formerly marginal list; R6 has *xaldъ* and *xalděi* (144r), *armene* and *armeniu*, 145v.

[47] William R. Veder, in his notes on the 1979 Salonika conference on Middle Greek and Slavonic literatures, reports that Capaldo is working with at least nine Greek manuscripts containing essentially the same material; *Polata knigopisnaja*, vol. 3 (Nijmegen, 1980), p. 59.

[48] An extreme example is where Gregory Nazianzen's verse listing of the books of the New Testament has an unexpected inversion, Δέκα δέ γε Παύλου καὶ τέσσαρές τ' ἐπιστολαί, where the "ten ... and four" means "14," as any good Christian should be

brief comment on a single passage which contains still another early Slavonic (probably Bulgarian) ghost-word.[49]

Sreznevskij lists the peculiar noun *ščuritъ* 'storax, sweet-smelling resin', the sole example being Izb 243c27 *ognь ... tъčiję maslo i štęritъ*. A later scribe has added a gloss above the line, *fimijanъ*. But the translator understood the passage, μόνον δὲ ἔλαιον δαπανᾷ 'consumes only oil' and he used the OCS verb-form **išturitъ*, i.e., *iz-čuritъ*, presumably "turn into smoke," cf. Sc, Mac., and Bg. verbs from **čuriti* "smoke (intrans.)." The scribe of I73 may not have understood, for this is a rare example of a third-person desinence *-tъ* in eleventh-century Rusian; scribes regularly normalized to the local *-tь* pronunciation (except in the Ostromir Gospel). Sreznevskij, like Nevostruev, was misled by the ancient gloss, but it is hard to see what meaning he found in the sentence.[50] In any case, we must erase Sreznevskij's entry *ščuritъ* and make a new lemma *iščuriti*.

Although Nevostruev, Sreznevskij, and many others have skimmed I73 for interesting words, there is still a great deal to be discovered by scholars who actually read the text.[51]

able to figure out from the context if not the grammar. I73 has "*10 Pavьlъ kъ četyrьmъ posъlanijemъ po simъ*." The historical linguist rejoices to have the dative of "4" attested, but the student of translation wonders whether καί might somehow have been turned into *kъ*. (A similar but more understandable blunder is found in the list of unfamiliar mountains in question 23C2 [see Table 1] where R6 has *tokasionъ*, corresponding to C120's τὸ κ[αὶ] Σιών, a gloss — doubtless derived from psalm 122 (123):3 — to the name of Mt. Hermon. V423 has τὸ καὶ Σινάιον, an obvious error, for Sinai is already in the list.

49 Cf. H.G. Lunt, "Two East Slavic Ghost-Words: *ikonionъ* and *ikъlьpinanъ*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977): 23-28.

50 The term ὕλη has been translated earlier in the sentence by the defensible but not really correct *debeloje*. Space does not allow me to discuss the complexity of the problem, for it involves intricate philosophical definitions.

51 Žukovskaja's article about Nevostruev's notes on the lexicon of I73, cited in fn. 5 above, is essentially a laudatory piece about this early scholar; in the context of a volume about I73 it is disappointing, because her only remark about later scholarship is that Sreznevskij took over all Nevostruev's words with one exception. What is important, however, is that Sreznevskij added many items that Nevostruev did not include, and in other instances he tacitly corrected minor errors. Here I can comment only on one complex of words where Sreznevskij generally leads us to useful conclusions, and I will note one later contribution closer to our own time.

Žukovskaja remarks that Sreznevskij did not follow Nevostruev in listing *jubagъ*, but she is puzzled that he "obviously considered (it) a scribal error and therefore restored *jubag(r)ъ*" (IS 158). Sreznevskij, however, had actually read the text. He knew that the word referred to a sapphire and meant "πορφυρίζων, purplish." He surely was aware that there are many careless mispellings in I73, and doubtless knew that at least one late copy of the text, Rumjancev 6, had the spelling *ubagrъ* here. Although he rightly associated it with *bagъrъ* 'purple', he incorrectly posited the initial letter as *ju*, although it surely should be Rusian *u* for OCS **ę-*. This is shown by two other words from the same page

I73 is full of minor errors that, as the skimpy material from Djuvernua and others shows, can be corrected by reference to R6, KB, and perhaps other late copies. When the common earlier text has been established, much basic codicological, textual and linguistic work will still remain to be done. This is a series of tasks where cooperation between Slavists and Byzantinists would be particularly productive.[52]

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Postscript. When writing this article, I missed the important note by Ivan V. L'ovočkin, "Izbornik Svjatoslava i ego slavjanskij protograf" (*Starobъlgarska literatura*, bk. 8, 1980, pp. 46-49), who had already made the study of fol. 263v I have called for in fn. 6. The erased text surely reproduced the original wording calling *Simeon* "great among *emperors*"; the dedication to Svjatoslav was a last-minute affair. Accordingly, I must withdraw the fourth stage in the hypothetical series I posited in I73's genesis (p. 371), though the others remain. I am most grateful to Professor William R. Veder of Nijmegen for calling L'ovočkin's work to my attention.

(noted by Sreznevskij but not Nevostruev) and others from the same passage: **ǫzelenь* 'σμαραγδίζων, emerald-like' = *uzelenь* I 153b3 (referring to jasper), **ǫčьrmьnь* 'ὑποπυρίζων, reddish' = *jǫčrьmьnь* I 153a24 (referring to the jacinth; this example not in Sreznevskij) and *učrьmьnь* I 122cъ (in Sreznevskij, referring to the transparent-red Sardian stone or carnelian and translating—probably inappropriately—πυρωπός 'of fiery-red appearance') as well as **ǫsinь* 'ὑποκυανίζων, rather dark-blue' = *jǫsinь* I 153d12 (referring to agate; in Sreznevskij). This series suffices to establish an ancient prefix **ǫ-* with an attenuative sense, preserved in Slovene *očrn* 'blackish', *ostar* 'rather old'. It suggests also a formation with suffixal -ь, so I hesitate whether to posit **ǫbagъrь* or **ǫbagъrъ*. One hopes that other texts will furnish parallels which may resolve the question.

Žukovskaja reproduces without comment Nevostruev's *sasyzъ* (*sasyza*?), deduced from the locative *vъ sasyzě*. But this is immediately suspect, and one thinks rather of *sasygъ* or *sasyga*—and indeed Sreznevskij shows unambiguously by citations from other old texts that these were real forms. Moreover, a thorough study by Omeljan Pritsak illustrates the varied forms of Slavic to have their bases in Turkic shapes of words with both the desired meanings, namely, "smelter" and "(earthernware) pot": "Bolgarische Etymologien I-III," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 19 (1957): 200-208.

[52] This article was written early in 1982. *Novye knigi SSSR* announced in October that a costly facsimile edition of the *Izbornik* was scheduled to appear in the third quarter of 1983.

The Self-Conscious Angel: Character Study in Byzantine Paintings of the Annunciation

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In this volume which honors a scholar who has contributed so much to our understanding of both Byzantine literature and art, it is appropriate to present a puzzle of Byzantine painting to which literature holds the clues. The puzzle is a peculiar version of the Annunciation scene, which makes a brief appearance in Byzantine iconography at the end of the twelfth and in the early thirteenth centuries. The best dated example is the fresco of the Annunciation in the church of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera, on the island of Cyprus, which was painted in 1192 (fig. 1).[1] The unusual character of this fresco can be appreciated immediately if it is compared with the mid-twelfth-century mosaic of the Annunciation in the church of St. Mary of the Admiral ("Martorana") in Palermo, a mosaic which preserves its original Byzantine design, in spite of later restorations (fig. 2).[2] In both churches the Annunciation scene is arranged on either side of an arch, with the Virgin Mary seated on the right, and the angel approaching her on the left. In the earlier mosaic the angel approaches the Virgin without apparent hesitation: he raises his left foot as if he were running, he leans forward, he extends his right hand, and he inclines his head towards the Virgin in order to speak to her. Everything about his pose conveys a sense of uninterrupted motion. But if we look at the angel in the fresco at Lagoudera, we find that his pose conveys quite a different impression. His left leg is straight, while his right is bent back. The forward leg of the angel is shown in profile view, but his body makes a sudden twist at the waist, so that we see his shoulders from the back. The turn of Gabriel's body is emphasized by the curve of drapery that descends from his left shoulder to his waist. His right hand is still stretched out to the Virgin, as in the mosaic; his head and body, however, are no longer inclined towards her, but are held back

[1] A. Stylianou and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1964), pp. 70-93.

[2] O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (New York, 1950), pp. 80 and 88, fn. 64.

in a position of reserve. The twisting pose of the angel in the fresco at Lagoudera conveys the impression that Gabriel has come to a sudden halt in his flight, as if he wished to hold back from his task of delivering the message to Mary.

Only two other Byzantine Annunciation scenes are known to me in which the Angel Gabriel is depicted in a similar manner. The better known is a famous icon at Mount Sinai, which, on account of its style, must be close in date to the fresco at Lagoudera (fig. 3).[3] On the icon, too, the angel twists his body sharply so that we see his left leg from the side, but his two shoulders from the back. A particularly striking feature of the angel on the icon is the expression of his face; his brows are furrowed, his cheeks are lined, and the corners of his mouth are turned down, as if he were apprehensive or troubled about his mission. In a description of this icon, Kurt Weitzmann aptly referred to an element of "self-consciousness" in the characterization of the angel, which was a new departure in Byzantine potrayals of the Annunciation.[4]

The third Annunciation scene that concerns us is a miniature in a Gospel book in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz of Berlin (MS. gr. qu. 66, fol. 165), which was painted in the first or second decade of the thirteenth century (fig. 4).[5] Here, once more, we see the forward leg of the angel from the side and his upper body from the back. As in the fresco at Lagoudera, the turn in Gabriel's body is emphasized by a broad sash of drapery that descends in a diagonal line from his left shoulder to his waist.

The artists of these three versions of the Annunciation seem to have encountered some difficulties in portraying Gabriel's wings, for Byzantine artists were not usually called upon to depict angels from the back. In each of the paintings the angel's right wing appears somewhat precariously attached to his body, as the wing is still seen in profile, while the shoulders have been turned to be seen from behind. The depiction of

[3] K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungsikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem*, ed. G. von der Osten and G. Kauffmann (Berlin, 1965), pp. 299-312, color plate opposite p. 304.

[4] K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1975), pp. 53-93, especially 58. See also idem, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungsikone," p. 300.

[5] R. Hamann-Mac Lean, "Der Berliner Codex Graecus Quarto 66 und seine nächsten Verwandten als Beispiele des Stilwandels im frühen 13. Jahrhundert," in *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener*, ed. Frieda Dettweiler et al. (Marburg an der Lahn, 1967), pp. 225-250, esp. 232.

the left wing also caused problems; at Lagoudera its attachment is conveniently hidden by Gabriel's halo (fig. 1). In the Gospel book in Berlin, the miniaturist solved the difficulty simply by omitting the left wing altogether (fig. 4). These problems of composition may help to explain why this new type of Annunciation scene did not survive long in Byzantine art. Later Byzantine artists were content to show Gabriel in less complicated poses. But why did twelfth-century artists introduce the awkward twisting pose in the first place?

Kurt Weitzmann has suggested some of the visual parallels and antecedents for the unusual turning posture of the angel in these paintings of the Annunciation. He showed that figures in similar, if not identical, attitudes appeared as apostles in Byzantine Ascension scenes, and as dancers in the iconography of the Old Testament. It is possible that the ultimate origin of the motif can be found in the dancing maenads of classical antiquity.[6] In these pages, however, I wish to explore not the visual, but the literary sources that may have inspired the new characterization of Gabriel. For the turning pose of the angel in the late twelfth-century Annunciation scenes could have been more than a simple mannerism of style; it could have illustrated specific passages in Byzantine sermons and hymns on the feast of the Annunciation, which described Gabriel's hesitations before he spoke to Mary. The artists who created the new version of the Annunciation borrowed the twisting pose of Gabriel from other iconographic contexts, in order to illustrate texts which had been made familiar to church-goers through their repetition in the liturgy.

The earliest of the relevant texts is a sermon attributed to Andrew of Crete, who died probably in the year 740. In this sermon, Andrew of Crete imagines how God first gave his instructions to Gabriel: "Go, then, to Nazareth, the city in Galilee. And arriving there quickly, hastily proclaim this first to the Virgin, the good news of joy which was lost by Eve. And see that you do not trouble her spirit, for the message is one of joy, not of injury, the greeting is one of rejoicing, not of despondency."[7]

[6] K. Weitzmann, "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), pp. 151-175, esp. 167-170, figures 147 (the Dance of Miriam in Vatican, MS. gr. 747, fol. 90^{v}), and 149 (the Ascension on an ivory casket in the Schlossmuseum, Stuttgart). The article is reprinted from *Byzantine Art an European Art, Ninth Exhibition held under the auspices of the Council of Europe: Lectures* (Athens, 1966), pp. 149-177.

[7] Ἄπιθι τοίνυν εἰς Ναζαρὲτ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας· καὶ τῇδε φθάσας, σπουδῇ τοῦτο πρῶτον πρόσειπε τῇ Παρθένῳ, τὸ τῆς χαρᾶς εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ προαπώλεσεν Εὔα· καὶ μὴ δὴ

The angel's reactions to these commands were mixed: "What then did Gabriel do? When he heard these words, and understood that the commission was too great for his powers, and yet was confirmed by the divine decree, he stood half way between fear and joy ... Nevertheless, he followed the divine command, and flew down to the Virgin ...."[8]

Andrew of Crete goes on to tell us that Gabriel, when he had reached Mary's house, spent some time deliberating how he should enter: "... and when he had arrived at Nazareth, he stood by the house. Then like a person pondering, and as if hesitating within himself, he was distracted by thoughts, thinking to himself, I should imagine, along these lines: 'How shall I begin to serve the purpose of God? Shall I come into the chamber at a run? But I will terrify the Virgin's spirit. Shall I enter more slowly? But the girl will think that I have entered like a thief. Shall I knock at the door? ... Shall I open the door first? But I can go inside when it is closed. Shall I call her by name? But I will cause the maiden confusion. This, then, is what I shall do. I will regulate the speed of my approach according to the intent of Him who sent me.'"[9] Having solved the problem of how to enter Mary's house, Gabriel was still faced with the question of how he should speak to the young girl: "How, therefore, shall I approach the Virgin? What shall I discuss with her first? The good news of joy, or the dwelling in her of my Lord? The Holy Spirit coming upon her, or the Almighty overshadowing her? Therefore I will greet the Virgin, I will make the wonder known to her, I will draw near to her, I will salute her, and I will call out 'Hail.'"[10]

θορυβήσῃς αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχήν· Χαρᾶς γὰρ, οὐ λύμης τὸ μήνυμα· θυμηδίας, οὐκ ἀθυμίας ὁ ἀσπασμός. *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 97, col. 892A.

[8] Τί οὖν ὁ Γαβριήλ; Ὡς τούτων ἤκουσε, καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν ἔγνω, θείᾳ μὲν ψήφῳ κεκυρωμένον, τῆς αὐτοῦ δὲ κρεῖττον ὑπάρχον δυνάμεως, φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς μεθόριος ἵστατο, ... Τῷ θείῳ μέντοι παρομαρτήσας κελεύσματι, κατέπτη πρὸς τὴν Παρθένον, ... *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 97, col. 892B-C.

[9] ... καὶ τὴν Ναζαρὲτ καταλαβὼν ἐπέστη τῷ δοματίῳ· εἶτα σύννους τις γενόμενος, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ διαπορῶν, τοῖς λογισμοῖς διεσχίζετο, τοιάδε, οἶμαι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λογιζόμενος· Πόθεν ἀπάρξωμαι διακονεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ βουλεύματι; Δρομαῖος ἐπεισέλθω τῷ θαλάμῳ; Ἀλλὰ πτοήσω τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς παρθένου. Σχολαιότερον ἐπιβῶ; Ἀλλ' ὡς τὴν εἴσοδον κλέψας τῇ κόρῃ κριθήσομαι. Θυροκρουστήσω; ... Προανοίξω τὴν πύλην; Ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκεκλεισμένης εἴσω γίνεσθαί με δυνατόν. Καλέσω ταύτην ἐξ ὀνόματος; Ἀλλὰ ταράξω τὴν νεάνιδα. Τοῦτο οὖν δράσω. Πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πέμψαντος βούλημα τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀπευθυνῶ· *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 97, cols. 892C-893A.

[10] Πῶς οὖν ἄρα προσέλθω τῇ Παρθένῳ; Τί πρῶτον αὐτῇ διαλέξωμαι; Τὸ τῆς χαρᾶς εὐαγγέλιον, ἢ τοῦ Κυρίου μου τὴν ἐνοίκησιν; Τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν ἐπέλευσιν, ἢ τοῦ Ὑψίστου τὴν ἐπισκίασιν; Χαιρετίσω τοιγαροῦν τὴν Παρθένον, καταμηνύσω τὸ Θαῦμα, προσπλησιάσω, ἀσπάσομαι, ὑποφωνήσω τὸ Χαῖρε. *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 97, col. 893A.

After all this prevarication, we read that the Angel finally accomplishes his business, taking due care not to startle Mary: "When the archangel had weighed these [alternatives] in his own manner, he stood upon the porch; and reaching the chamber where the Virgin abided, he quietly approached the door, went in, and with a gentle voice spoke to the Virgin."[11]

Gabriel's doubts concerning the accomplishment of his mission, which were so vividly expressed in the sermon by Andrew of Crete, were also described by later Byzantine authors, sometimes at less, and sometimes at even greater length. Thus the emperor Leo the Wise, in his sermon on the Annunciation, addressed Gabriel as follows: "Before, when the good news was a cause of apprehension for the Virgin (for it seemed paradoxical, and contrary to every law of nature), it was probable that you shrank back as you cried out the greeting 'Hail.'"[12]

A much longer account of the angel's hesitations can be found in a sermon by the monk James of Kokkinobaphos, which is preserved in two splendidly illuminated manuscripts of the second quarter of the twelfth century. According to the account given by the monk James, the principal fear of the angel, on receiving his commission from God, was that his rhetorical skills would be unequal to the task: "The archangel trembled when he knew the command of his Lord; he cowered when he understood the matter, and he was at a loss and in difficulty about [the accomplishment of] this thing. But not being able to dispute the command, he tried to perform his service. Therefore, with the swiftness that was appropriate to his nature, he carried out his flight towards Galilee."[13] The homilist goes on to tell us that Gabriel entered Joseph's house, in invisible form, and spied unseen on the Virgin. He was so amazed at her purity and incomparable virtue, that he recited to himself a little speech in her praise: "O how great is your Grace! How fortunate

[11] Ταῦτα δὴ τότε στήσας καθ᾿ ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ἐπέστη τῇ παστάδι, καὶ προφθάσας τὸν θάλαμον καθ᾿ ὃν ἡ Παρθένος ᾠκίζετο, ἡσυχῇ τῇ θύρᾳ προσήγγισε, καὶ γενόμενος ἔνδον, πραείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Παρθένῳ προσεῖπε· *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 97, col. 893B-C. See also G. Millet, "Quelques représentations byzantines de la salutation angélique," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 18 (1894): 453-483, especially 478, where these passages are paraphrased.

[12] Πάλαι γὰρ μὲν δι᾿ ὑποψίας ὄντων τῇ Παρθένῳ τῶν εὐαγγελίων (παράδοξα γὰρ παρὰ πάντα λόγον ἐῴκει τῆς φύσεως) εἰκός σε μεθ᾿ ὑποστολῆς τὸ Χαῖρε βοᾶν· *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 107, col. 21C.

[13] Ἔφριξεν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τὸ τοῦ Δεσπότου συνιεὶς πρόσταγμα· ἔπτηξε τὸ πρᾶγμα κατανοήσας, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοῦτο ἀμηχανῶν διηπόρει. Τῇ δὲ κελεύσει ἀντιλέγειν οὐκ ἔχων, τὴν διακονίαν ἐξεπλήρου. Διὸ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιτηδείῳ τάχει πρὸς τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ τὴν πτῆσιν ἐνεργεῖ· *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 127, col. 637A.

is your family! Of what glory have they been deemed worthy! What a [glorious] crown are you for them to have put on! ... What shall I say, or how shall I speak, now that I have encountered an inexpressible marvel? With what powers of invention will I find the addresses to imperfectly arrive at praises that are fitting for you? For to find [praise] according to your worth is impossible for me. Your divinely adorned name has transcended every term of praise, for it takes its lauds from on high; from the Lord it receives its worthy praise; it is not extolled by the praises of mortals."[14]

The fears of oratorical insufficiency, which Gabriel here expresses so eloquently, are one of the standard conventions of Byzantine encomium. As John Doxapatres said, in his eleventh-century commentary on the Rhetorical Exercises of Aphthonius: "... it is the law of encomiasts to always agree that the subject in hand is greater than one's own powers of speech."[15] Aphthonius himself, in the model *Encomium of Wisdom* with which he illustrated his rhetorical exercises, started with the statement: "It is fortunate to acquire wisdom, but to praise it according to its worth is impossible."[16] There is an echo of these words in the monk James's version of Gabriel's soliloquy: "For to find [praise] according to your worth is impossible for me." Since the Rhetorical Exercises of Aphthonius was a popular textbook in Byzantine higher education, it was perhaps natural for a learned homilist such as James of Kokkinobaphos to quote from this authority, even if the quotation did convey the impression that Gabriel had been to school in Constantinople.

In the homily by James of Kokkinobaphos, we learn that the angel had other problems on his mind besides his rhetorical skills. As in the sermon by Andrew of Crete, Gabriel gave considerable thought to the question of how he could approach Mary without causing her fright. The sermon explains that a sudden voice or noise is much more alarming if it is heard

[14] Ὢ τῶν χαρίτων σου! ὢ τῆς τοῦ γένους εὐκληρίας! ὢ οἵας τῆς δόξης ἠξίωνται! Οἷόν σε τὸν στέφανον περιέθεντο! .... Τί εἴπω ἢ τί λαλήσω, ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ περιπεσὼν θαύματι; Τίσιν ἐπινοίαις ἐφευρὼν κλήσεις, ἀμυδρῶς καθάψομαι τῶν προσηκόντων ἐπαίνων σοι; Τοῦ γὰρ κατ᾽ἀξίαν ἀμήχανόν μοι τυγχάνειν· ὑπερέβη πᾶν ἐγκωμιαστικὸν ὄνομα ἡ θεοκαλλώπιστός σου κλῆσις, ἄνωθεν ἔχει τὰς εὐφημίας, ἐκ τοῦ Δεσπότου τὸν ἄξιον ἔπαινον δέχεται, οὐ σεμνύνεται τοῖς τῶν γεννητῶν ἐγκωμίοις. *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 127, col. 637B-C.

[15] ... νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐγκωμιάζουσι, μείζονα τοῦ οἰκείου λόγου ἀεὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν· ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1835), pp. 449-450.

[16] Σοφίαν εὐτυχὲς μὲν λαβεῖν, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ πρὸς ἀξίαν ἀδύνατον. ed. Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1832), p. 90.

indoors rather than out in the open air; therefore, the angel waited until Mary had gone out to fetch water from the well, before he spoke to her. When Gabriel did finally address Mary, she fled into her house again, where the angel, now in human form, spoke to her a second time.[17]

In the two manuscripts of the homilies of James of Kokinnobaphos, in Paris and in the Vatican, the illustration of the Annunciation opens with a sequence of three miniatures which follow in detail the text of the sermon (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 1208, fols. 157, 159^{v}, and 160^{v}; Biblioteca Vaticana, MS. gr. 1162, fols. 115^{v}, 117^{v}, and 118). The painting which illustrates the angel's soliloquy shows the young maid sitting in her house, on the right, while Gabriel flies in through an upper window on the left (fig. 5; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 1208, fol. 157). Though the angel is invisible to Mary, who has her back turned to him, the viewer of the miniature can see that Gabriel is spreading his arms in a gesture which expresses his amazement and, perhaps, his initial trepidation and uncertainty over the accomplishment of his mission. The next miniature portrays both the Annunciation by the Well and the Virgin fleeing back into her house. Finally, in the following miniature, we see the second Annunciation, which takes place once more in the Virgin's house (fig. 6; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 1208, fol. 160^{v}). Here the angel approaches the Virgin without hesitation, according to the usual Byzantine iconography. Thus the manuscripts of the homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos appear to illustrate Gabriel's initial hesitations and his eventual carrying out of his mission with separate miniatures.[18] In the paintings at Lagoudera, at Sinai, and in the Gospel Book in Berlin, the two phases of the story were apparently combined into one feast scene.

The Byzantine writers whom we have consulted so far have given two reasons for Gabriel's hesitation in front of Mary: his fear of causing her alarm, and his fear of not finding the right words with which to address her. But there is one other reason for the angel's reserve that is suggested by the sermons, for Byzantine homilists sometimes say that the angel was fearful and in awe of the Virgin herself, on account of her beauty and her regal status. We find this idea expressed in a sermon on the Annunciation attributed to Germanos I, the eighth-century patriarch

[17] *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 127, cols. 637D-640D. See also Millet, "Quelques représentations byzantines de la salutation angélique," p. 479.

[18] Reproductions in the *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, vol. 11 (1927), pls. 19-20, and in C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco e dell'Evangeliario Greco Urbinate* (Rome, 1910), figs. 4-51.

of Constantinople. The sermon contains a dialogue between Mary and Gabriel, in which the angel declares to the Virgin: "Know well, and be persuaded that it is rather I who have fallen into consternation on beholding how great is your divinely portrayed beauty, ... let me rather revere you as the future mother of my Lord, and tremble at your royal rank."[19]

Gabriel is also made to express his awe of the Virgin in the hymns which were sung on the feast of the Annunciation. Thus in a canon for Matins, which is attributed both to Theophanes and to the monk John, we hear the angel say: "It is with respect that I stand before you, as a servant before his mistress; with fear I am reverent in perceiving you, O Virgin!"[20]

There is a rich literary tradition, therefore, which could explain the selection of a hesitant and "self-conscious" pose for the angel in Byzantine paintings of the Annunciation. It is difficult to prove that the artists were intending to illustrate one text in particular. However, it should be said that among the sermons by far the most popular and the most widely known was the homily by Andrew of Crete. In Albert Ehrhard's catalogue of Byzantine liturgical books containing readings arranged according to the church calendar, the sermon by Andrew of Crete is listed in over thirty manuscripts, ranging in date from the ninth to the sixteenth century.[21] It is also prescribed as a reading for the feast of the Annunciation in the eleventh-century *typikon* of the Evergetes Monastery in Constantinople.[22]

We have seen that the literary tradition of the "self-conscious" angel stretched back to the eighth century; in art, however, the hesitations of the angel only received emphasis in portrayals of the Feast of the Annunciation around the year 1200. The new experiment followed a period of some fifty years in which Byzantine artists in general had shown

[19] Γνῶθι σαφῶς καὶ πιστώθητι, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ἐν ἐκπλήξει γέγονα θεασάμενος τὸ τοιοῦτόν σου θεογράφιστον κάλλος ... Ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔξεστι μᾶλλον εὐλαβεῖσθαί σε ὡς Μητέρα Κυρίου μου μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τρέμειν σου τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα. *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 98, cols 324A and 328A.

[20] Μετὰ δέους σοι ὡς δοῦλος, τῇ Κυρίᾳ παρίσταμαι· μετὰ φόβου, Κόρη, νῦν κατανοεῖν εὐλαβοῦμαί σε· *Mēnaion tou martiou* (Athens, 1904), p. 112.

[21] *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, vol. 1, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 50 (Leipzig, 1937), pp. 176, 186, 260, 428; vol. 2 (1938), pp. 5, 8, 14, 22, 48, 67, 99, 125, 128, 201, 202; vol. 3 (1943), pp. 43, 45, 52, 105, 121, 148, 234, 252, 266, 275, 298, 324, 487.

[22] *Überlieferung und Bestand*, I, p. 45; A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskix rukopisej*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1895; reprinted Hildesheim, 1965), p. 430.

a greater interest in depicting human feelings and psychology. This development in the visual arts was paralleled by a similar change of taste in twelfth-century Byzantine literature. In this regard, attention has been drawn to the interest in psychological detail displayed in a romance such as the *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathios Makrembolites.[23] Another evidence of the change in attitude in Byzantine literature, which is perhaps more relevant to religious art, is the remarkable popularity of *ethopoiia* among Byzantine educators associated with church schools during the twelfth century. *Ethopoiia*, or character study, was a classroom exercise which called for the composition of a short but tightly structured imaginary speech that would have been uttered by some person at a crucial point in his or her career.[24] It is listed as one of the standard rhetorical exercises in the late antique handbook by Aphthonius.[25] In an *ethopoiia*, the writer's aim was to enter into the psychology of the chosen person, by revealing his or her state of mind at the time of the crisis. In a properly constructed exercise, the character would contrast his present circumstances with remembered past experiences and also with an imagined future, so that the *ethopoiia* would be divided into three time periods. Byzantine authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries on occasion tried their hand at the exercise,[26] but it seems to have become more fashionable in the twelfth century, especially among the teachers attached to the church schools in Constantinople. The most prolific writer of character studies at this time was Nikephoros Basilakes, whose career as a professor was at its height in the middle years of the twelfth century.[27] He wrote at least 26 imaginary speeches, delivered by personalities from both pagan mythology and the Bible.[28]

[23] K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1975), pp. 53-93, especially 69. See also H. Hunger, "Die byzantinische Literatur der Komnenenzeit: Versuch einer Neubewertung," *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Anzeiger* 105 (1968): 55-76, especially 74.

[24] On *ethopoiia*, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1978), pp. 108-116.

[25] Ed. Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, 1: 101-103.

[26] John Geometres wrote an *ethopoiia* of the emperor Nikephoros II (PG, 106, col. 932; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, p. 111). Psellos quoted the lament of the banished empress Zoe (*Chronographia*, V, 22; Hunger, ibid.).

[27] On the career, see A. Garzya, "Un lettré du milieu du XII[e] siècle: Nicéphore Basilakès," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 8 (1970): 611-21, especially 612f.

[28] A. Pignani, "Prolegomeni all'edizione critica dei Progimnasmi di Niceforo Basilace," *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini*, n.s. 26 (1978): 41-56, lists 27 pieces. One of these, a lament of the Virgin, was also attributed to the tenth-century writer Symeon Metaphrastes; H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981), p. 98f.

One of his students, the historian John Kinnamos, wrote a character study of a painter who vainly tried to depict the god Apollo on a panel of laurel wood, a task made impossible on account of the myth of Daphne.[29] Another twelfth-century character study, by Michael Italikos, gives the words spoken either by a jewelled icon, or possibly by a reliquary, of St. Stephen.[30] In this speech the saint complains of the cupidity of the sacristan of a church in Constantinople, who sold him to the Venetians.

In summary, the three paintings of the Annunciation that have formed the subject of this article were created in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Their unusual manner of portraying Gabriel could have been inspired by literary readings which dated as far back as the eighth century, and which quoted the hesitations of Gabriel at the most critical point in his career. These passages came close in their effect to exercises in character study, although they were not structured according to the divisions of *ethopoiia* laid down by the rhetorical handbooks. Since *ethopoiia* was in vogue among Byzantine professors and their pupils during the twelfth century, it is likely that those passages of the older literature of the Byzantine church that explored character and emotion through speeches also acquired a fresh appeal for educated patrons and their artists at this time.

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29 The theme came from Libanius; see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, pp. 109, 113.

30 P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos, lettres et discours* (Paris, 1972), pp. 234-36. Other examples of *ethopoiia* by twelfth-century teachers include two pieces by Nikephoros Chrysoberges and one by Eustathios of Thessalonika; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, p. 114f.



Fig. 1. Lagoudera, Panagia tou Arakou, fresco. Annunciation, detail, Gabriel. Source: Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.

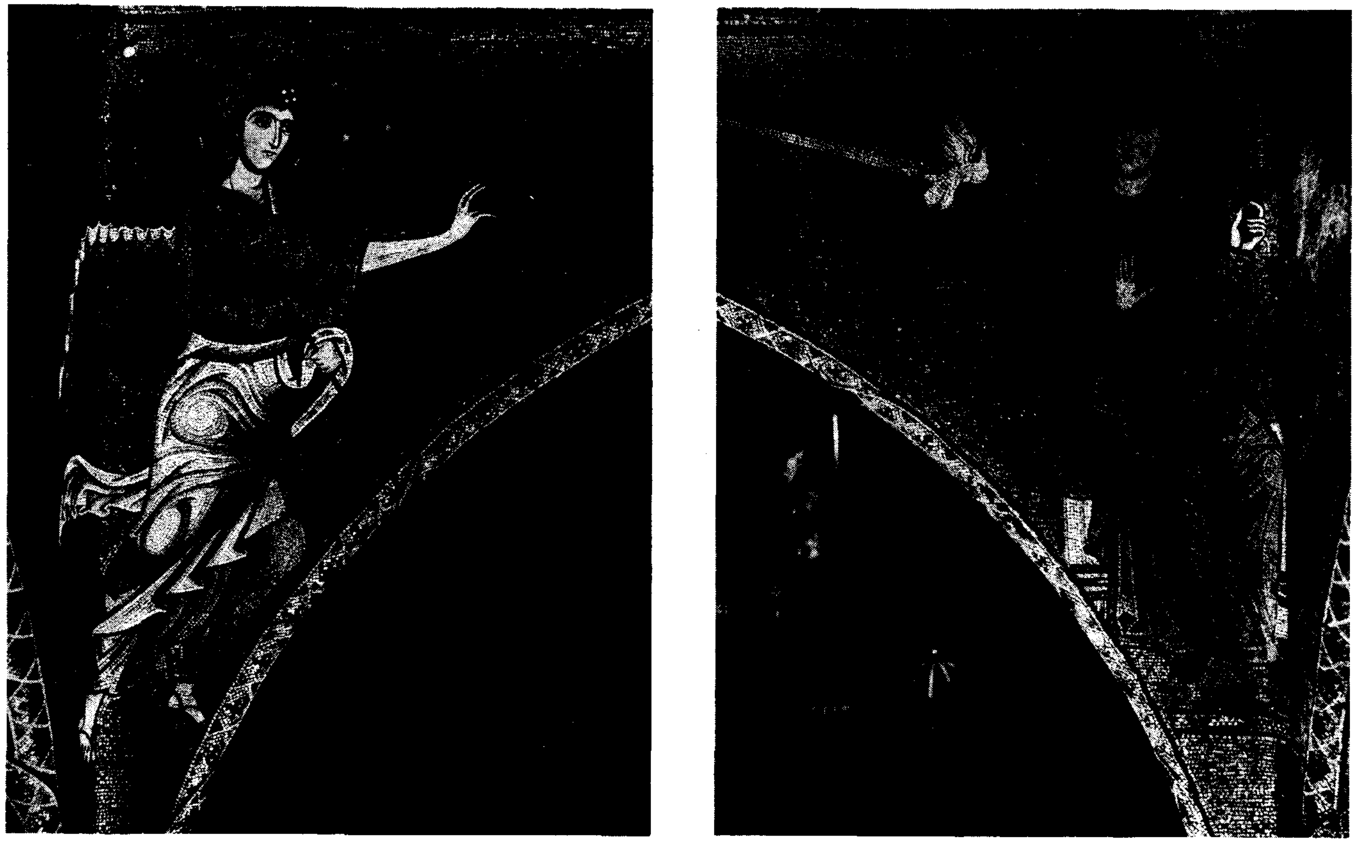


Fig. 2. Palermo, St. Mary of the Admiral ("Martorana"), mosaic. Annunciation.
Source: Anderson/Editorial Photocolor Archives

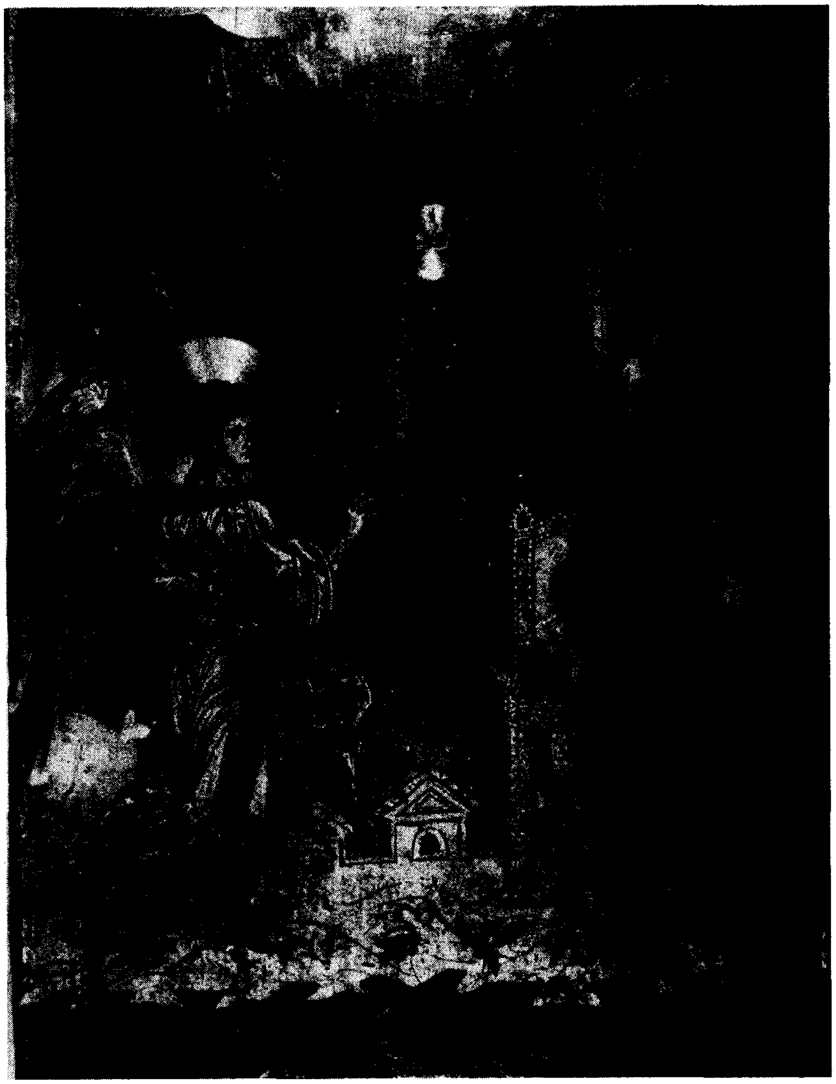


Fig. 3. Mount Sinai, icon. Annunciation.
Source: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

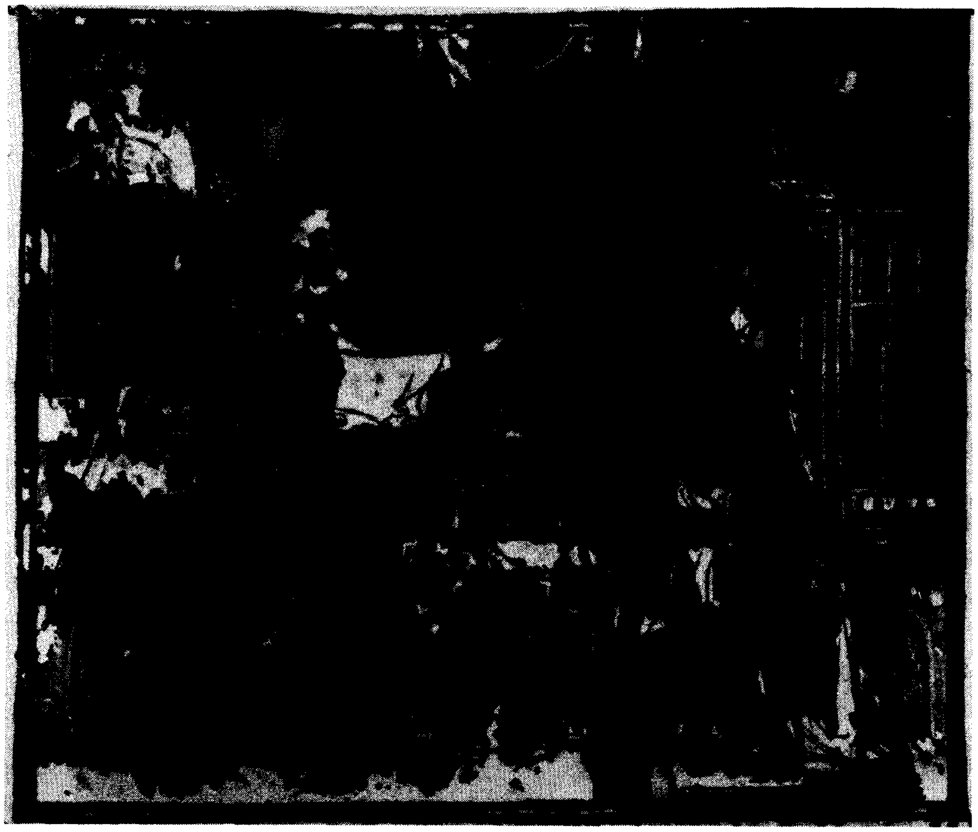


Fig. 4. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. gr. qu. 66, fol. 165. Annunciation.
Source: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.



Fig. 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 1208, fol. 157. Gabriel's Soliloquy. Source: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



Fig. 6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 1208, fol. 160v. The Annunciation in Mary's House.
Source: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The Two Lives of St. Ioannikios and the Bulgarians

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The two oldest Lives of St. Ioannikios (d. 846), that by the monk Peter (henceforth *VpP*) and that by the monk Sabas (henceforth *VpS*), occupy a secure place among the most interesting products of ninth-century Byzantine hagiography, a subject that Ihor Ševčenko has done so much to illuminate.[1] Published by the Bollandist Van den Gheyn with a thorough and meritorious commentary,[2] they have since been used extensively in both historical and topographical investigations. As far as I know, however, no one, with the exception of E. von Dobschütz,[3] has taken the trouble to examine these two long texts in their entirety, to establish their mutual relationship, and to draw from this exercise some obvious conclusions. To perform such a task in full would require more space than I have been allotted, so I shall confine myself to essentials.

It is understandable, though unfortunate, that Van den Gheyn should have placed *VpS* first and *VpP* second in his edition. He no doubt did so because *VpS* appears on a superficial examination to be the more comprehensive and precise of the two. Yet he himself realized that *VpP* was the earlier text and that Peter's credentials as a witness were better than those of Sabas. Indeed, Peter was a monk at the monastery of Agauroi near Prousa with which Ioannikios, too, was closely associated. He had met Ioannikios personally (*VpP*, §68) and was addressing an audience that knew the Saint by sight (§49). More importantly, he drew most of his information from his abbot Eustratios, who had been the Saint's closest companion and right-hand man for a good fifty years (§§12, 46, 54) and may have had before him a memoir or set of notes

[1] See especially his excellent "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), pp. 113-31.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. II/1 (1894), pp. 332-435. For the sake of brevity references to the two Lives will be made by paragraph.

[3] "Methodios und die Studiten," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 18 (1909): 93-100, containing several acute observations. By contrast, Chr. Loparev, "Vizantijskija žitija svjatyx VIII-IX vekov," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 18 (1911): 70ff., has nothing interesting to say.

composed by Eustratios.[4] Furthermore, I would suggest that *VpP* was written before the death of the patriarch Methodios (14 June 847) to which no allusion is made, i.e., within six months of Ioannikios's demise.[5]

Sabas, too, claims, whether truthfully or otherwise, to have met Ioannikios (*VpS* §44),[6] and he could have been in contact with persons capable of providing authentic information, since he was a monk at the monastery of St. Zacharias at the foot of Mt. Olympus, in the same general area that the Saint had inhabited.[7] Unfortunately, however, he fails to name his sources and even neglects to inform us that he made extensive use of the Life by Peter. As to the date of *VpS*, it is certainly later than Sabas's other known hagiographic work, the Life of St. Peter of Atrôa, which V. Laurent places in 847 or shortly thereafter, and, in the same scholar's opinion, probably earlier than 860.[8]

VpS was written at the instigation of the abbot Joseph (§1), presumably the same Joseph who was abbot of the monastery of Antidion at the time when Ioannikios died. Since Ioannikios was buried at Antidion and his cult was localized in that monastery, we can speak of a formal commission. In other words, the said Joseph had some reason to be

[4] *VpP*, §54: ... Εὐστρατίῳ, τῷ καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν ταύτην ... πραγματείαν θερμῶς καὶ μετὰ πίστεως ἀναταξαμένῳ καὶ τῇ μετέπειτα γενεᾷ μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον καταλείψαντι. The verb ἀναταξαμένῳ ('set in order') echoes Lk 1.1: ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν.

[5] An early date of composition is confirmed by two further considerations: (1) Bishop Peter of Syl(l)aion is described (§68) as being still in office, τὸν νυνὶ μητροπολίτην τοῦ Συλαίου. He was, however, deposed at the end of 847 or in the first half of 848: Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 445; (2) Naukratios, abbot of Studios, is repeatedly censured without any indication that he was dead at the time (§§57, 69). He died on 18 April 848: *Vita Nicolai studitae*, *PG*, 105: 904B-C.

[6] He alleges that Ioannikios had related to him personally the vision he had had of the death and ascension to heaven of St. Peter of Atrôa. The same passage occurs, almost word for word, in Sabas's Life of the latter, ed. V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels, 1956), §81. In spite of the author's protestations, one may well doubt that he had heard the story from the lips of Ioannikios.

[7] St. Zacharias was situated in the plain of Atrôa which, according to B. Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris, 1935), pp. 49-50, lay a short distance (9 km. according to his map) southwest of Bursa in the valley of the Nilüfer çayı. This is accepted by Laurent, *La Vie*, pp. 37-38, whose only reason for doing so is the existence in the area chosen by Menthon of a village called Missi köy, allegedly the same as the Byzantine village Mesôn, which we know to have been at Atrôa: *Vita Constantini judaei*, *AASS*, Nov. IV (1925), 641D. For my part, I would be inclined to look for Atrôa to the east of Bursa and Mt. Olympus and to identify it with the ancient Otroia, as already surmised by W. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), p. 189. I hope to discuss this problem elsewhere.

[8] Laurent, *La Vie*, pp. 14-16.

dissatisfied with *VpP* and engaged an educated monk who had already given proof of his literary talent to compose a new and definitive biography. It is not likely that his dissatisfaction was motivated by stylistic considerations, since Peter, though not an elegant writer, aspired to an elevated language and even managed on a couple of occasions to use the dual. A more obvious cause of Joseph's initiative is that in *VpP* Ioannikios is represented as having been openly hostile to the Studites. All the relevant passages have been deleted in *VpS*. Another instance of politically motivated revision concerns the controversial figure of Joseph of Kathara, the priest who had performed the "adulterous" marriage of Constantine VI.[9] Such changes would have been desirable if Sabas was writing, as seems very probable, during the patriarchate of Ignatios (847-58). The odd, thing, however, is that the differences between *VpS* and *VpP* are by no means confined to the elimination or attenuation of certain embarrassing passages. Sabas has introduced a good deal of material that is not in *VpP*, he has left out a few paragraphs that appear to us entirely innocuous, has altered in some cases the sequence of events, and has constructed a chronology that deviates quite markedly from Peter's.

We may begin with chronology. Peter gives only one explicit date, that of the Saint's death, but he provides a number of supplementary indications and synchronisms that enable us to draw up the following table (implicit dates being placed in square brackets):

[762]	Ioannikios born (subtracting 84 from the date of his death, namely 846).
[792-93]	After battle of Markellai spends 2 years at monastery of Antidion (§9).
[794-807]	Spends 13 years on Mount Agaurinon, i.e., close to monastery of Agauroi (§10), starting 52 years before his death (§71).
[807]	Short residence in Thrakêsian theme (§10); returns to Mount Agaurinon (§11).

[9] The alterations are minor, but significant. In *VpP*, §36 Joseph is clearly designated (in spite of v. Dobschütz's statement to the contrary, "Methodios und die Studiten," p. 95, fn. 3) as ὅ ποτε γεγονὼς οἰκονόμος τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, and we are told that he had sought an earlier meeting with Ioannikios, who was unable to see him. There is no hint that the Saint disapproved of Joseph, who is represented as distributing his goods to the poor and dying a good Christian death. In *VpS*, §28, however, Joseph is camouflaged by the omission of the word μεγάλης—he becomes simply Ἰωσὴφ ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and the reference to his seeking an earlier interview is left out. Scholars who have consulted only Sabas have been naturally misled. So, e.g., D. Stiernon, "Notice sur S. Jean de Kathara," *Revue des études byzantines* 28 (1970): 118, fn. 56, "Un économe Joseph, higoumène aussi, semble-t-il, apparaît en 842 [sic] dans une conférence spirituelle tenue à Brousse." See also the following note.

[811]	Predicts death of Emperor Nikephoros I in Bulgaria (§14); accession of Staurakios, then of Michael I (§15).
[813]	Bulgarian war renewed; usurpation of Leo V (§16).
[815]	Iconoclasm revived; Patriarch Nikephoros deposed; persecution of monks (§18). Ioannikios forced to move to Mount Alsos, where he builds three churches (§19).
[820]	Returns to Mount Olympus before Dec. 820. Predicts death of Leo V (§30). Then follow a number of incidents without any precise chronological landmarks: —Death of *oikonomos* Joseph, i.e., Joseph of Kathara (§36), between 821 and 826.[10] —Visits tomb of Theophanes Confessor (§37), certainly after March 822, when the body of Theophanes was laid to rest in his monastery. —Death of Inger, metropolitan of Nicaea (§38). —Moves to Ktêmata where he spends 3 years (§39). —Moves for second time to Mount Alsos (§41). —Goes on pilgrimage to Ephesus in the month of August (§42). —Returns to Lissos, i.e., Alsos (§43). —Moves to Chelidôn (§45). —Journeys to Kountouria (§46). —At Antidion (§§49-50). —On Mount Agaurinon (§§56, 59). —Excursion to Merillou Kômê and Crow's Head (§60). —At Antidion (§62).
[842 +]	Saracen raid during reign of Theodora. Fate of Byzantine prisoners taken at Amorion (838) still unknown (§62).
[843]	Restoration of Orthodoxy. Ioannikios sends a letter to Patriarch Methodios (§69).
[846]	Visited by Methodios on 1 Nov. (§70).
846	Ioannikios dies on 3 Nov. (§71).

Next, the chronology of Sabas:

753/4	Ioannikios born in 14th year of Constantine V, i.e., counting from 19 June 740 (§2).
770	Reaches age 16 in 31st year of Constantine V and 1st year of Empress Irene, i.e., from 17 December 769 (§2).
772/3	In his 19th year joins corps of Excubitors (§2).

[10] Joseph's death was predicted by Ioannikios when he received a numerous party of bishops and monks, including John of Chalcedon, Peter of Nicaea (d. 826), Theodore the Studite (d. 826), and others. Various dates have been assigned to this meeting. A.P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij*, vol. 1 (Odessa, 1913), p. 847 and vol. 2 (1914), pp. 454-56, argues that it took place in 821, but he is almost certainly mistaken. It is true that Theodore met Ioannikios early in 821 when the former was returning from exile in Smyrna (*Epp.*, II:116, 138; *PG*, 99:1385, 1440-41), but he could hardly have been accompanied on that occasion by a hundred ecclesiastics, including Joseph of Kathara.

781/2	His 28th year = 2nd year of Irene's effective reign (from 9 September 780) and 12th of her rule (from 17 December 769) (§4).
789/90	In his 36th year returns from an eastern expedition and is converted from iconoclasm (§5). Spends 6 years as palace guard, i.e., at Constantinople (§6).
796	In his 43rd year = 6th of Constantine VI (from Dec. 790) takes part in battle of Markellai (§6). Pays a brief visit to Constantinople, then meets his parents (§7). Becomes a monk after 24 years of military service.
[796/7-797/8]	Spends 2 years at monastery of Antidion (§9). Establishes himself on Mount Trichalix above monastery of Agauroi.
[797/8-799/800]	Spends 3 years in diocese of Pandêmos. Goes to Kountouria near Myra (§10). Pilgrimage to Ephesus (§12).
[799/800-806/7]	Spends 7 years in Cilicia (§13).
806/7	Bidden to return to Pandêmos in 5th year of Nikephoros I and Staurakios (from 1 November 802), the 12th of his eremitic life and 54th of his whole life.
[807]	Receives tonsure in monastery of Eristê in the summer (§13).
[807-10]	Spends 3 years at Mêtata near stream Gorgytês. Moves to Chelidôn and Lydias Alsos. Spends another 3 years (?) with monk George at Chelidôn (§14). Moves back to Trichalix.
811	9th year of Nikephoros I; Bulgarian war (§15).
813	2nd year of Michael I; Bulgarian war renewed; accession of Leo V (§16).
[815]	Patriarch Nikephoros expelled and Theodotos appointed in his place (§17). To escape persecution Ioannikios moves from Trichalix to Lydias Alsos (§18).
	Founds monasteries; moves back to Trichalix (§24).
820	Foretells death of Leo V who had reigned 7 1/2 years (§24).
825	In 5th year of Michael II (from 25 December 820) and Theophilos (from 12 May 821) and 14th from Bulgarian débacle of Nikephoros I (811) liberates Byzantine captives held in Bulgaria (§29).
	— Returns to Trichalix (§30).
	— Visits monastery of Theophanes Confessor and Lake Apolloniatis (§31).
	— Back at Trichalix (§32).
	— Moves to Crow's Head and Merilou Kômê (§34).
	— At Antidion (§35).
	— Persecution under Theophilos (§36).
	— Church of St. John Baptist at Antidion built (§38).
[837]	Foresees death of St. Peter of Atrôa (§44).
843	Methodios appointed patriarch after 6 1/2 years of Leo's impious reign (read 7 1/2); 8 years and 9 months of Michael's "tepidness"; 12 years and 3 months of Theophilos's severity; in the 2nd year of Michael III and Theodora (§46).
	Churches Ioannikios had built at Lisos under Leo V are consecrated (§49).
	Liberates prisoners taken by Arabs (§50).

844	50th year of his *askêsis* and 92nd of his life. Monk Epiphanios tries to kill him (§51). Moves down to Antidion because of his age (§52).
846	Visited by Patriarch Methodios on 1 November, in the 5th year of Michael III and Theodora, the 4th of Orthodoxy, the 94th of his life, the 52nd of his *anachôresis*, AM 6355, indiction 10. Dies on 3 November (§§53-54).
847	Death of Methodios on 14 June (§53).

It will have been seen that, contrary to Peter, Sabas has gone to some trouble to pile up chronological indications, even if once or twice he has committed a slip (see especially under 807-10).[11] On comparing, however, his chronology to that of Peter we discover such a radical disagreement that our suspicions are immediately aroused. Did Ioannikios die at the age of 84, as Peter informs us, or in his 94th year, as Sabas would have us believe? A simple error can be ruled out, seeing that Peter's chronology is consistent within itself. The key to the problem, I believe, is provided by the battle of Markellai, which was a crucial turning point in the life of Ioannikios, since it occasioned the psychological shock that induced him to abandon the world. Now, it is beyond doubt that the great defeat of the Byzantines by the Bulgars, a defeat brought about by the refortification of Markellai, occurred on 20 July 792,[12] which accords fully with Peter's chronology. Why then did Sabas move it to 796? A possible explanation is that he did so by mistake. He may have simply opened a chronicle and found a mention of Markellai in the 6th year of Constantine VI (796). On the latter occasion, however, there was no defeat, not even a battle. The Byzantine army marched up to Markellai, while the Bulgarians hid in the woods. The Byzantines waited seventeen days and then returned home.[13]

Whether Sabas committed an error or changed the date of the battle deliberately, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that he did some bookish research. Indeed, a glance at his chronology with its frequent mentions of regnal years is sufficient to convince us that such a wealth of precise information could not have been provided by oral sources. Sabas consulted a chronicle. But which one? His account of the disaster of 811 may give us some clues.

[11] Also when he says (§4) that iconoclasm came to an end in 781/82.
[12] Theophanes, de Boor, pp. 467-68. The mistake is noted by P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1978), p. 666, fn. 68. I should like to thank Professor Speck for a number of helpful observations.
[13] Theophanes, p. 470.

VpP (§14) contains only a brief mention of the Byzantine defeat: the Bulgarians took up arms, the "most pious" emperor Nikephoros set out to meet them in battle and fell. Sabas (§15) felt compelled to fill out the story. He tells us that in the 9th year of Nikephoros the Huns who inhabit the West went forth to ravage Thrace; that the emperor took up arms against them and won a signal victory (κατὰ κράτος ἡττήσαντος); that he occupied the enemy ruler's palace and remained there in an incautious manner, whereupon the Bulgarians regrouped, hired reinforcements among neighbouring tribes (τὰ ὅμορα μισθωσάμενοι ἔθνη) and fell on the emperor at the same spot (ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου) — so, presumably, in the Bulgarian capital — slaying him and killing or capturing his entire army. These details are not drawn from Theophanes[14] who fails to mention: (1) The initial defeat of the Bulgarians except in the most indirect manner; (2) The incautious sojourn of Nikephoros in the Bulgarian capital; (3) The recourse of the Bulgarians to neighbouring tribes; (4) The Byzantine defeat "on the same spot." Nor could Sabas have derived his information from George the Monk who does, however, provide one verbal parallel (ἐνίκησεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ κράτος).[15] The only other source known to us that Sabas could have used is the "Dujčev fragment" (generally regarded as forming part of the Scriptor incertus de Leone) which starts with the indication "In the 9th year of the reign of Nikephoros," mentions the initial defeat of the Bulgarians, the occupation of their *aulê*, the emperor's negligent behaviour and the enemy's recourse to neighbouring tribes (μισθωσάμενος Ἀβάρους καὶ τὰς πέριξ Σκλαβηνίας).[16] The "Dujčev fragment" does not say that the battle took place "on the same spot"; in fact, it is very vague as to where the battle did occur so that Sabas, if he was using the "Dujčev fragment," may have misunderstood it; or else he may have written ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου not wishing to imply anything more than "in that general area."

Much the same observations may be made with reference to the Byzantine defeat at Versinikia in 813. Once again, Peter does no more than allude to the event in the context of a prophecy delivered by

[14] Theophanes, pp. 490-91.

[15] Ed. de Boor, p. 774. Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 204, has ἥττησεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ κράτος, which is even closer to Sabas's wording.

[16] Ed. H. Grégoire in *Byzantion* 11 (1936): 421 ff.; ed. I. Dujčev, "La chronique byzantine de l'an 811," *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines* 1 (1965): 210ff.

Ioannikios to one Bryenês, son of (Bardanês) Tourkos:[17] the Bulgarians were opposed by the emperor and the *strategos* of the Anatolics (i.e., Leo the Armenian); the latter deposed his sovereign and seized the crown (§16). In this instance, too, Sabas (§16) supplies the historical background: the emperor Michael in the second year of his reign, as he was about to march against the Bulgarians, appointed Leo *strategos* of the Anatolics; the two opposing sides made a show of their respective strength;[18] as soon as battle was joined Leo deliberately (reading ἐθελοντί instead of ἐθέλοντι) turned to flight, thus giving victory to the enemy. The emperor Michael escaped to Constantinople with a few faithful men who had not been privy to the conspiracy. Leo followed him, deposed him, placed his wife and children in different monasteries and made himself emperor. Once again, Sabas could not have drawn these facts from Theophanes, who represents Leo in a much more favourable light—indeed, as urging Michael to attack the Bulgarians, but being hindered by the emperor's inexperienced advisers.[19] Nor could he have used George the Monk. But he could have found all the information he provides in the Scriptor incertus.[20]

If the above reasoning is accepted and if we further assume that Sabas used a single historical source rather than several, the following inferences may be made:

(1) The "Dujčev fragment" and the Scriptor incertus are indeed parts of the same work.

(2) This historical work was in circulation by the 850s.[21]

(3) It extended at least as far back as 792 if it contained an account of both engagements at Markellai.

Let us, however, return to the two Lives of Ioannikios. We have seen that Sabas is demonstrably in error in dating the Byzantine defeat at

[17] This passage is of considerable interest. In *VpP* we read: ἔθος ἦν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Τούρκου, τοὔνομα Βρυένης, συχνῶς πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπιέναι. Ioannikios asked him, "Does your cousin (ἐξάδελφος) know how to herd sheep?" The offended Bryenês answered, "How do you expect him to be a shepherd when he is a general?" Since the cousin in question was Leo the Armenian, it follows that Leo's father was the brother or, at any rate, a close relative of Bardanes Tourkos. This does not appear to have been noticed, e.g., by Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), pp. 10-11. In *VpS*, §16 the reference to Tourkos has been omitted and Bryenês is vaguely described as "a certain συγκλητικός."

[18] If that is the meaning of the expression, παρεμβολῆς δὲ μεγίστης τῶν μερῶν ἀμφοτέρων γενομένης εἰς δεῖξιν.

[19] Theophanes, pp. 500-501.

[20] Bonn ed., pp. 337-41.

[21] Thus confirming the supposition that the reference to the baptism of the Bulgarians in the Dujčev fragment (οὔπω τότε βαπτισθέντων) is a later gloss. Cf. Dujčev, "La chronique byzantine," p. 248.

Markellai to 796 and, since his chronology is very tightly constructed, we have no choice but to reject it *in toto*, except, of course, where he happens to agree with Peter. We have expressed the possibility that Sabas went astray by inadvertence, but the suspicion remains that he may have altered the dates deliberately. Which leads us to consider two phases of the Saint's career.

First, his military service. According to Peter, Ioannikios was thirty years old when he retired from the world. Assuming that he joined the army at the age of eighteen, he must have served about twelve years. Sabas gives him a much longer career in the army, twenty-four years in all, culminating in a signal act of bravery at Markellai.[22] Can we discern any reason for this alteration? One possibility that comes to mind is that Sabas wished to absolve his hero of the charge of desertion. Indeed, if Peter is right, Ioannikios was a deserter: he simply left the army and disappeared in the wilderness. But if we suppose that twenty-four years was the normal (or an adequate) period of service, then Ioannikios could be regarded as having retired in a more honourable manner.

Secondly, his wanderings as a monk. On this score our two authors differ widely and it may be useful to confront their statements.

Peter	*Sabas*
2 years at Antidion (792-93)	2 years at Antidion (796/97-797/98)
13 years on Mt. Agaurinon (794-807)	Unspecified period on Mt. Trichalix
	3 years at Pandêmos (797/98-799/800)
	Journey to Kountouria near Myra
	Pilgrimage to Ephesus
	7 years in Cilicia
Short visit to Thrakêsian theme and return to Mt. Agaurinon (?807)	
	Return to Pandêmos (806/807)
	Receives tonsure at Eristê (807)
	3 years at Mêtata (807-810)
	Moves to Chelidôn and Alsos
	3 years at Chelidôn (*sic*)
	Returns to Trichalix (c. 810-11)
Move to Mt. Alsos (815)	Move to Alsos (815)
Return to Olympos (820)	Return to Trichalix (820)
3 years at Ktêmata	
Second move to Alsos	

[22] Sabas, however, took care to tone down Peter's exaggerated statement that Ioannikios had saved the emperor's life on the battlefield (*VpP*, §5). He substituted an anonymous "grandee" for the emperor (*VpS*, §6).

Pilgrimage to Ephesus	
Return to Alsos/Lissos	
Move to Chelidôn	
Journey to Kountouria	
At Antidion	At Antidion
On Mt. Agaurinon	
Final move to Antidion (c. 842)	Final move to Antidion (844).

We cannot discuss here the complicated problems of topography that are posed by the above indications. It is sufficient for our purpose to make the following comments:

(1) Mt. Agaurinon was the same as Mt. Trichalix.

(2) Mt. Alsos = Mt. Lis(s)os,[23] the latter being, I believe, the correct form (a simple error in uncial script, ΛΙCOC or ΛΗCOC → ΑΛCOC). Lis(s)os was in Lydia, not in Bithynia. Chelidôn was also in western Asia Minor.[24]

(3) Ktêmata in *VpP* corresponds to Mêtata in *VpS* and must have been in Mysia, in the general area of modern Balıkesir.[25]

(4) The situation of Pandêmos and Eristê is by no means clear. Both

[23] Their identity becomes evident if we compare several passages of *VpP*. In §19 the Saint moves ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Ἄλσος. In §39 he goes πρὸς τὰ ἐπιλεγόμενα Κτήματα, τὰ ἐπέκεινα πέλοντα τοῦ προονομασθέντος Λησσοῦ [in fact, not mentioned previously in that form] ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ καλουμένῳ Γοργύτῃ. In §41 he returns ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἄλσος. In §43, after his pilgrimage to Ephesus, he comes back to *the same* mountain, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὄρει τῷ καλουμένῳ Λησσῷ (so MS). The confusion must have been already present in the MS of *VpP* used by Sabas who, being ignorant of Lydian topography, kept both names and made Lisos into a *kastron* close to Mt. Alsos (§14). Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie*, p. 50, with his usual arbitrariness, placed "la forêt de Lydie" to the east of Lake Apolloniatis and identified the Gorgytês with the Aynesi dere which flows into the Nilüfer west of Bursa. So also R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), pp. 148-50.

[24] I do not know if Chelidôn had anything to do with the Phrygian Chelidonia of Strabo, 14: 663.

[25] Mêtata is again mentioned in *VpP*, §67. In the corresponding passage of *VpS* (§42) it is called τὰ Μητάτα Λυδίας. Mêtata or Lakkou Mêtata is associated with Achyraous (Hadrianoutherae) and a locality called Pteleai. See W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter," *SBWien* 124/8 (1891): 95-96. I do not know if Pteleai was the *emporion* of that name, situated on the Dardanelles, between Lampsacus and Abydus: *Vita Parthenii*, *PG*, 114; 1360A. Lakkou Mitata (*sic*) also appears as a *bandon* of the theme of the Aegean Sea in the colophons of two MSS, Harl. 5537 of AD 1087 and Laurent. Plut. 4. 32 of 1092: K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 73, and pl. 131; vol. 10, no. 373, and pl. 705. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), p. 78, is, I believe, mistaken in arguing from this evidence that the theme of the Aegean Sea included the south shore of the Propontis.

are perhaps to be sought on the border between Bithynia and Mysia or in the latter province.[26]

Now, Peter's indications are certainly simpler and more plausible than those of Sabas. Peter tells us that, apart from a short visit to the Thrakêsian theme (western Asia Minor) in ca. 807, Ioannikios remained as a solitary on Olympus until the outbreak of iconoclastic persecution in 815. His wanderings corresponded to the period of iconoclastic supremacy. Being by then a well-known figure, he went into hiding and kept moving from one deserted place to another so as not to attract too much attention. He returned to Olympus shortly before the murder of Leo V and seems to have stayed on for some time, thinking (as did others) that Michael II would prove orthodox, but a few years later, when his expectations were disappointed, he went again into hiding. He re-appeared at Antidion at an unspecified time, perhaps not too far removed from the death of Theophilos (842). Note also that Peter does not allude to his receiving the tonsure, an event of particular significance in every monk's life.

Sabas, on the other hand, conveys the impression that Ioannikios suffered from an acute case of what the French call *la bougeotte*. Instead of allowing the Saint to remain on Olympus from 794 until 815, he packs him off to distant parts, as far away as Cilicia,[27] and represents him as being absent from Olympus from ca. 798 until ca. 811 and again from 815 until 820, but not between 820 and 842. He also establishes a connection between Ioannikios and Pandêmos/Eristê of which Peter knows nothing.

I cannot pretend to be able to offer a satisfactory explanation of these discrepancies. We happen to know that Ioannikios was criticised by the Studites for not having suffered any mistreatment at the hands of the iconoclasts.[28] Imagine, furthermore, that he was a deserter from the

[26] Theophanes Confessor paid visits τοῖς τοῦ Πανδήμου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας ἀσκητηρίοις to collect monks for his own monastery: Vita by Methodios (*BHG*³, 1787z, ed. Latyšev), §28, which seems to imply that Pandêmos was neither in Hellespont nor in Bithynia. On the monastery of Eristê see Janin, *Grands centres*, pp. 148-49, who is, however, confused by the mistaken identification of the Gorgytês with the Aynesi dere (see above, fn. 23). The problem is further complicated by the existence of a bishopric of Eristê or Aristê subject to Nicomedia. I suspect that Sabas was not too well informed about those parts, e.g., when he says that Ioannikios repaired to a village *called* Hellespont in the parish (ἐνορία) of Pandêmos. Further down (§13) he affirms that Eristê was "one of the monasteries of Bithynia."

[27] The seven-year residence in Cilicia, in the course of which Ioannikios does not appear to have accomplished anything, strikes me as apocryphal.

[28] Theodore Studite, *Parva catechesis*, no. 38, ed. Auvray, p. 141.

army and that for this very reason no abbot in the Olympus area was willing to bestow the tonsure on him;[29] that he went into hiding in 815 not so much (or not only) for the cause of icon worship, but because he feared arrest as a deserter and a lapsed iconoclast to boot. If there is any truth in such a supposition, then Sabas had good reason to doctor the story. He wished to represent his hero as a regularly tonsured monk and so had him tonsured in a distant monastery, since it must have been known that he had not been tonsured in the obvious place, namely, the monastery of Agauroi or that of Antidion. Furthermore, it was not very likely that Ioannikios turned up one day, a perfect stranger, at the monastery of Eristê and received the tonsure. Hence, a previous residence in that area (Pandêmos) appeared desirable. As for the accusation of not having stood up to the iconoclasts with sufficient vigour, that could be countered to some extent by having the Saint reside openly on Mount Olympus during the persecution of Theophilos. Borrowing some elements from *VpP* and inventing others, Sabas did his best to scramble the Saint's movements in a way that would conceal any embarrassing factors. Not many people in the 850s would have remembered clearly a complicated sequence of minor events that had occurred several decades earlier, except perhaps for the worthy Eustratios who died a very old man after 867.

Here, however, we are entering the realm of conjecture and it may be prudent not to go any farther. All I wished to show is that the Life by Sabas is not a trustworthy document: it is a "whitewash" of the Saint and its chronology is almost entirely false. I do not wish to argue that all the elements present in *VpS* and absent from *VpP* are necessarily invented, although many of them strike me as highly suspect, e.g., the Saint's service on the eastern front, the prediction made to him by two holy men on his return from the East, his journey to Bulgaria in 825 to liberate Byzantine prisoners.[30] It is not surprising that the Byzantines, who had no critical sense in such matters, should have preferred *VpS* to *VpP* and that the Metaphrastic Life should have been based on the former. What I find more difficult to understand is that modern scholars have proved equally credulous.

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[29] It was an abbot's duty to investigate a postulant's status and ascertain ὅτι οὐδεμιᾷ τύχῃ ὑπόκειται. See *Collectio 93 capitulorum*, cap. 76, in V. N. Beneševič, *Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 789.

[30] This repeats a similar liberation of prisoners taken by the Arabs: *VpP*, §62.

Where Was Beth Zagba?

MARLIA MUNDELL MANGO

Although north Mesopotamia is far from the *Okeanos*, it is a land of rivers from which the hardy and patient fisherperson can hook the occasional smaller fry in the realm of Byzantine monuments. The following note, which is an attempt to "throw back" one such catch, is presented to Ihor Ševčenko in thanks for having first introduced me to this fascinating land where I was bitten by more than one kind of oriental bug.

The catch in question is the famous Syriac Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Laur., Plut. I, 56),[1] alone among Early Byzantine illuminated manuscripts to bear a colophon stating explicitly where it was produced. And if the precise relationship of illuminations to manuscript and their respective places of production have in the past been the subject of dispute, today the illustrations of the Rabbula can be accepted as representative of late sixth-century monastic art (done for, if not in, a monastery) of the eastern provinces,[2] in contrast to the early sixth-century aristocratic art of the capital presumably displayed in the Vienna Dioscorides. It would, therefore, be desirable to determine exactly the location and milieu of the monastery where the scribe Rabbula copied these Gospels. The persistent tradition that attributes them to north Mesopotamia is difficult to substantiate. The long colophon of the manuscript, often translated[3] and once again given below (p. 428), states three times (lines 11, 40, 51) that the book was copied and deposited "in the holy monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba." The text and a

[1] S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Medicanae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum MSS orientalium catalogus* (Florence, 1742), XVIIIff., 1ff.; A. M. Biscioni, *Bibliothecae Mediceo-Laurentianae catalogus*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1752), pp. 169ff.; C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels. Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures* (Olten and Lausanne, 1959); J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peinture* (Paris, 1964), pp. 139ff.

[2] Thanks to the study by David Wright which established that the illuminations were "an integral part of the book finished in 586"; "The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 197-208.

[3] See fn. 81 below.

Latin translation of this colophon were first published by Assemani in his catalogue of 1742, where, unfortunately, he rendered "of Beth Zagba" as "urbe Zagba."[4] One hundred years later, in the two Italian notes written in the manuscript by the librarian A. M. Bandini, "Beth Zagba" has become "Zagba città della Mesopotamia."[5] Neither "città" nor "Mesopotamia" is justified. No *polis* of Beth Zagba is found among the bishoprics listed in the *Notitia Antiochena* compiled in 570,[6] just sixteen years before the Gospels were copied. No such monastery is recorded in the numerous annals of Mesopotamia, where monastic foundations have histories as unbroken as that of Mt. Sinai. Still Beth Zagba has continued to be placed in Mesopotamia. Exceptionally, a few orientalists have preferred to place it in Syria, as we shall see presently. Setting aside the colophon of the Rabbula Gospels, Beth Zagba is recorded only in a group of letters, dated to the period A.D. 567 to 568 — less than two decades before the Rabbula manuscript — letters that were signed by abbots involved in the tritheist quarrel then raging in Monophysite circles. Three of four principal letters exchanged between the East and Constantinople contain the signature of "Paul abbot of the monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba." A third area of documentation to be examined here, and which can place in context the contents of the lenthy Rabbula colophon, is the large body of 80-odd notes and colophons preserved in contemporary Syriac manuscripts. Taking all three types of evidence into consideration, I should like to suggest the following: (1) that two of the four Monophysite letters were written to, or by, a very limited group of abbots — one in Mesopotamia and one near Apamea — Beth Zagba figuring among the latter; and (2) that colophons in a group of contemporary manuscripts written for some of these monasteries near Apamea are similar to that of the Rabbula Gospels. Having said that, I would conclude, however, that in spite of being thus placed in Syria, the Rabbula Gospels still maintain a certain "Mesopotamian connection."

Monophysite Letter II: Mesopotamian Monasteries

As is well known, the Monophysite bishops and monks of *Oriens* were driven into exile and persecuted after the death of the emperor

[4] Assemani, *Catalogus*, p. 13. Beth, as used to form compound names, means "house or place of ..."

[5] Cecchelli, et al., *Facsimile*, p. 25.

[6] A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 540ff. and tables 31-32 for Oshroene and Mesopotamia.

Anastasius in 518. Two principal centres of refuge were Egypt and Constantinople, where the numbers of surviving bishops gradually dwindled. When Severus, the exiled patriarch of Antioch, died in 536, he was not replaced until 564. In 542, however, Theodosius, the exiled patriarch of Alexandria (535-566), consecrated in Constantinople two new bishops who took to the field in response to a request made to the empress Theodora by al-Ḥareth, the Ghassanid phylarch. Jacob Baradaeus was ordained for Edessa, with jurisdiction over Syria and Mesopotamia, and Theodore was made bishop of Bostra, presiding over Arabia and Palestine. It was through their efforts that the Severan Monophysite church of *Oriens* was revived and subsequently became known as Jacobite, after Jacob. Having weathered decades of persecution, the beleaguered Monophysite community experienced a new and internal threat between 557 and 571, in the form of the tritheist heresy — that God had three natures and three hypostases — which was taught by John Ascotzanges and his followers, who included a grandson and great nephew of the empresses Theodora and Sophia, as well as a certain Aboui the Embalmer. After the death of the patriarch Theodosius (19 June 566), the conflict escalated and efforts were made at the imperial level to resolve it. In 567 meetings between the factions were held at Dara and Callinicum. In that year and the next, agreements called *syndoktika* were signed in Alexandria, in the Palace of Hormisdas at Constantinople and in Syria, and by 571 the tritheists had been condemned. During the final period of resolution, 566-571, within the deliberations there emerged a sub-plot involving intrigue for the vacant patriarchal seat of Alexandria, which would eventually, by 575, lead to a schism between Jacobites and Paulites, supporters, respectively, of Jacob Baradaeus and Paul Beth Ukame (the Black), Patriarch of Antioch (564-581).[7]

All these matters were the subject of letters written between church leaders, mostly bishops living in Constantinople, and their monastic followers, which are preserved in a sixth- to seventh-century manuscript in London.[8] Four of these letters, signed by, or addressed to,

[7] See H.G. Kleyn, *Jacob Baradaeus, de Stichter des syrische monophysietische Kerk* (Leiden, 1882), pp. 72-90; E.W. Brooks, "Paul of Antioch," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1930): 468ff.; R. Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche* (Paris, 1945), pp. 77ff.; E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (Louvain, 1951), pp. 157ff.

[8] W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1870-72), 2:701-715.

large groups of particular abbots "in the East,"[9] have been quarried for topographical information by Honigmann, Littmann, and Caquot.[10] A fifth letter, sent by abbots "of Arabia," has been discussed by Nöldeke.[11] Two of the letters (Caquot's I and IV) exchanged with abbots "of the East" contain the *syndoktika* reached during two meetings held in the monastery of Mar Bassus at Beth Bo near Antioch. These are dated 17 May 567 and 3 January 568, and are signed by 43 abbots, 1 priest and 1 stylite, and by 48 abbots, 3 priests, 5 anchorites and 2 stylites, respectively. Both were sent to Monophysite bishops and clergy in Constantinople. Two other letters, Caquot's II and III, which he placed chronologically between the two *syndoktika*,[12] are much more

[9] For the texts of these letters see J.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (hereafter CSCO), 19, vol. 1 (text), pp. 145ff., 161ff., 166ff., 181ff.; vol. 2 (trans.), pp. 101ff., 112ff., 116ff., 126.

[10] E. Honigmann, "Nordsyrische Klöster in vorarabischer Zeit," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 1 (1922): 15-33; E. Littmann, "Zur Topographie der Antiochene und Apamene," ibid.: 163-195; and A. Caquot in G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord* (Paris, 1958), 3:63-83.

[11] Th. Nöldeke, "Zur Topographie und Geschichte des damascenischen Gebietes und der Haurangegend," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1975): 419-44.

[12] For the sake of simplicity I have observed in the two charts presented here (Tables A and B) the order given to the letter by Caquot, with which, however, I disagree. Their manuscript order, II (item no. 25), I (no. 29), IV (no. 31), and III (no. 35), was followed by Honigmann in "Klöster" and apparently accepted by him as chronological (*Evêques*, pp. 176, 181). Thus, both these scholars ignore the sequence established by Kleyn in 1882 (*Baradaeus*, pp. 76ff., 193), which was: III (written winter 566/67), I (May, 567), IV (January, 568), and II (later in 568). It should be pointed out that his order is further supported by the changes in abbots which were wrongly noted by Honigmann ("Klöster," p. 16, fn. 1), and Caquot (p. 66). Four monasteries change abbots in the course of the four letters, but only two of these monasteries figure in all four letters, thus providing a sequence. Furthermore, the two in question played an important role in the dispute and their personnel would have been well known. Anṭiok, abbot of the monastery of the Ṭayaye, signed letters I (May 567) and III, while John, abbot of the same monastery, signed II and IV (January 568). Anṭiok, who features prominently at another meeting held in 567 at Callinicum (*Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens*, vol. 2 [Louvain, 1974], trans. A. Abouna, p. 176, where the monastery is called 'Arabye'; both names mean "Arabs" and the two monasteries are apparently identified by Chabot, *Documenta*, index p. 250; cf. Honigmann, *Evêques*, p. 203, fn. 2), must have preceded John, so letter III must precede II. Furthermore, Eusebius, abbot of Mar Bassus (and hence "chairman" of the committee, see p. 409 below) signed letter III, while his position has been assumed by Mari, abbot of the same monastery, in letters I, II and IV. Moreover, Eusebius also wrote and signed two other letters addressed to Theodosius (Chabot, *Documenta*, 1:125ff.; 2:87ff.), former Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria, who died in June 566. Thus letter III must precede not only II, but also I. These four abbots' names appear on fols. 59^r, 65^r, 67^{r-v}, and 70^v-71^v in Add. 14602, London, as indicated in Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:704, 706-708; and Chabot, *Documenta*, 1:146, 163, 170, 181, 184; 2:101, 113, 119, 126, 128. Finally, letter II must come last as it quotes letter IV (ibid., 1:106; 2:116).

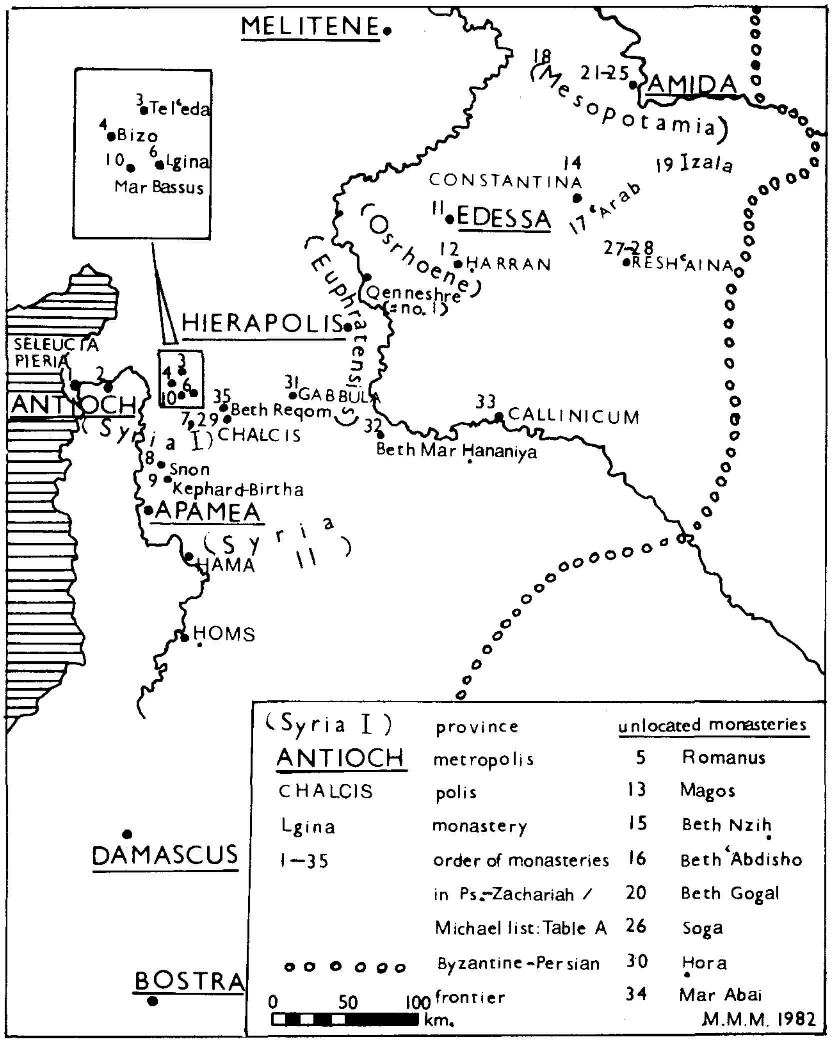
limited in scope. Letter II was sent by the bishops in Constantinople to 16 abbots, informing them that their example in opposing tritheism was being followed in Isauria and Cilicia. Letter III, expressing joy at the return from Constantinople to Syria of Jacob Baradaeus, was sent by 19 abbots and 1 priest to the bishops in Constantinople. The signatures on all four letters are headed by what has long been recognized as a committee of 10 to 14 abbots, starting with that of Mar Bassus where the general meetings were held in 567 and 568. I believe that by examining the names which follow the committee in the two shorter letters (II and III), one can reassign a number of the signatory monasteries to *outside* the limestone massif of north Syria, a circumscription rigorously observed by commentators from Honigmann onwards, and, at the same time, to suggest a new location for Beth Zagba. Put another way, I shall attempt to place one group of monasteries (in letter II) in Mesopotamia rather than Syria, and to place another group (in letter III) all together in one limited part of the limestone massif, the Djebel Riḥa. Beth Zagba figures in the second and not the first group.

The tendency to assign all the monasteries named in the four letters to north Syria appears to have been dictated by the interpretation of "province of Syria I" given to the phrase "eparchia (*hoparkiya* = *hyparchia*) of Antioch," to which belong the signatories of the *syndoktikon* of 568 (letter IV).[13] Yet this interpretation is patently too narrow, as already recognized by Honigmann. Firstly, among the monasteries of the abbots of "the committee," that of Kephar d-Birtha has been universally identified with present-day el-Bara,[14] which was in Syria II under Apamea. Secondly, the other large group of monks figuring in the tritheist documents is those of the "eparchia of Arabia." The latter Nöldeke suggested was a "Kirchenprovinz" which exceeded the limits of the Diocletianic Province of Arabia under Bostra, to include the "Macht der ghassanidischen Phylarch" as far north as Emesa (Ḥoms).[15] The two eparchies of Antioch and Arabia could be taken, therefore, as corresponding roughly to the Monophysite episcopal jurisdictions established in 542 (at a time when most Monophysite bishops were in exile in Constantonople) (see above),[16] that is, for Jacob Baradaeus of Edessa (Syria and Mesopotamia), and for Theodore

[13] Chabot, *Documenta*, 1:167; 2:116.
[14] Caquot in *Villages*, 3:66f.
[15] Nöldeke, "Topographie," p. 420.
[16] Ḥonigmann, *Evêques*, p. 159f.

Table A: Monasteries in Letter II (ca. 567) Compared with Monasteries in List Given by Ps.-Zachariah and Michael the Syrian for Persecution, A.D. 525-31

Letter II sent from Constantinople to Orient ca. 567						*Ps.-Zachariah/Michael the Syrian List for 525-31*		
order in letters I	II	III	IV	*abbot*	*place, monastery*	*order in list*	*place, monastery*	*abbot, monks*
1	1	1	1	Mari (I. II, IV) Eusebius (III)	Beth Bo, Mar Bassus		(= no. 10 below)	
					(= no. 12 below)	1	Seleucia Pieria, St. Thomas	John bar Aphthoniya
						2	Antioch, Mon. of Syrians	Cyrus
2	2	2	2	Barḥabshabba	Tel'eda	3	Tel'eda	—
3	3	3	3	Zenob	Beth Mar Biza	4	Bizo	—
4	4	5	4	Constantine	Kephar d-Birtha, Mar Eusebius		(= no. 9 below)	
—	5	4	—	Romanus	Mar Romanus	5	Romanus	—
—	6	—	—	Thomas	Mar Sergius of Naphshatha			
5	7	7	4	Abraham	Lgina	6	Lgina	Symeon
6	8	8	5	Anṭiok (I, III) John (II, IV)	Ṭayaye (= Arabs)			
						7	Chalcis, Mon. of ʿAqiba	Ignatius
					(= no. 27, see Table B)	8	Snon	—
					(= no. 4 above)	9	Kephar d-Birtha	John
					(= no. 1 above)	10	Mar Bassus	—
7	9	9	6	Andrew	Qomis Mnasa			
8	10	10	8	Ḥnina	Beth Bo, Mon. of Recluses			
—	11	—	—	Marutha	Orientals	11	Orientals	John
—	12	6	—	Barlaha	Mar John of Beth Aphthoniya		(= no. 1 above)	
—	13	—	—	Mara	Aspqlis (= Watchtower)		(= no. 27 below)	
						12	Qobe	—
—	14	—	—	Abraham	Qobe (= Arches)	13	Magos	—
—	15	—	—	Sergius	Mar Sergius	14	(Sergius of?) the Quarry	Sergius?
						15	Beth Nzih	Thomas
						16	Beth ʿAbdisho	Isaac
						17	ʿArab	—
						18	Mesopotamia	—
						19	Izala	—
						20	Beth Gogal	—
—	16	—	—	John	John at Zuqnin		"five metropolitan monasteries of Amida":	
						21	Edessenes	Ḥananiya, Abraham Daniel
						22	Beth Isḥaqoni	Elias
						23	John of Urtaya	Sami, Cosmas
						24	Orientals	Maron
						25	Beth Mar Samuel	Solomon
						26	Soga	Cyrus
					(= no. 13 above)	27	Aspqlia (= Watchtowers)	—
						28	Thiria nr. Reshʿaina	
						29	Chalcis	Symeon
						30	Ḥora, Beth Mar John	Sergius
						31	Gabbula, Mar Isaac	Symeon
						32	Beth Mar Ḥananiya	Berenicianus
						33	Callinicum, Mar Zakkai	—
						34	Mar Abai	—
						35	Beth Reqom	—



Map 1. The geographical distribution of the monasteries in the Ps.-Zachariah/ Michael the Syrian list for the years A.D. 525-31 (See Table A, p. 410).

of Bostra (Arabia and Palestine). Thirdly, letter II contains very explicit evidence that its addressees lived outside north Syria.

Of the 16 abbots addressed in letter II, the first 10 comprise "the committee"; the last 6 do *not* appear among the abbots of the "eparchia of Antioch" who signed the *syndoktika* (letters I and IV) and are, moreover, called abbots "of the administration (*pornasa*, from *parnes* 'to manage') of the East,"[17] and hence not necessarily under Syria I, if one insisted on a narrow interpretation of "eparchia of Antioch." The monasteries of the last six abbots of letter II can be located when closely compared (see Table A, p. 410) with the list given by Pseudo-Zachariah (VIII. v)[18] and repeated by Michael the Syrian (IX. xiv)[19] of Monophysite monasteries driven during the persecution of 525 to 531 "from the district (*chora*) of Antioch, and Euphratensis and Osrhoene and Mesopotamia."[20] This list thus contains monasteries situated beyond the confines of Syria I. Although this list was occasionally cited by Honigmann, Littmann, and Caquot, when placed side-by-side with letter II, the coincidences revealed are striking and informative.[21]

Taking the Ps.-Zachariah/Michael list, one finds six of the committee of ten which heads letter II, four of these being in the same order (nos. 3-6 = nos. 2, 3, 5, 7). One also finds the following geographical groupings in the list (Map 1): nos. 1-10, Syria I and II; nos. 11-16 (?), Osrhoene; nos. 17-28, Mesopotamia; and nos. 29-35, eastern Syria I and Euphratensis. The six final monasteries of letter II correspond to monasteries in Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, all six, furthermore, being well known.

No. 11 of letter II, the monastery of the Orientals (Madneḥiye), is better attested by John of Ephesus as the "renowned monastery ... at

[17] A term used also by Theodore of Bostra in a letter to Paul of Antioch, Chabot, *Documenta*, 1:95; 2:66; Honigmann, *Evêques*, p. 163.

[18] E.W. Brooks, *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori*, CSCO 83-84 (text) 87-88 (trans.) (Louvain, 1919, 1924), 2:80f./55f.; F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London, 1899), pp. 209ff.

[19] J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris, 1899-1910), 2:170ff.; Michael's source for book IX was Ps.-Zachariah and John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, part 2, ibid., p. xxi.

[20] Brooks, *Zach.*, 2:80 (text), 55 (trans.); see also Chabot, *Chronique*, 2:170/266.

[21] The two documents are nearly contemporary. Letter II was written between May 567 and January 568. Ps.-Zachariah's book VIII was compiled before 569: Brooks in *Syriac Chronicle*, p. 5.

Edessa"[22] than the references cited (and rejected) by Honigmann and Littmann would suggest.[23]

No. 12 of letter II, the monastery of Mar John of Beth Aphthoniya, was equally, if not more, famous. It is the first monastery given in the Ps.-Zachariah/Michael list: "the monastery of Thomas [Apostle] of Seleucia [Pieria], [which] by the help of John the Rhetor, the abbot, son of Aphthoniya, arrived with its fraternity at Qenneshre on the Euphrates and installed itself there" ca. 525.[24] Standing on the east bank of the river opposite Europos (Jerablus) the monastery was thenceforth in Osrhoene and known by the name Qenneshre (= Eagle's Nest).

No. 13 of letter II, the monastery of Aspqlis (= Watchtower), occurs in the Ps.-Zachariah/Michael list as no. 27. In the latter place it precedes immediately a monastery of Thiria near Resh'aina (Theodosiopolis) which would seem to confirm that the Watchtower monastery in question in these sixth-century documents is the well-known establishment by that city.[25]

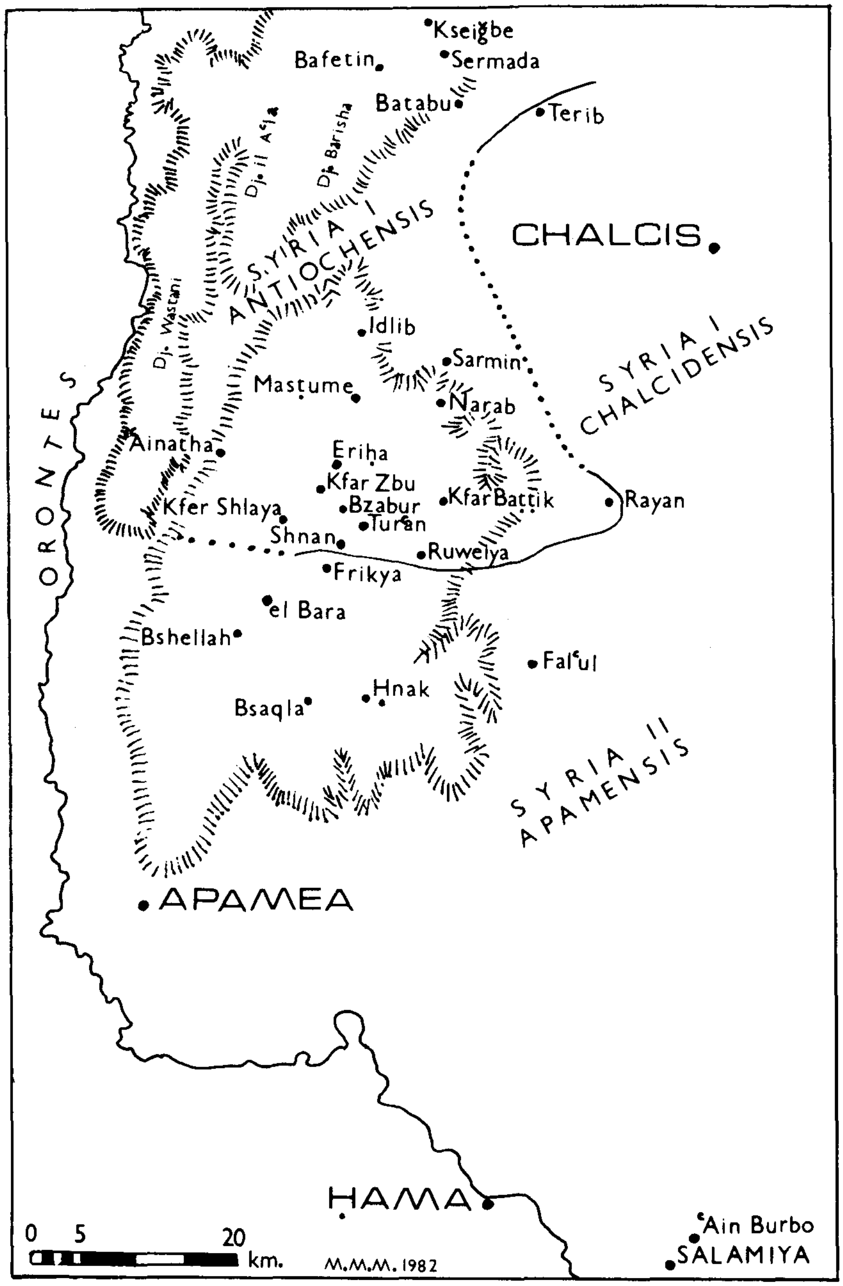
No. 14 of letter II, the monastery of Qobe (= Arches), which appears in the Ps.-Zachariah/Michael list as no. 12 following that of the Orientals. A monastery of that name is mentioned several times both near Edessa and near Ḥarran. As the one near Edessa was in the plain

[22] John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* 19 (1925): 566. Michael the Syrian (2:176/269) speaks with reference to ca. 525 of "the monastery called of the Orientals on the mountain of Edessa," four hundred of whom were driven out ca. 599 by the Chalcedonian crusader Domitianus of Melitene; ibid., 2:372.

[23] For all these Mesopotamian monasteries see the summaries given by Caquot in Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:74-77.

[24] Brooks, *Zach.*, 2:80/55; Michael the Syrian, 2:171/266; see also John of Ephesus, *Lives*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 19:502. On the foundation of this monastery see F. Nau, "Histoire de Jean bar Aphtonia," *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, 1902, pp. 97-135; it remained important in both intellectual and political spheres until at least the ninth century. Ca. 557, Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Bostra consecrated bishops from the monasteries of Aphthoniya, Mar Bizza, Mar Bassus, and Mar Ḥananiya (Honigmann, *Evêques*, pp. 172f., 178ff.), nos. 1, 3 and 12 of letter II, and no. 32 of the Ps.-Zachariah/Michael list (Table A). Honigmann (ibid., p. 191, fn. 1) is ambiguous as to whether he identifies the monastery in letter II with this famous establishment (cf. idem, "Klöster," no. 14), while Caquot (p. 75) accepts Littmann's proposal of its location at Bafetin (a suggested corruption of Beth Aphthoniya) in the Djebel Barisha (Map 2); cf. Honigmann, *Evêques*, p. 191.

[25] The interpretation of the Syriac name Aspqlis as being Latin Speculum was made by Honigmann, who, however, rejected the identification of the monastery in question here with that at Resh'aina ("Klöster," no. 16). On the latter see also *Chronicon 1234*, 2:197, 207-209. The other monastery at Resh'aina, where Thomas bar 'Abdiyo, the second bishop of Dara, was buried ca. 540, is spelled Thiria by Ps.-Zachariah (2:39/26, 81/55) and Tizaye in Michael (2:171/266).



Map 2. Djebel Riḥa: the monasteries mentioned in letter III and the MS colophons (see Tables B, C).

south of the city,[26] it may also have been near Ḥarran, and, therefore, one and the same place.

No. 15 of letter II, the monastery of Mar Sergius, could be identified with the monastery of Sergius of the Quarry which appears in the corresponding place on the Ps.-Zachariah/Michael list as no. 14. I would further suggest an identification with the well-attested monastery of the Quarry (= Phesiltha) outside of Constantina/Tella (Viranşehir) of which Jacob Baradaeus was a member.[27]

No. 16 of letter II, the monastery of John at Zuqnin, does not appear among the five monasteries of Amida mentioned on the Ps.-Zachariah/ Michael list as nos. 21-25. It is, however, "the great and renowed monastery called that of Zuqnin" (so John of Ephesus,[28] himself an inmate of the monastery of John the Anzetenian or Urtaya, no. 23 on the same list) where sat the chroniclers Joshua the Stylite and Pseudo-Dionysios.[29]

It is clear from the foregoing that all six monasteries addressed in letter II were well-known establishments of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, in or outside the large cities of Edessa (no. 11), Resh'aina (no. 13), Constantina (no. 15), Amida (no. 16) and, possibly, Ḥarran (no. 14), as well as the important monastery of Qenneshre (no. 12), a prominent intellectual centre. Letter II was sent to their abbots, via or in addition to, the committee of 10 for distribution in the area beyond the Euphrates. Similar or identical letters may have been dispatched to other limited groups, such as that which signed letter III.

[26] W.Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite composed in Syriac A.D. 507* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 52, fn. According to *Chronicon 1234*, 2:7, 21, Qobe was by Ḥarran.

[27] The identification of a "monastery of Mar Sergius" in letter II with the monastery of the Quarry is the most tenuous of all the identifications made here, but one that is, I think, justified on the basis of its geographical context following the monasteries of Edessa-Ḥarran (?) and Resh'aina and preceding that of Amida. Sergius the patriarch (557-ca. 560), who belatedly succeeded Severus of Antioch (d. 536) (see Honigmann, *Evêques*, pp. 192ff.), was a native of Constantina and was trained, together with Jacob Baradaeus, another native, at the monastery of the Quarry. It is possible that in the following period the monastery became known, after its illustrious alumnus, as that of "Mar Sergius."

[28] *Lives*, *PO*, 19 (1925): 37. The order of the Amida monasteries given here is that of Ps.-Zachariach.

[29] Wright, *Joshua*, p. ixf.; and J.-B. Chabot, *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, vol. 2, CSCO 104 (Louvain, 1952), p. vi.

Monophysite Letter III and Contemporary Colophons: Monasteries in Djebel Riḥa

Letter III[30] is headed by the same committee as letter II, with one exception: Barlaha of Beth Aphthoniya replaces Thomas of Naphshatha as no. 6. There follow the names of 9 abbots and 1 priest, among which figures that of the abbot of Beth Zagba. Three place names — Narab, Salamiya and Kephar Shalaya — can be found on the modern map, although there are two each of the first two: Narab can be found near Sarmin and Aleppo, and Salamiyas exist near Palmyra and Ḥama. Scholarly opinion has favoured the sites near Sarmin and Ḥama, respectively.[31] One can find support for these identifications (nos. 11 and 18), as well as those of nos. 13, 14, and 16, among a group of contemporary manuscripts preserved in London and the Vatican, whose colophons are given below (Appendix, pp. 426-429). I have tabulated the information given there regarding monasteries and scribes (Table C), and inserted the dates of these manuscripts next to the relevant monasteries in the list of names given in letter III (Table B, below).

Table B: Monasteries in Letter III: Their Locations and MSS written for them

Letter III sent from Orient to Constantinople ca. 567 order in letters 1-10 = Committee see Table A						*Map 2*	*MSS (Table C)*
				abbot	*place, monastery*	*monasteries and related places*	
I	II	III	IV				
9	—	11	77	George	Narab, Beth Mar John	Narab, Sarmin	563, 569
10	—	12	9	Sergius	Beth Mar Anṭiok	Kfar Baṭṭik	
11	—	13	10	Paul	Beth Zagba, Beth Mar John	Bzabur or Kfar Zbu, 'Ainatha	586
12	—	14	22	Agathe	Beth Mar Daniel	Bsellah, Sarmin and Tur'an	552
—	—	15	—	Eliya	Ph'enor	Fal'ul	509[31a]
—	—	16	—	Thomas	Tor'y, Mar Cyriacus	Tur'an, 'Ain Burbo, Bsaqla	564
—	—	17	—	Daniel	Dilbin	Idlib	
—	—	18	—	John, priest	tetrakome of Salamiya	'Ain Burbo	
26	—	19	13	Gennadios	Kephar Shlaya	Kfer Shlaya	
—	—	20	—	John	monastery of Ḥnina	Ḥnak	
Associated Monasteries from Letters I and IV							
13	—	—	27	Symeon	Beth Mar Herod		
14	—	—	21	Sergius	Aistumak	Masṭume (Stuma)	
27	—	—	—	Thomas	Snon	Shnan	

[30] Caquot in Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:68f., 76ff.

[31] Caquot in Tchalenko, pp. 68f., 78f., with the exception of Honigmann's preference for the Salamiya near Palmyra ("Klöster," no. 83).

[31a] See fn. 46 below.

Table C: Names Contained in MS Colophons, A.D. 552-593

date	*place written*	*scribe*	*monastery written for*	*abbot*	*other places mentioned*
552[32]	Sarmin village	Barlaha of Edessa	Mar Daniel of Ṭora at Sholak		
563[33]	(Sarmin village)[34]	—	Beth Mar John at Narab	George	
564[35]		John of Edessa	Beth Mar Cyriacus at Barbaron nr. Salamiya	Thomas	Saqra, Torqin
569[36]	Sarmin village	—	Beth Mar John at Narab	George	
584[37]	Mon. of Gubba Baraya	Thomas of Edessa	Gubba Baraya	Thomas	
586[38]	Mon. of Beth Mar John at Beth Zagba	Rabbula	Beth Mar John at Beth Zagba	Sergius	'Ainatha Larbik
593[39]	Mon. at Beth T....m	John of Edessa	Beth T....m?	Ḥnina	

No. 11 of letter III, the monastery of Beth Mar John at Narab, is represented by the same abbot George under whose auspices two manuscripts were written for the monastery in 563 and 569. Both these were written by an unnamed scribe in the village of Sarmin,[40] hence

[32] Vatican, Syr. 112, Ephrem, Hymns on Paradise and Nativity; 93 fols., 23.9-24.3 × 15.5 cm., 2 cols., 29-37 lines; J.S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus in tres partes destributus* (Rome, 1756-59), 3:79; W.H.P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston, 1946), p. 73. The colophon is given here, p. 426.

[33] Vatican, Syr. 143, Severus of Antioch, *Homilies*, no. 12 being entitled "against Eutychianus," and no. 23, on "orthodox faith"; 184 fols., 24.9-25 × 16-16.2 cm., 2 cols., 34-37 lines; Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:246; Hatch, *Album*, p. 76. The colophon is given here, p. 426.

[34] Attributed to Sarmin, see p. 422 here.

[35] Vatican, Syr. 104, Athanasius on the Incarnation; Timothy, patriarch of Alexandria, Homily against Julian of Halicarnassus, delivered 22 Adar 526; 87 fols., 22.9 × 14.8-15; 1 col., 21-24 lines; Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3:29; Hatch, *Album*, p. 78. The colophon is given here, p. 426.

[36] London, Add. 14597, various texts, including Christological ones, e.g., on ὁμοουσία, 190 fols., 25.8-26.3 × 16.9-17.6 cm., 2 cols., 32-38 lines; Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:648; Hatch, *Album*, p. 80. The colophon is given here, p. 427.

[37] London, Add. 12160 (fols. 1-108), John Chrysostom on Paul, Ep. I to Corinthians; 108 fols., 24.9-25.6 × 16.2-17.4 cm., 2 cols., 32-34 lines; Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 472; Hatch, *Album*, p. 84. Colophon given, pp. 427 here. Gubba Baraya was near the monastery of Qenneshre.

[38] Florence, Plut. I, 56, Peshitta Gospels, 293 fols., 33.6-33.8 × 26.7-27.9 cm., 2 cols., 18-20 lines; 26 illuminated fols.; for bibliography see fn. 1 above and fn. 82 below; colophon given p. 428 here.

[39] London, Add. 17152, John Chrysostom on Paul, Ep. to Thessalonians; 120 fols., 25.6-25.9 × 17-17.5 cm.; 2 cols., 32-35 lines; Wright, *Catalogue*, 2: 477; Hatch, *Album*, p. 86. Colophon given on p. 429 below.

[40] See p. 422 below. On Narab and Sarmin see Honigmann, "Klöster," no. 11, and Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:101 and 104, under Neirab and Sermin.

the likelihood that the Narab in question is that near Sarmin, the birthplace, incidentally, of John Scholasticus, Chalcedonian Patriarch of Constantinople (564-577), who presided over the tritheist discussions in 570.

No. 14 of letter III, the monastery of Beth Mar Daniel. Also copied at Sarmin for another, presumably nearby, monastery is a manuscript of A.D. 552 destined for Mar Daniel d-Ṭora ("of Ṭora") "which resides in Sholak" (p. 426 below), which could be identified with the Beth Mar Daniel of the Monophysite letters. If so, "Sholak" may be preserved in the modern "Bsellah" (Map 2).[41]

No. 16 of letter III, the monastery of Mar Cyriacus (Qorqa) d-Torʿy, may be identified with the Beth Mar Cyriacus (Qoriqa) "which today is settled at Barbaron, which is beside Salamiya" (p. 426 below) for which a manuscript of A.D. 564 was written. This identification is reinforced by the fact that the abbot in both letter and colophon is named Thomas. The "Torʿy" of the signature here and the "Ṭora" of the colophon of the manuscript of Mar Daniel (no. 14 above) may be the same place identified with modern Turʿan by Honigmann (Map. 2). In both cases, the presumed founders of the monasteries, Daniel and Cyriacus, may themselves have come from Torʿy/Ṭora, or the two monasteries moved out of that place for some unknown reason, to "reside" or be "today ... settled" elsewhere. Regarding the Barbaron beside Salamiya, I would favour the closer Salamiya near Ḥama, in preference to the more distant one near Palmyra — given the apparent cohesion of these monasteries and the team of scribes which produced their manuscripts (see below). Furthermore, ca. 4 kms. northeast of Salamiya near Ḥama is a site ʿAin Burbo (= "source of Burbo") whose name may preserve part of the ancient Barbaron.[42]

No. 18 of letter III, John the priest of the tetrakome of Salamiya, may have served four villages in the region around Salamiya[43] and hence near Barbaron.

[41] Bsellah is described as a "ruined town" in R. Garrett, *Topography and Itinerary*, AAES, vol. 1 (New York, 1914), Gazetteer, p. 110. Cf. other suggestions made: Kephar bit Dksih (Honigmann, no. 20) and Breiğ (Caquot, p. 69), both near Sermada (Map 2), and Muʿallaq (Littmann, p. 181) in the Djebel Ḥaṣṣ.

[42] ʿAin Burbo appears on the General Map of Syria, Garrett, *Topography*, opp. p. 144. On Turʿan see "Klöster," no. 81; Littmann, "Topographie," p. 195; Caquot in Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:76f.; ibid., p. 106, under Turʿäan: "village et ruines."

[43] Honigmann, "Klöster," p. 83; Littmann, "Topographie," p. 189; Caquot in Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:78f. See fn. 31 above.

No. 19 of letter III, the monastery of Kephar Shlaya, is located in one of the three places in this group whose name survives fairly intact today. This identification was made by Honigmann (Map 2).[44]

Leaving aside for the moment Beth Zagba (no. 13), the remaining monasteries of letter III may also be placed in the same area as nos. 11, 14, 16, 18, and 19 (Map 2). Caquot has suggested that *Dilbin (no. 17)* may be the same as modern Idlib, at the northern end of this region.[45] For *the monastery of Ph'enor (no. 15)*, known earlier from a manuscript copied there in 509 by a scribe from Amida,[46] Littmann proposed an identification with Fal'ul to the east.[47] I would suggest placing *the monastery of Beth Mar Anṭiok (no. 12)* at Kfar Baṭṭik,[48] and *the monastery of Ḥnina (no. 20)* at Ḥnak in the region considered here, rather than near Chalcis[49] or near the Euphrates where there was a well-known monastery of that name situated between Sura and Balis.[50]

Although letter III was signed by only one priest and the abbots of the above nine monasteries (in addition to the committee), other names adjacent to theirs in other letters may throw further light on questions of location. In letter I, the monasteries of Beth Mar Herod and Aistumak immediately follow (as nos. 13 and 14) the first four monasteries of the above group, which appear as nos. 9-12, and the monastery of Snon (no. 27) comes right after Kephar Shlaya (no. 26). Honigmann has identified two of these three in the general area thus far considered: Aistumak with Stuma (Masṭume),[51] and Snon with Shnan (Map 2).[52] The modern identifications given on the right of Table B are all (with the exception of the two near Salamiya), therefore, in the Djebel Riḥa or Zawiye, to the northeast of Apamea in the fringe area between Syria I and II.[53]

[44] "Klöster," no. 33; accepted by Littmann and Caquot, see Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:70f. and 99, under Kfeirslāyā.
[45] Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:79.
[46] Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:417.
[47] Littmann, "Topographie," p. 191.
[48] Baṭṭik = Beth Anṭiok; no other location has been proposed, see Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:68f. Kfar Baṭṭik is described as a "village with a few scattered ruins" in Garrett, *Topography*, Gazetteer, p. 117.
[49] As suggested by Honigmann, Littmann and Caquot, see Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:78f. On the ruins of a monastery at Ḥnak, see ibid., 3:96, under Ḥerbet Ḥnāk.
[50] = No. 32 in Ps.-Zachariah/Michael list (Table A).
[51] "Klöster," no. 22; accepted by Littmann and Caquot, see Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:69; on this village, see ibid., 3:100, under el Masṭūme.
[52] "Klöster," no. 34; accepted by Caquot but not Littmann, see Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:71. On the ruins in this village, see ibid., 3:105, under Šnān.
[53] See fn. 61 below.

Beth Zagba

In contrast to the long tradition by which commentators on the Rabbula Gospels place Beth Zagba "in Mesopotamia," the commentators on the Monophysite letters (apparently guided by the mention of an "eparchia of Antioch"—see above) invariably placed it in Syria. Hence, although Honigmann remained silent on the subject,[54] Littmann and Caquot searched for it among the villages of the limestone massif of north Syria, settling for an identification with Kseiğbe, 3 kms. northwest of Sermada in the Djebel Barisha, in whose name they saw a corruption of Bzegba (from Beth Zagba).[55] Lassus, in his study of Early Christian monuments in Syria, suggested, for unspecified reasons, that Beth Zagba lay somewhere in Euphratensis.[56] Leroy, on account of the history of the Rabbula Gospels and the Greek character of many names in its colophon, preferred a Syrian to a Mesopotamian milieu, and accepted the identification with Kseiğbe.[57] Although I agree with his choice of Syria, I do not agree with his individual arguments or with this particular site. His contention that north Mesopotamia was under the "roi des Perses nestoriens" in 567-58, is incorrect.[58] Likewise, the suggestion that the manuscript's eventual passage (by the twelfth century) to important Maronite establishments at Maiphuc in Lebanon. and, later, at Kannubin in Lebanon indicates proximity to the original monastery of Mar Maron near Apamea; it overlooks the note which follows Rabbula's colophon and which records the later donation of the manuscript to a church of St. George in an unnamed city (*mdintha*), in memory of "Romanus, the priest and periodeutes (*s'aora*) of Antioch."[59] This donation clearly precedes the well-documented presence of the manuscript at Maiphuc (earliest note dated A.D. 1154), whence it passed to Kannubin (by A.D. 1361) and then (after A.D. 1522) to

[54] "Klöster," p. 20.

[55] Littmann, "Topographie," p. 178; Caquot, in Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:69. On the ruins in this village, see ibid., 3:99, under Kseiğbe.

[56] J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), p. 282.

[57] Leroy, *Manuscrits* (fn. 1 above), p. 156f.

[58] And, although true of 586 (the Persians were in control 573-91), it is irrelevant to the production of the manuscript, for the Monophysites there were probably shown the same, if not greater, royal toleration already extended to those in Persia; see J. M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq* (Louvain, 1970) pp. 113ff.

[59] Assemani, *Laur. catalogus*, XXVIII and 14. Manuscripts travelled widely in the medieval period, as witnessed by those hundreds taken from Mesopotamia to Egypt in the tenth century and now located in the British Museum; Wright, *Catalogue*, 3:iv.

the Laurentian.[60] Concerning the choice of Kseiğbe, or any other site in Antiochensis, there is the element of era to consider. Both the building inscriptions of Kseiğbe[61] and the Monophysite letters I and IV written at Mar Bassus monastery at Beth Bo (now Batabu),[62] both in Antiochensis (Map 2, p. 414), are, as usual, dated by the era of Antioch (48/49 B.C.); the Rabbula Gospels[63] are dated by the Seleucid era (311/12 B.C.), as was customary in other parts of Syria I (the territories of the cities of Chalcis, Cyrrhus, etc.), as well as in Syria II, Euphratensis, Osrhoene, and Mesopotamia.

As indicated in Table B, I would propose an identification of Beth Zagba with one of two sites, Bzabur or Kfar Zbu,[64] both several kms. south of Eriḥa (Riḥa) (Map 2), on a provincial border where both eras were used,[65] and in the vicinity of Narab, Turʿan, Kfer Shlaya, Masṭume, and Shnan, which can be fairly certainly identified with other associated places listed in letters III and I; furthermore, ʿAinatha mentioned in the Rabbula colophon can be found west of Eriḥa. As argued at the outset, letter III, like letter II, concerned a small group of monasteries (under the committee) which in the case of letter II can be demonstrated to be a geographical sub-group among the 80-odd monasteries mentioned in the four letters. Letter III would appear to have been written by a group of abbots, meeting with the committee, who had recently been visited by Jacob Baradaeus, bishop of Edessa. Turning from this group of monasteries (Table B) to the subject of the manuscripts written for some of them (Table C), one is struck by the

[60] Notes given in Assemani, *Laur. Catalogus*, XXVIIIff. and 18ff. His statement (p. 22) that the manuscript entered that library "demum" 1497 is difficult to square with the notes of A.D. 1521 and A.D. 1522 recording activities at Kannubin, including a donation of olive trees. This date — 1497, perhaps meant to be 1597 — is repeated in all the later literature (cf. Leroy, *Manuscrits*, p. 157, who misquotes it as 1447).

[61] A loose lintel of A.D. 359/60 and a church, dated A.D. 414/5; L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (= *IGLS*), nos. 509-510.

[62] Chabot, *Documenta*, 1 : 162, 168; 2 :112,117 (where, in fn. 3, he incorrectly gives the year as A.D. 569, not 568).

[63] See colophon, p. 428, below and fn. 82.

[64] Both sites are "villages installés dans les ruines" according to Tchalenko's map no. 3 (D-X-5 and 9; see also pp. 131f.) at the end of volume 3 of *Villages*.

[65] The border between Antiochensis and Apamensis established by H. Seyrig (in Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:12ff., fig. 7 on p. 57) (see Map 2) is based on a series of inscriptions (mostly funerary) of the fourth and fifth centuries, the latest being of A.D. 449, which are dated by the era of Antioch and are found at Eriḥa, Urem el-Goz, Kfar Lata, Kfar Ḥaya, and Ruweiya (*IGLS*, nos. 652-56, 668, 670, 677, 680, 684, 687, 689, and Seyrig, op. cit., p. 31, no. 34). The Apamean Seleucid era starts at Frikya (ibid., p. 30, no. 31, and *IGLS*, nos. 1408-1409, 1415). However, to the north of this border, the manuscripts written in the village of Sarmin (see Table C) are dated by the Seleucid era to A.D. 552, 563 and 569.

incidence of scribes from Edessa working in this area. Interestingly, the subjects of the manuscripts copied before and after the tritheist crisis, that is, those dated 552, 584 and 593, are of neutral, or non-political content (Hymns of Ephraim, John Chrysostom on Pauline Epistles),[66] while Christological and polemical works predominate in the manuscripts copied in 563, 564, and 569.[67] Furthermore, these six manuscripts have the same page size (average 26 × 16 cm.) and five of them have the same format (average of 35 lines in 2 columns). Although the Beth Zagba manuscript was of deluxe production and therefore exceeds these others in size (33 × 27 cm. with only 20 lines in 2 columns),[68] it is related to them in the content and style of its colophon.

The Content of the Colophons (see Appendix)

The wording of the colophons and handwriting of the manuscripts of 563 and 569, both done for the same monastery, are so similar that I would postulate the same scribe, while for the two scribes who wrote the manuscripts dated 584 and 593 and who produced not only related texts (Chrysostom on St. Paul) but nearly identical colophons, I would postulate training in the same scriptorium, or other contact. Rabbula fits in between these two groups of scribes. Although verbose colophons appear as early as 509,[69] in the group considered here the earliest colophon, that of 552, is very laconic, giving essential information, with one short quotation at the end. The colophons of the 560s have a different structure. After the date, there is a section on patrons, another on participants, and ending with a word on either collators or scribe. The same formulas appear: the book is a "blessed treasure" in two of them (later, in 584, it is a "spiritual treasure"); the participants, who in 563 shall simply be summoned by God, are by the following year addressed in terms of Matt. 25:34. Among 85 Syriac colophons and notes written between 411 and ca. 640,[70] this quotation first appears in a manuscript in Edessa in 553; thereafter it apparently appears only eight times: in five of the seven manuscripts considered here (Table C) and in three others (of 581, 611, and 624). The phrases used by the scribes and collators who beg for mercy, particularly on Judgement Day, in the

[66] See above, fns. 32, 37 and 39.
[67] See above, fns. 33, 35 and 36.
[68] See above, fn. 38.
[69] In a manuscript copied at Ph'enor, see p. 419 and fn. 46 above.
[70] M. Mundell Mango, "Patrons and Scribes indicated in Syriac Manuscripts, 411 to 800 AD," *Akten, XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Vienna, 1981* (in press).

earlier colophons (552, 560s), have likewise become formalized by the 580s when Thomas and Rabbula and then John (593) all compare themselves to "the thief on the cross." Thereafter in their colophons follow sections on patrons and participants, all three citing Matt. 25:34 and all three ending with an anathema (nearly identical in 584 and 593) calling any transgressor "a despoiler of the temple." While Thomas and John write identical passages about vigils and "protracted fasts," Rabbula has expanded and embellished his colophon in other ways, as was appropriate for a costly and treasured Gospel book.[71] His sections on patrons and participants are enlarged and a second quotation from Matthew (25:21) introduced. Otherwise, Rabbula's colophon has much in common with those of the Edessene scribes and I would suggest that he was a scribe of the "second generation" — a Syrian trained by one of the Edessene scribes working near Apamea — who assumed by way of "title" the name of that famous bishop of Edessa, Rabbula of Chaldis (d. 435), who himself stimulated book production.[72]

Although the identification of Beth Zagba with Bzabur or Kfar Zbu is made only tentatively here, the evidence available in the Monophysite letters, taken together with that of the dated colophons, points to a site in the Ḍjebel Riḥa. Archaeological work in this area, which was extremely prosperous in early Byzantine times, has increased in recent years. One result of this work has been the identification of a distinctive monastic architecture which Tchalenko contrasted with that of the Antioch region to the north,[73] and which Deichmann and Peschlow have traced to the monastic architecture of Edessa,[74] a proposal reinforced by the evidence of the colophons presented here of Edessene scribes working for monasteries in this area. This is the "Mesopotamian connection" alluded to above (p. 406): although Beth Zagba was in Syria, the cultural milieu in which the Rabbula Gospels were produced could be described as Mesopotamian in its architectural and scribal heritage. And, although all known evidence indicates that the art of Mesopotamia was, in the fifth and sixth centuries, fundamentally no

[71] See also the Gospels written in the monastery at Beth Hala near Damascus in A.D. 633/34, for a similar colophon, J. Assfalg, *Syrische Handschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 9-12.

[72] By banning the Diatessaron Gospels and declaring that every church should possess a copy of the Peshitta, A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 49, fn. 43.

[73] Tchalenko, *Villages*, 1:179-181; vol. 2, pl. LIII.

[74] F. W. Deichmann and U. Peschlow, *Zwei spätantike Ruinenstätten in Nordmesopotamien* (Munich, 1977), pp. 55-63.

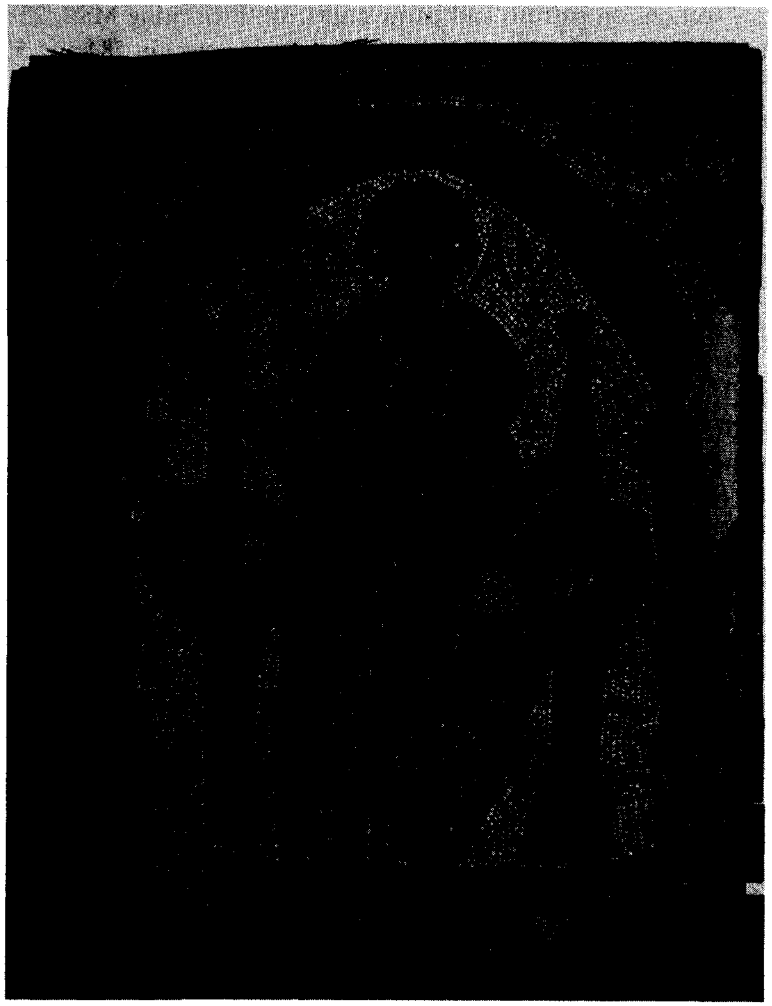


Fig. 1. Ḥama Museum. Pavement Fragment, Adam (Photo : C. Mango).

different from that of Syria,[75] it would naturally be useful to find comparisons for the illuminations of the Rabbula codex among the numerous pavements of the Apamea area, some only recently uncovered and awaiting final publication.[76] For example, one such pavement, a fragment now in the Ḥama Museum, portrays a seated Adam (fig. 1, p. 424)[77] similar in style to the seated Evangelists of the Gospels. Concerning the identity of the artist(s) responsible for the manuscript illuminations, I would suggest considering, in lines 34-37, John of Larbik and/or John of ʿAinatha (the latter from a nearby village; see Map 2), "through whose hands there had been [made?] the beginning to these books," i.e., the illustrations (fols. 1-14) which precede the text.[78] Alternatively, the first lacuna (lines 21-24) may have referred to the artist(s). Clearly, further work remains to be done on many aspects of the Rabbula Gospels. It is also hoped that the investigation of sites northeast of Apamea, which is being continued by French archaeologists,[79] may discover architectural or epigraphic support for the identifications of monasteries suggested here. A further element to reintroduce into the consideration of this once wealthy area is the ecclesiastical silverware found at Masṭume (Stuma and Riḥa treasures),[80] which, together with other treasures (e.g., those of Ḥama and Antioch), may have originally adorned one or more village churches in the immediate vicinity. For these, too, it should be possible to make tentative identifications, but that is another kettle of fish.

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[75] M. Mundell Mango, "The Continuity of the Classical Tradition in the Art and Architecture of Northern Mesopotamia," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 124ff.

[76] A corpus of Syrian pavements is in progress, see J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* (Brussels, 1977), p. 3; for pavements northeast of Apamea see ibid., 102ff.; Tchalenko, *Villages*, 3:34ff.; H.C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, AAES, II (New York, 1903), p. 287ff.; J. Mattern, R. Mouterde, A. Beaulieu, "Dair Solaib," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth* 22 (1939): 17ff.

[77] Confiscated by the police in 1973 during a clandestine excavation at an unnamed site near Ḥama, this mosaic is one of an iconographic group and is probably a century earlier than the Rabbula Gospels. See M.-T. and P. Canivet, "La mosaïque d'Adam dans l'église syrienne de Ḥūarte (Vᵉ s.)," *Cahiers archéologiques* 24 (1974): 56f., fig. 7.

[78] Wright (*DOP* 1973, p. 205) discounts as unlikely the idea that John and John executed (wrote?) such prefatory material as the canon tables. Leroy (*Manuscrits*, p. 154) considered them to be two of five scribes working on the text. The number of artists involved in the illuminations has been discussed, e.g., ibid., p. 193ff.; cf. Wright, *DOP* 1973, p. 204, fn. 13, but this and the question of scribes require further work.

[79] E. Will, "Nouvelles archéologiques," *Syria* 55 (1978): 181.

[80] E.C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern, 1973), p. 33ff.

APPENDIX: COLOPHON TEXTS[81]

552 AD fol. 92^{r}; full (?) transcription: Ass., *Vat. cat.*, 3 : 80; see fn. 32 above

Barlaha, the Edessene scribe who resides in Sarmin, wrote this book of Mar Ephrem the doctor, for the blessed community of Beth Mar Daniel of Ṭora which resides in Sholak. It was finished, then, on the twentieth day of Shebaṭ of the year eight hundred and sixty-three by the era of Alexander on the (?) Monday of Lent. All, then, who read in this book shall pray for him and shall say, "Our Lord, wipe out his errors and wipe away and cleanse his transgressions, through Your mercy."

563 AD fol. 184^{r}; full (?) transcription: Ass., *Vat. cat.*, 3 :249f.; see fn. 33 above

This volume of *epithronia* of the holy Patriarch Severus was finished in the month of Ab of the year eight hundred and seventy-four, the eleventh (*'endekatē*) indiction, in the days of the venerable and holy and God-loving priest and abbot, George, thrice-blessed [and] distributing gifts as the righteous Job to the needy, of the holy community of Beth Mar John of Narab, and of the priest Sergius. On account of the holy name of God he took great pains to lay this treasure in the holy monastery for the reading and meditation of all who come upon it. On the Day of His Coming He shall summon him and He shall stand him on His right side together with all who participated in it (= the book). All who read in this book shall pray for the sinful and miserable Samuel and Thomas, eastern monks, who are of the holy community of Mar John of Narab, who laboured and collated, that by His mercy God shall hold them worthy of the inheritance which befalls the saints in [the place of] light, [Col. 1 :2], amen and amen.

564 AD fol. 87^{r}; full (?) transcription: Ass., *Vat. cat.*, 3 :30; see fn. 35 above

This book was finished in the month of Ab of the year eight hundred and seventy-five by [the era of] Alexander. This book was written, then, in the days of the holy and venerable and God-loving Mar Thomas, abbot of the Beth Mar Cyriacus (Qoriqa) monastery which today is settled in Barbaron, which is beside Salamiya, and in the days of the holy, excellent Mar Leontius, priest and steward, who is from Torqin, together with the rest of the priest and deacons and the congregation of the whole blessed brotherhood. That God, on account of whom they worked and in whose hope they await, shall hold them worthy of the kingdom which is founded, so be it, and amen. And for John, the scribe [and] priest, the Edessene scribe who wrote, and for Leontius of Saqra (?), a monk who resides in the monastery, who engaged (?) the scribe, [that] they shall merit mercy and compassion on Judgement Day and [that God] shall hold them worthy of

[81] I should like to thank Dr. S.P. Brock for checking most of my translations of these colophons, which I have collected as part of an Oxford doctoral thesis on "Artistic Patronage in the Diocese of *Oriens*, A.D. 312-634."

seeing each other where there is neither sadness nor distress and that they shall hear that voice which says, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom which is prepared for the holy from before the foundations (*sic*) of the world [Matt. 25:34]," amen and amen.

569 AD fol. 139ʳ; partial transcription: Wright, *Cat.*, 2:651; see fn. 36 above

This volume was finished, then, in the month of Iyor of the year eight hundred and eighty, in Sarmin village, for the holy community of Beth Mar John of Narab, in the days of the venerable and holy and God-loving, thrice-blessed abbot, Mar George, and the priest Sergius, his second in command, and the priest Cosmas (Qozma), his third in command, together with the rest of the priests and deacons and monks, all who are with them, they took care that they made this blessed treasure for their community for the attainment of their salvation. All, indeed, who read in this book shall pray for all who participated in [the making of] it in any way, whether by word or by deed, and God shall make them worthy that they may hear together the dreadful voice which says, "Well done ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom which has been prepared for you from before the foundations (*sic*) of the world [Matt. 25:34]" by the prayer of the witnesses of His mercy, so be it, amen. And for the deacon Theodore who collated and the deacon Thomas, the oriental, may Our Lord hold them worthy that they shall stand on His right hand, so be it, amen and amen.

584 AD fol. 107ʳ; partial transcription: Wright *Cat.*, 2:472; see fn. 37 above

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit now and for all time and forever and ever, amen and amen.

Pray for Thomas the Edessene deacon who wrote this volume, that God have mercy on him on the Day of Judgment as the thief on the cross, by the prayer of all of His holy and pure church and by your (pl.; *sic*) prayers, Lord, amen and amen.

(Written in a cross) [It is as] a memorial which lives among the dead that he wrote, amen (?)

This volume was finished in the month of Tammuz on the twenty-ninth in it, of the year eight hundred and ninety-five, in the holy community of Gubba Baraya. He was diligent, then, and laid up this spiritual treasure for the reading and use of all the monastery, the excellent and God-loving brother seized by the love of his Lord, Thomas, abbot of the community together with the rest of the priests and deacons and brethren, all who are with him. These, on account of the love of Christ and because of the promise He promised, have forsaken their fathers and brothers and love protracted fasts and vigils and every distress of the flesh, that God when He shall be revealed in His glory and all His holy angelic host with Him, shall give a good recompense for their labors and shall make them worthy that they may hear that blessed voice which says, "Come blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom which has been prepared for you from before the foundations (*sic*) of the world [Matt. 25:34]," by the prayer of all the holy church, amen and amen.

Anyone, then, who seeks this volume to read or to collate or to write from it and conceals it or cuts from it anything, let him know that before the mighty judgement seat of God he will be answerable as a despoiler of the temple.

586 AD fols. 292ʳf.; partially published several times[82]

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit now and for all time and forever and ever, amen.

Because He strengthened His servant the sinful and miserable, the wretched Rabbula the scribe and he wrote. Therefore, on account of Our Lord I make petition that all who read in this book shall pray for me that I am pitied on the dreaded Judgement Day as was pitied the thief who was on the right hand, through the prayer of the Holy Lady Mary, Mother of God, Eternal Virgin, and by all your prayers, [brothers] of Beth Mar [John], forever, amen.

It was finished on the fifteenth in the month of Shebaṭ of the fourth (*tetartē*) [indiction], the year eight hundred and ninety-seven of Alexander. Our Lord, grant peace [to] Your church in all regions [and] may all the saints of Our Lord be remembered everywhere.

This book was written and finished in the holy monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba in the days of the God-loving Sergius, priest and abbot of the same monastery, and the monks Thomas and Thomas and Martyrius, priests, and the deacons Habshab and Theotecnos and Damianos and all the brotherhood who are with them, who are in Christ, that God, the Lord of all, shall safeguard the community and its inhabitants from all hidden and open harm, and may His peace and salvation dwell in it all the days that the world exists, through the prayers of the martyrs who loved and were enamoured of His revelation and died in the hope of Him for eternity, amen.

May it (= the book) be a good memorial before God the Father and His Christ and His living and Holy Spirit to .... and for the sake of the salvation of .... and of his/its departed and the preservation of .... And by God's name .... and by his own toil .... of this book and .... That when Christ our God [arrives] in His glory [and with all] of His angelic host may He hold him worthy of the blessed resurrection from the dead and may he hear that voice which fills with joy which says, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord [Matt. 25:21]," through the prayer of the blessed Apostles and Saints who did the will of God for eternity, amen. All, then, who read in this book shall pray also for the chaste and God-loving and deserving of a good memorial John, the priest of the same monastery, who was from Larbik, and John the deacon, who was from ʿAinatha, who have gone from this world and departed to Our Lord, who by their toil and by their hands there had been

[82] The text is illustrated in F. Macler, "Raboula-Mlqê," in *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), vol. 2, figs. 7-8. None of the transcriptions or translations is complete. That of Assemani, *Laur. catalogus*, p. XXVII (text) and p. 13 (trans.) is the most complete, but gives no indication that occasionally it omits entire phrases. Likewise, Furlani in the *Facsimile Edition* (pp. 19-21) omits without notice three entire lines of text (lines 20-21 here) from his transcription (in addition to those only partially given); altogether, 25 lines are left out of his English translation. Leroy's French translation (*Manuscrits*, p. 155) relies heavily, although not exclusively, on Assemani's Latin one, as the mistaken translation of the date (the 6th rather than the 15th, or full moon, of Shebaṭ) occurs in both (although it is correctly given in Assemani's Syriac text). Wright (*DOP* 1973, p. 205) supplies only a small, if important, portion in English. The translation given here (see preceding note) has two lacunae which could be filled by the use of ultra-violet light.

[made] the beginning to these books. And [pray] for the excellent Christopher, the anchorite, and Martyrios, the priest of the same monastery, and the well-born Mar Damianos, the notary, who is from Beth Protogen (?), who succeeded and took pains about and finished [the work] after them. And they obtained (the original copy?) and collated and bound and deposited these books in the monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba. And for all who participated in these books, either by word or in spirit, that Our Lord and Our God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ shall bless all who there are of them, far and near, and He shall make a good memorial to their departed and a blessed hope to their living and when He calls and raises up all the dead .... blessed and He shall hold them worthy of the lot which befalls the saints in [the place of] light [Col. 1:2] and it will be said to them, "Come, ye blessed of My Father inherit the kingdom which has been prepared for you from before the foundations (*sic*) of the world [Matt. 25:34]," by the prayer of all the faithful church, from one end of the earth to the other, and of Holy Mary, Mother of God and Eternal Virgin, for eternity, amen.

This book belongs, then, to the holy monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba. Anyone, then, who takes it or borrows it to read in it or to write from it or to collate from it and conceals it or cuts from it a leaf which is written or not written, if damage is not in it, or willfully damages something in it, he shall be placed among the despoilers of the temple, through the prayer of all the saints everywhere, forever, amen.

593 AD fol. 119^{v}; partial text in Wright, *Cat.*, 2:477f.; see fn. 38 above

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit now and for all time and forever and ever, amen and amen.

All, then, who read in this volume shall pray for John, the Edessene scribe, who wrote, that he be pitied on Judgement Day as the thief who was on the right hand, so be it, amen. This volume was finished in the month of the First Kanun on the fourth of it, of the year nine hundred and five in the holy monastery of Beth T....m in the days of the excellent and God-loving priest and abbot Mar Ḥnina and the priest and steward Mar Julian who is of the same community of Beth ..... together with the rest of the priests and deacons and the blessed brotherhood who are with them. These, on account of the love of Christ and because of the promise He promised, have foresaken their fathers and brothers and have loved protracted fasts and vigils and every distress of the flesh, that God when He shall be revealed in His glory and all His holy angelic host with Him, shall give a good recompense for their labors and shall make them worthy that they may hear that beloved voice which says, "Come, blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom which has been prepared for you from before the foundations (*sic*) of the world [Matt. 25:34]," by the prayer of all the holy church, amen and amen.

Anyone, then, who seeks this volume to read in it or to write from it or to collate from it, and conceals it or cuts from it anything, let him know that before the mighty judgement seat of God he will be answerable as a despoiler of the temple. This volume was written, then, ...(6-8 words erased).... and for John, the Edessene scribe, who concludes the Commentaries of the Apostle ...(erasure)... Our Lord grant .....(torn)..... on Judgement Day .(torn)..

ADDENDUM

Since this article went to press, I received, thanks to Professor Ševčenko, photographs of the three Vatican manuscript colophons. That of 564 is complete as given on p. 426 here. The colophon of 552 has seven further, but illegible, lines; and that of 563 continues after "participated in it": "in any way, that he may hear the dreadful voice...." The quotation which follows is illegible, but does not appear to be Matt. 25:34.

Six documents athonites tirés des archives de la Communauté Grecque de Venise

M. MANOUSSACAS

Les six documents publiés dans le présent travail, et concernant l'histoire de cinq monastères du Mont Athos, proviennent des archives de l'ancienne Communauté des Grecs Orthodoxes de Venise, archives extrêmement riches, mais malheureusement encore peu étudiées et dépourvues d'une classification scientifique. C'est pour cette dernière raison que je ne peux pas affirmer aujourd'hui qu'on n'y trouvera plus tard d'autres documents ayant trait à l'histoire de la Sainte Montagne, au fur et à mesure du progrès de la classification systématique de ces archives, déjà entreprise par l'Institut Hellénique des Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines de Venise, qui est le dépositaire actuel de ce fonds d'archives. Je crois, malgré cela, opportun d'éditer ces documents, que j'ai recueillis jusqu'à présent en fouillant les divers dossiers, pour contribuer au volume en honneur de l'éminent chercheur et bon ami Ihor Ševčenko, qui n'a pas exclu le Mont-Athos du vaste domaine de ses études.

Le premier de ces documents (I) appartient au début du XVII^{e} siècle, les documents II, III et IV (1744, 1745, 1769) au milieu du XVIII et les V et VI (1785, 1787) à la fin du même siècle. Le document II concerne le monastère de Simopetra et les documents III et V celui de Vatopédi ; dans les deux premiers cas il s'agit des offrandes faites par divers membres de la Communauté Grecque de Venise en faveur de ces monastères. Les autres documents, d'autre part (ainsi que le doc. V), sont des appels adressés aux dirigeants de cette Communauté de la part des higoumènes des monastères de Rossicon (doc. I), de Vatopédi (doc. V) et d'Iviron (doc. VI), afin qu'ils envoient leur contribution, pour les libérer de la misère et de leurs dettes, ou de la part de l'Épistasie de la Sainte Communauté en faveur du couvent de Xéropotamou (doc. IV). L'objet de ces documents ne présente donc pas un intérêt exceptionnel. Cependant, dans chacun d'eux on trouve des renseignements intéressants sur la situation de ces monastères à diverses époques, quelques noms d'higou-

mènes, de prohigoumènes (parfois inconnus) et de moines et autres détails.

L'édition de ces documents est faite d'après la méthode diplomatique. Chacun d'eux est précédé d'un résumé et d'une description et est suivi d'un bref commentaire.

I. LETTRE DU PROHIGOUMÈNE ET DES MOINES DU MONASTÈRE DE SAINT-PANTÉLÉIMON (Rossicon) À GEORGES HIGOUMÉNOS, À VENISE

sans date
[début du XVII[e] siècle]

Résumé. — Le prohigoumène et les moines du couvent prient le destinataire, dont on connaît la piété et la philanthropie, d'aider le monastère de Saint-Pantéléimon, qui est couvert de dettes et dont une partie des murailles, tombée en ruines, a besoin d'être reconstruite. Avec le consentement de tous les moines du couvent, le cathigoumène du monastère, l'hiéromoine Euthyme, accompagné du moine Jérémie, est déjà allé trouver le destinataire. Que ce dernier lui accorde son aide.

Original. (Archives de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise, 16/7, dossier 79). Voir planches I-II.

Papier 295 × 207 mm. Plis: deux à la grande et deux à la petite dimension. État de conservation assez bon, sauf deux petits trous et une grande tache d'humidité s'étendant sur les trois quarts du document, mais n'ayant pas effacé l'encre.

Le texte sur le recto. Marge à gauche 35 mm., à droite 25 mm. Écriture régulière. La signature du prohigoumène est autographe, en grandes lettres et occupe toute la largeur.

Au verso de la lettre est écrite par la même main l'adresse suivante: †Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ λογιωτάτῳ | ἐν ἄρχουσι κυρίῳ κυρίῳ | Γεωργίῳ τῷ Ἡγουμένῳ, ἡμετέρῳ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα | αδελφῷ προσφιλεστά | τῳ ἐντίμως ἐγχειρισθείη Εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν

Au dessous de l'adresse, l'empreinte du sceau du monastère, représentant Saint-Pantéléimon et portant tout autour une inscription à demi effacée, dont on ne distingue que la fin: . . . [ΠΑΝΤΕ]ΛΕΗΜΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ. (Le début serait probablement: ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ; cf. plus bas, doc. IV, l. 14).

† Τιμιώτατε καὶ λογιώτατε καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὑπέρ |[2] μαχε καὶ τῆς ἀμωμήτου πίστεως ὑπερασπιστὰ καὶ ἡμέτερε κατὰ Χριστόν ἀδελφὲ |[3] προσφιλέστατε καὶ λίαν ἠγαπημένε κῦρ Γεώργιε, τὴν τιμίαν σου λογιότητα ὀλο |[4] ψύχως ἀσπαζόμεθα, δεόμενοι τοῦ παναγάθου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ |[5] καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεράποντος, τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ ἰαματικοῦ Παντελεήμονος, ὅπως σου |[6] διαφυλάττῃ τὴν φιλόχριστον καὶ φιλελεήμονα κεφαλὴν εὔθυμον καὶ ὑγιαίνουσαν κατά |[7] τε ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα τῇ πανσθενεῖ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος χάριτι συντηρουμένην εἰς πολλῶν |[8] ἀνακωχὴν καὶ ἀντίληψιν, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς δεομένους καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἀναψυχὴν |[9] καὶ βοήθειαν. Ὧν τὰ βάρη καὶ τῶν χρεῶν τὰ ἄχθη πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν τιχῶν τοῦ |[10] μοναστηρίου ὑπὸ πολυετίας σαθρωθὲν

καὶ καταπεσὸν μείζονος δεόμενα τῆς ἐπισκέψεως |[11] εἰκότως τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐλεεινότεροι νομισθείημεν. Ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς τὴν σὴν φιλελεήμονα καὶ |[12] ἀγαθοπροαίρετον διάθεσιν αὐτόμολος καὶ αὐτοκίνητος ἐλθεῖν ἠναγκάσθη αὐτὸς ὁ καθηγούμενος |[13] τῆς βασιλικῆς ταύτης ἡμῶν μονῆς, ὁ πανοσιώτατος καὶ πανεντιμότατος παπὰ κῦρ Εὐθύμιος σὺν |[14] τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀδελφῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ, ἁπάντων δῆθεν τῶν ἀδελφῶν συναινεσάντων καὶ θαυμασάντων αὐτοῦ |[15] τὸ φιλότιμον πρόθυμον τῆς ψυχῆς. Δι' ὃ τὴν πρόσφορον καὶ εἰωθεῖαν σου καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς βοή |[16] θειαν παράσχου καθικετεύομεν καὶ τοσούτοις πατράσι δι'ἔνδειαν χαμαὶ κειμένοις, κατὰ τὸν θεολό |[17] γον Γρηγόριον, ὄρεξον χεῖρα, ἐλέησον ὁ ἠλεημένος, κτίσαι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ φιλάνθρω |[18] πον καὶ ὧν σοι ἡ πλουσιοπάροχος ἐχαρίσατο δεξιὰ τοῖς δεομένοις μεταδοὺς τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐντα |[19] μίευσον, ἐφ'ὅσον, φησίν, ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐποιήσατε, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε, παρ' οὗ καὶ |[20] ἑκατονταπλασίονα τὸν μισθὸν καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν κληρονομήσεις. Πρεσβείαις |[21] τῆς παναχράντου αὐτοῦ μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ ἰαματικοῦ Παντελεήμονος καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν |[22] τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τελεταῖς ἀΐδιον. Ἔρρωσο.

|[23] † Ο προηγούμενος τῆς θείας βασιλικῆς μωνῆς τῶν Ρουσῶν καὶ οι λιπὶ ἀδελφοι †

9 lege τειχῶν 19 Matth. XXV,40

Commentaire

Le destinataire de la lettre, Georges Higouménos, est un personnage bien connu. Originaire de Jannina, il était un des membres les plus actifs et les plus cultivés de la Communauté Grecque de Venise, de la fin du XVI[e] au début du XVII[e] siècle (voir sur lui et sur son frère Épiphanios E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ... au XVII[e] siècle*, t. 3, Paris 1895, pp. 157-160). On le trouve versant sa cotisation annuelle de 1588 à 1610 et de 1615 à 1630 (registre 134, f. 244[v]). Il était encore en vie en 1636, d'après un document publié par Const. Mertzios dans «Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά», t. 11 (1936), p. 55 (n° 19). Il est donc difficile de préciser la date manquante de cette lettre adressée à lui, étant donné que l'activité de Georges Higouménos s'étend sur un espace de presque un démi-siècle (1588-1636). Si la lettre lui est adressée en sa qualité du «gardien» de la Communauté, on pourrait alors songer aux années 1621-1623, durant lesquelles il assumait cette charge (voir J. Veloudos, Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετίᾳ, 2[e] édit., Venise 1893, p. 186); mais ce n'est qu'une simple hypothèse.

L'higoumène Euthyme et le moine Jérémie, mentionnés dans la lettre (l. 13-14) comme se rendant à Venise pour la quête, ne sont pas attestés par d'autres sources, autant que nous sachions. Il est à comparer la mention intéressante de l'état de détérioration et de ruine des murailles du monastère et de ses dettes (l. 9-10) avec l'affirmation du patriarche de Constantinople Cyrille Lucar, dans une lettre de 1626 adressée au nouveau tsar de Russie, Michel Théodorovich, selon laquelle l'église, les cellules et les murs du monastère se trouvaient alors en ruine et celui-ci, gravé de dettes, a mis en gage ses trésors et ses propriétés immobilières (*Acta praesertim Graeca, Rossici in monte Athos monasterii*, Kiev 1873, p. XIX; pour le reste de la bibliographie voir G. Cioran, Σχέσεις τῶν ρουμανικῶν χωρῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἄθω..., Athènes 1938, pp. 261-262). En cette même

année, le représentant du monastère, venu à Moscou, se plaignait également que «*notre monastère Russe a dû faire des dettes et engager tout son bien*» (*Acta Rossici*, pp. 420-423, nº 64; cf. aussi A. Soloviev, «Histoire du monastère russe au Mont-Athos», *Byzantion* 8 (1933): 231), ce qui correspond aussi à la phrase de notre document (l. 9) «τὰ βάρη καὶ τῶν χρεῶν τὰ ἄχθη».

Il est curieux que le prohigoumène signataire de la lettre ne nous fournisse pas son nom.

II. COLLECTE POUR LE RACHAT DES RELIQUES DE SAINTE MADELEINE, RAVIES AU MONASTÈRE DE SIMOPETRA

9/20 juillet 1744

Résumé. — Les reliques de Sainte Madeleine, appartenant au monastère de Simopetra au Mont Athos, ont été ravies par des corsaires de Tripoli. Les moines de ce monastère ont obtenu, à Constantinople, un ordre du sultan au souverain de Tripoli pour restituer ces reliques, ordre qui n'a pas eu pourtant de résultat. Ensuite, on a évalué le prix de rachat de ces reliques à 500 florins et un chrétien pieux, ayant payé 200 florins, a pris les reliques et les conserve comme gage jusqu'à ce que l'on trouve et que l'on paie les 300 florins restants. Le prohigoumène du monastère, Ioassaf, a fait connaître par lettre tout cela à la Confrérie grecque de Venise et lui a demandé son aide pour compléter la somme nécessaire au rachat. La Confrérie et son *Guardian* (président), Démètre Berkos, ont décidé d'organiser une collecte. Ils s'adressent donc par la présente à tous les membres qui voudraient offrir leur contribution. La somme recueillie restera aux mains du président jusqu'à ce qu'il soit informé de la restitution des reliques.

Suivent les souscriptions de dix-sept membres de la Confrérie avec l'indication des sommes (en ducats vénitiens) promises par chacun.

Original (Archives de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise, 22/45, dossier 638).

Papier en double feuille, de 285 × 205 mm. (la seconde feuille est restée blanche). État de conservation assez bon, excepté deux très petits trous.

Le texte sur le f. a^{r-v}. Marge à gauche 30 mm. Écriture régulière. Les signatures des souscripteurs sont autographes; elles ont été radiées ultérieurement (sauf deux, celles des lignes 34 et 46), pour indiquer que les sommes promises furent acquittées.

Εὐγενέστατοι ἄρχοντες καὶ χρησιμώτατοι πραγματευταί,

|[2] Εἶναι χρόνοι ἱκανοὶ ὁποῦ τὸ λείψανον τῆς πανευφήμου καὶ ἰσαποστόλου |[3] Μαγδαληνῆς ἐπάρθη ἀπὸ Τριπολίνους κουρσάρους κατὰ τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν. Ἦτον |[4] αὐτὸ τῆς σεβασμίας Μονῆς Σιμοπέτρας τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος καὶ οἱ |[5] ἅγιοι πατέρες, διὰ νὰ μὴν ὑστερηθοῦν τοιοῦτον θησαυρόν, ἐπρόσδραμον εἰς τὴν |[6] βασιλεύουσαν καὶ μὲ πολλὴν δαπάνην ἔλαβον ὁρισμὸν παρὰ τοῦ κρα |[7] τοῦντος πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Τριπόλεως, νὰ τὸ ἐπιστρέψῃ. Ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐτελε |[8] σφόρησαν οὐδέν, ὅτι ὁ ἀποσταλθεὶς Τοῦρκος, ὡς δωρολήπτης, ἐστράφη ἄπρακτος. |[9] Ἔπειτα διὰ μεσιτείας ἐξεκόπη ἡ τιμή του διὰ φλωρία πεντακόσια, ἀπὸ |[10] τὰ ὁποῖα δοὺς τὰ διακόσια εἷς εὐλαβὴς παρέλαβεν αὐτὸ ἐνέχυρον μέχρι |[11] τῆς ἐκπληρώσεως τῶν λοιπῶν τριακοσίων.

|[12] Ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρέστησε διὰ γράμματος ὁ πανοσιώτατος προηγούμε |[13] νος τῆς αὐτῆς Μονῆς κὺρ Ἰωάσαφ, ζητῶν παρ'ἡμῶν βοήθειαν περὶ τῆς |[14] ἐξαγορᾶς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου λειψάνου.

|[15] Ὅθεν ὁ κύριος Δημήτριος Μπέρκος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, οἱ συναχθέντες ἐν τῇ |[16] ἡμετέρᾳ σχολῇ, καθὼς διέταξε περὶ τοιούτων ὑποθέσεων τὸ ἡμέτερον καπί |[17] τωλον, ἔκριναν νὰ γένῃ ἡ αὐτὴ βοήθεια, διὸ καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ παρόν.

|[18] Δέξασθε λοιπὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἱλαρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ὑπογράφοντας καθεὶς μετὰ τῆς |[19] προσηκούσης προθυμίας καὶ γενναιότητος, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν πλουσιοπαρόχου |[20] δόσεως δυνήσωνται ἀπολαβεῖν τοῦ ποθουμένου. Καὶ ἕξετε οὐ μόνον τὴν ἁγίαν |[21] πρεσβεύουσαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διηνεκῶς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἁγίους |[22] πατέρας δεομένους ἑκάστοτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑγείας καὶ εὐημερίας |[23] καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ μισθαποδότης Κύριος διὰ τοιοῦτον ἐπαινετὸν ἔργον |[24] ἀποδώσει ὑμῖν τοὺς μισθοὺς μυριοπλασίως καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ |[25] μέλλοντι. Καὶ τὰ συναχθησόμενα θέλει σταθεῖ εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κυρίου Γουαρ |[26] διάνου, ἕως νὰ ἔλθουν αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι πίστεις περὶ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ |[27] ἁγίου λειψάνου.

|[28] Ἐδόθη ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σχολῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

|[29] 9/20 Ἰουλίου 1744 εἰς Βενετίαν.

|[30] Δημήτριος Μπέρκος τάσσω νὰ δώσω δουκατα κορέντε δώδεκα λέγω	d. 12 σ.–
|[31] Ἀναστάσιος Στάττης τάσω νὰ δώσω κορέντε δουκάτα ἕξη	d. 6 σ.–
|[32] Πάνος Μαρούτζης τάσσω νὰ δώσω κορέντε δουκάτα ἕξι	d. 6 σ.–
|[33] Σίμος Μαρούτζης τάσω νὰ δώσω κορέντε δουκάτα δέκα πέντε	d. 15 σ.–
|[34] Γεώργιος Καραϊωάννης τάσσω νὰ δώσω δουκάτα κορέντε δέκα	d. 10 σ.–
|[35] Δημήτριος Θεοδοσίου τάσω δουκάτα πέντε κορέντε	d. 5 σ.–
|[36] Δημήτριος Κερασάρης τάσω δουκάτα πέντε κορέντε	d. 5 σ.–
|[37] Λεοντάρης Καραϊωάννηζ τάσσω δουκάτα δέκα	d. 10 σ.–
|[38] Ἰωάννης Ντέκας τάσσω δουκάτα δέκα κορέντε	d. 10 σ.–
|[39] Στάθης Δημητρίου τάσω δουκάτα ἕξη	d. 6 σ.–
|[40] Λάμπρος Σάρος τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε τέσσαρα	d. 4 σ.–
|[41] Σκαρλᾶτος Δημητρίου τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε τέσσαρα	d. 4 σ.–
|[42] Ἀναστάσης Βασίλης τάσσω δουκάτα δύο λέγο	d. 2 σ.–
|[43] Ἀνδρέας ὁ Κάσσης τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε δύο	d. 2 σ.–
|[44] Δημητριος Βαλσαμάκης τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε δύο	d. 2 σ.–
|[45] Στέφανος Ρούτης τάσσω νὰ δώσω δουκάτα τέσερα κορέντε	d. 4 σ.–
|[46] Σπυρίδων Ρίζος τάσο νὰ δόσο δουκάτα τρεχούμενα πέντε	d. 5 σ.–

Commentaire

L'affaire des reliques de Marie Madeleine, ravies par les corsaires, est attestée par le codex du couvent de Simopetra publié en partie par Geras. Smyrnakis, Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Athènes 1903, p. 591 et par Manuel Gédéon, Πατριαρχικαὶ Ἐφημερίδες, Athènes 1936, pp. 320-321, où il est question de la réouverture, en 1766, de ce monastère par le prohigoumène Joasaph, le même qui est mentionné dans notre document (l. 12-13) comme ayant écrit à la Confrérie Grecque de Venise. Le codex, énumérant les sommes que Joassaf a obtenu de ramasser pour le couvent, ajoute: «Καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον τῆς Ἁγίας Μυροφόρου

Μαγδαληνῆς Μαρίας, ὁποὺ τὸ ἐξεσκλάβωσε καὶ τὸ ἐλευθέρωσεν ἀπὸ τὴν Τρίπολιν τῆς Βαρβαρίας, ὁποὺ ἦτον σκλαβωμένον 18 χρόνους καὶ τὸ ἤφερεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριόν μας διὰ 520 φλωρία βενέτικα ....». Cette somme (520 florins vénitiens, c'est-à-dire ducats) coincide presque à la somme de 500 ducats mentionnés dans notre document. Il est à noter que les reliques (une partie de la main gauche de Sainte Marie Madeleine) ont été conservées dans le couvent jusqu'à nos jours; voir Geras. Smyrnakis, ouvr. cité, p. 596. Le reliquaire porte les inscriptions suivantes (communication de l'hiéromoine Justin Simonopetritis à Monsieur Criton Chrysochoidis, qui m'en a gentiment informé): a) † ΜΥΡΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΑΓΔΑΛΗΝΗΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ †; et b) ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΣ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΖΡΝΔ΄ (= 1646). Cette date nous permet de tenir pour certain que le reliquaire a été restitué intact, tel qu'il était avant le rapt. Les détails sur l'intervention vaine du sultan en faveur du monastère, pour la restitution des reliques se font probablement connaître ici pour la première fois par notre document.

Notons que dans le livre «Ἀκολουθίαι τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σίμωνος τοῦ Μυροβλήτου, κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει ἱερᾶς μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας, προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου Μυροφόρου καὶ ἰσαποστόλου τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μαρίας τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς» publié à Athènes en 1924 par l'archimandrite Hiéronymos, higoumène de Simopetra, sont réunis et présentés (pp. 117 et suiv.) plusieurs textes concernant la vie et l'acolouthie de Marie-Madeleine, et même son icône (pp. 176-177); voir la description détaillée du livre fournie par Sophron. Eustratiadis, Ἁγιολογικά. Βιβλιογραφία τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν, dans *EEBS* 9 (1932): 114-116.

III. COLLECTE EN FAVEUR DU MONASTÈRE DE VATOPÉDI POUR L'ACHAT D'UNE GRANDE HORLOGE

19/30 avril 1745

Résumé. — Le prohigoumène du monastère de Vatopédi, l'hiéromoine Athanase, porteur du présent document, est recommandé par une lettre de l'higoumène de ce monastère, Mathieu, comme envoyé pour faire des quêtes. Cette lettre a été lue dans la séance de la Confrérie Grecque de Venise présidée par Georges Caraioannis, et on a pris la décision de l'aider. Le prohigoumène a, en outre, exprimé le désir de se procurer une grande horloge en fer, tant nécessaire au monastère et pareille à celles des clochers de Venise, et le président s'est chargé du soin de la trouver et de l'envoyer au monastère. Les membres de la Confrérie sont donc priés d'offrir leur contribution, afin que soit collectée la somme nécessaire pour l'achat de cette horloge.

Suivent les souscriptions de dix-huit membres de la Confrérie avec l'indication des sommes (en ducats) promises par chacun.

Original (Archives de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise, 22/45, dossier 638).

Papier en double feuille, de 300 × 215 mm. (la seconde feuille est restée blanche). État de conservation assez bon.

Le texte sur le f. a^{r-v}. Marge à gauche 50 mm. Écriture soignée. Plusieurs fautes d'orthographe. Les signatures des souscripteurs sont autographes; elles ont été

toutes radiées ultérieurement, comme dans le document II, après le paiement des sommes promises.

Εὐγενέστατοι ἄρχοντες καὶ χρησιμότατοι πραγματευταί,

|2 Ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὸ παρὸν πανοσιότατος προηγούμενος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ βασιλικῆς |3 μονῆς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτώκου ὀνομαζομένης Βατοπεδίου εὑρισκομένης |4 ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρη παπὰ κὺρ Ἀθανάσιος συνίσταται παρὰ τοῦ τὰ νῦν |5 εὑρισκομένου ἐκεῖθε πανοσιοτάτου Ἡγουμένου κυρίου Ματθέου μέ γρᾶμμα |6 πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους χριστιανοὺς ἀπεσταλμένος ἐλέους χάρην καὶ βοη |7 θείας. Ὅθεν ὁ κύριος Γεώργιος Καραϊωάννης, γουαρδιάνος καὶ οἱ περὶ |8 αὐτὸν συναχθέντες ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σχολῇ, καθὼς διέταξεν τὸ τίμιον Καπί |9 τολον, καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντος τοῦ προειρημένου γράμματος, ἔκρηναν αὐτὸν ἄξιον |10 βοηθείας. Περιπλέον ἔχωντας ἀναφέρει ὁ ῥηθεὶς προηγούμενος πῶς |11 ἀπὸ τὰ συναχθέντα χρήματα μέλει νὰ προβλέψη ἕνα ὡρολόγιον ση |12 δηρένιον μεγάλον ὡσὰν ἐκεῖνα ὁποῦ συνηθίζουν ἐδῶ νὰ βάνουσι εἰς τὰ |13 καμπανέλια, πολλὰ χρειαζόμενον διὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν μωνήν, καὶ αὐτὸ θέλει |14 προβλευθῇ διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ ἄνωθεν γουαρδιάνου, καὶ σταλθεῖ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν μωνήν. |15 διὰ τοῦτο ἀποδέξασθε αὐτὸν μεθ᾽ ἱλαρώτητος καὶ βοηθήσατε δαψυλῶς τὸ κατὰ |16 δύναμην, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας θεαρέστου καὶ πλουσιοδώρου εὐποιΐας |17 συναχθῇ ἡ ποσότης ἐκείνη ὁποὺ νὰ εἶναι ἀρκετὴ εἰς τὴν πρόβλεψιν τοῦ |18 αὐτοῦ ὡρολογίου καὶ οὕτως θέλετε ἔχει τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς |19 ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἔν τε τῷ νῦν ἐῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλωντι.

|20 Ἐδώθει ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σχολῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου 19/30 Ἀπριλλίου 1745 Βενετία.

|21 Γεώργιος Καραϊωάννης γουαρδιάνος τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε εἴκοσι λέγω	d. 20
|22 Ἀνδρέας ὁ Κάσσης τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε δέκα λέγω	d. 10
|23 Ζαχαρίας Μαρούτζης τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε δέκα	d. 10
|24 Ἰωάνης Γεωργίου Χρονόπουλος τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε πέντε λέγω	d. 5
|25 Σπυρίδων Ταρακούλης τάσω δουκάτα δυόμιση	d. 2 s. 12
|26 Σίμος Μαρούτζης τάσω δουκάτα τρηάντα κορέντε	d. 30
|27 Ἰωάννης Ντέκας τάσσω δουκάτα δέκα κορέντε	d. 10
|28 Λεωντάρης Καραϊωάννης τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε ἔξη	d. 6
|29 Στάθης Δημητρίου τάσω δουκάτα τέσαρα λέγω	d. 4
|30 Δημήτριος Κερασάρης τάσω κορέντε τέσαρα	d. 4
|31 Στέφανος Ρούτης τάσσω δουκάτα τέσσαρα	d. 4
|32 Ἀναστάσης Στάτης τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε τέσσαρα	d. 4
|33 Σκαρλάτος Δημητρίου τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε τέσσερα	d. 4
|34 Δημήτριος Θεοδοσίου τάσσω δουκάτα τρεχούμενα τέσερα	d. 4
|35 Λεονάρδος τοῦ ποτὲ Δημητρίου Καπετανάκη τάσο δουκάτα δύο	d. 2
|36 Λάμπρος Σάρος τάσσω δουκάτα κορέντε δύο	d. 2
|37 Δυονύσιος Ταρονίτης εδοσα δουκάτο ἕνα ἀσημ.	d. 1 s. 7
|38 Ματθέως Σελέκης τάσο δουκάτα κορέντε δύο	d. 2
	d. 124 s. 19

Commentaire

Il serait intéressant de savoir si le voyage d'Athanase, prohigoumène de Vatopédi, envoyé à Venise pour se procurer une horloge pour le clocher de son monastère, a eu un résultat positif. La somme des 124 ducats, le produit de la collecte, était-elle suffisante pour son achat? Je n'ai pas pu, jusqu'à ce moment, m'informer si il existe aujourd'hui dans le monastère une horloge d'origine vénitienne et qui pourrait être identifiée avec celle de notre document.

IV. LETTRE DES « ÉPISTATES » DU MONT ATHOS RECOMMANDANT L'HIÉROMOINE ZACHARIE, ENVOYÉ DU MONASTÈRE DE XÉROPOTAMOU POUR QUÊTER

23 août 1769

Résumé. — Les «épistates» du Mont Athos, Vlassios, prohigoumène de Rossicon, Théodossios, moine de Lavra, Seraphim, moine d'Iviron, et Philothée, moine de Saint-Paul, recommandent à la Confrérie des Grecs de Venise l'hiéromoine Zacharie, envoyé du monastère de Xéropotamou, pour quêter, et affirment que ce monastère a des dettes considérables à cause de la restauration récente de la fameuse église des Quarante-Martyrs.

Original (Archives de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise, 18/17, dossier 216).

Papier en double feuille, de 220 × 320mm., portant deux plis sur la petite et trois sur la grande dimension. Encre marron. État de conservation très bon, sauf trois petits trous.

Le texte sur le f. a^r. Marge à gauche 50mm. Écriture régulière.

En tête du texte l'empreinte du sceau de l'Épistasie, représentant la Vierge orante et portant tout autour une inscription presque totalement effacée; on n'en distingue que la date: *1683*.

Les signatures, disposées les unes à la suite des autres, sont toutes de la même main, probablement de celle qui a écrit le texte entier.

L'enveloppe de la lettre n'a pas été conservée.

† Τιμιώτατε καὶ εὐγενέστατε ἄρχον βαρδιάνε καὶ λοιποὶ εὐγενέστατοι πραγματευταὶ τοῦ εὐλογημένου ἀδελφάτου τῶν |² Ῥωμαίων τῶν εὑρισκομένων ἐν τῇ θεοφρουρίτῳ Βενετίᾳ. Χαίροιτε ἐν Κυρίῳ καὶ ὑγιαίνοιτε. Τὴν εὐγενείαν σας εὐ |³ χετικῶς ἀσπαζόμεθα, ἡμεῖς οἱ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἐπιστάται, δεόμενοι Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν |⁴ Θεοτόκου ὑπὲρ τῆς καλῆς σας ὑγείας καὶ ψυχικῆς σας σωτηρίας. Τὸ βασιλικὸν μοναστήριον τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου |⁵ ἀνεκαίνισε τὴν περίφημον ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Ἁγίων Τεσσαράκοντα μεγάλων Μαρτύρων διὰ πολλῶν ἐξόδων |⁶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐλεημοσύνης, τὰ δὲ καὶ δανεισθέντες σὺν βαρυτάτῳ τόκῳ.| καὶ μὲ τὸ νὰ μὴ |⁷ προφθάνουν νὰ πληρώνουν τοὺς κατ'ἔτος τόκους τοῖς δανεισταῖς, πέμπουσιν αὐτόθι πρὸς τὴν εὐγενείαν σας |⁸ χάριν ἐλέους καὶ βοηθείας τὸν πανοσιώτατον ἐν ἱερομονάχοις παπᾶ κὺρ Ζαχαρίαν, ὅστις καὶ προτήτερα τοὺς ἐπρό |⁹ φθασε μὲ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην τῶν χριστιανῶν. Εἰς γοῦν τῆς ἀληθείας δήλωσιν, πῶς δηλαδὴ ἐπροπέρσυν ἀνε |¹⁰ καίνισαν τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν

Ἁγίων Τεσσαράκοντα Μαρτύρων, οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ μοναστηρίου Ξηρο – |[11] ποτάμου πατέρες καὶ ὅτι παρ᾿ ἐκείνων πέμπεται πρὸς τὴν εὐγενείαν σας ἐλέους χάριν καὶ βοηθείας ὁ παρὼν |[12] πανοσιώτατος ἐν ἱερομονάχοις παπᾶ κὺρ Ζαχαρίας, ἐπεσφραγίσαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ παρὸν γράμμα τῇ σφρα |[13] γίδι τῆς Κοινότητος τῶν ἱερῶν μοναστηρίων κατὰ τὸ σωτήριον ἔτος ᾳψξθ^ον αὐγούστου κγ^η.

|[14] Ὁ προηγούμενος τῆς ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς καὶ πατριαρχικῆς μονῆς τῶν Ῥώσσων καὶ ἐπιστάτης τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Βλάσιος καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ |[15] γέροντες Θεοδόσιος ἐκ τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας, Σεραφεὶμ ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ Φιλόθεος ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου.

Commentaire

La restauration de l'église des Saints Quarante-Martyrs, le catholicon du couvent de Xéropotamou, a eu lieu, grâce surtout aux sommes recueillies par le fameux moine et écrivain Césarios Dapontés, en 1763, comme en témoigne l'inscription en vers rimés, composée par lui et mise au dessus de la porte principale de l'église; voir Eudokimos Xéropotaminos, Ἡ ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει Ἄθῳ ἱερά, βασιλική, πατριαρχικὴ καὶ σταυροπηγιακὴ σεβασμία μονὴ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου. 424-1925, Thessalonique-Serrai 1926, pp. 74, 132 et 133. Le récit authentique de Dapontés lui-même se trouve dans son œuvre «Le Jardin des Grâces» (Κῆπος Χαρίτων) publié par E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, t. 3, Paris 1881, pp. 67-71 (vers 109-234); voir le texte de l'inscription de 1763 aux pp. 69-70 (vers 173-190).

Notre document, daté de 1769, place la restauration deux ans avant (ἐπροπέρσιν), à savoir en 1767. Il nous est difficile d'expliquer ce décalage de quatre ans (1763/1767) entre deux sources dont l'une n'est pas moins authentique que l'autre. Il se peut que les divers travaux de restauration se soient prolongés davantage, même après la composition de l'inscription.

V. LETTRE CIRCULAIRE DE PHILOTHÉE, SKEVOPHYLAX DE VATOPÉDI, RECOMMANDANT LE PROHIGOUMÈNE PANARÉTOS, ENVOYÉ POUR QUÊTER

1785

Résumé. — Le skevophylax du monastère de Vatopédi, l'hiéromoine Philothée, écrit à la Confrérie des Grecs Orthodoxes de Venise pour recommander le prohigoumène Panarétos, qui est envoyé pour faire des quêtes en faveur de ce monastère. Celui-ci, autrefois tant protégé par les empereurs, byzantins et serbes, est actuellement très appauvri et couvert de dettes et a besoin de l'aide de tous les chrétiens. Le skevophylax prie les destinataires d'offrir leur contribution.

Original (Institut Hellénique de Venise, 22/41, dossier 576).

Papier en double feuille, de 355 × 245 mm. Bon état de conservation, sauf quelques trous provoqués par les mites.

Le texte sur le f. a^r-v. Marge à gauche 30 mm. Écriture très belle et soignée, de la main de l'expéditeur (l'hiéromoine Philothée), comme le prouve la signature de ce dernier, écrite en lettres plus grandes et disposée en deux lignes. Au f. a^r et

au-dessus du début du texte, l'empreinte du sceau du monastère, représentant l'Annonciation et portant tout autour une inscription à demi effacée, dont on ne distingue que la fin: .... [ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΙΚΗΣ Μ[ΕΓ]ΑΛΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΛΑΥΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΤΟΠΕΔΙΟΥ †(Le début serait probablement: ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ).

Au milieu du f. b^v (le f. b^r est blanc) on lit l'adresse suivante, écrite de la main de l'expéditeur: «Τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις καὶ εὐγενεστάτοις ἅπασιν ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῖν ὀρθοδόξοις χριστιανοῖς τῆς | εὐλογημένης ἀδελφότητος τῆς ἐν τῇ θεοφρουρήτῳ πολιτείᾳ Βενετίας, τέκνοις ἐν | Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητοῖς ἡμῖν καὶ προσφιλεσάτοις | εὐχετικῶς».

Dans cette adresse, ainsi que dans la ligne 2 du texte, seul le mot Βενετίας a été ajouté ultérieurement, sur l'espace qui était laissé blanc, par une autre main; ce qui prouve que d'autres lettres identiques ont été rédigées, destinées à des communautés d'autres villes, comprises dans l'itinéraire de Panarétos.

† Τιμιώτατον, εὐγενέστατον, θεοσύλλεκτον καὶ θεοσεβέστατον σύνταγμα τῆς εὐλογημένης καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἀδελφότητος, τῆς θεοσυντη |² ρήτου πόλεως Βενετίας. Τέκνα πιστὰ καὶ ὑπήκοα καὶ λατρευταὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος |³ Υἱοῦ καὶ λόγου αὐτοῦ, οὗ τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι ἠγωράσθητε καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ διαβόλου ἐῤῥύσθητε, μακάρια γεννήματα καὶ θρέμμα |⁴ τα, τῆς ἀμωμήτου κολυμβήθρας θεῖα ἀναγεννήματα καὶ ἀναμορφώματα, τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς μάνδρας τοῦ Χριστοῦ λογικὰ θεοφρούρητα πρό– |⁵ βατα. ὁ ἄνωθεν φωτισμὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Πατρὸς τῶν φώτων καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ |⁶ ἐπίπνοια τοῦ ὁμοουσίου καὶ συναϊδίου Πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

|⁷ Ἅπαντες οἱ εὐσεβεῖς ὅλοι καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὅσοι τε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐσμὲν διεσπαρμέ |⁸ νοι, διαφόρους ἐπαρχίας καὶ χώρας καὶ τόπους ἐρήμους οἰκοῦντες, συνιστῶμεν ὡσὰν πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα μέλη ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα |⁹ καὶ ἐσμέν, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον, σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους, καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες κεφαλήν, τὸν σεσαρκωμένον δι' ἡμᾶς |¹⁰ Θεὸν λόγον, Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

|¹¹ Ἅπαντα λοιπὸν τὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματος μέλη πρέπει νὰ βοηθῶνται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ νὰ συναντιλαμβάνωνται ἀλλήλων καὶ νὰ συμπονῶσιν εἰς |¹² τοὺς πόνους καὶ νὰ συμπάσχωσιν εἰς τὰ πάθη καὶ νὰ προφθάνωνται εἰς τὰς χρείας καὶ νὰ ὀρέγωσι χεῖρα βοηθείας εἰς τὰς ἀνάγκας.

|¹³ Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ εὐτελεῖς μοναχοί, οἱ Κυρίου τὸ ἁγιώνυμον Ὄρος οἰκοῦντες ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βασιλικῇ πατριαρχικῇ καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ |¹⁴ μονῇ τῇ πάλλαι μὲν κλεϊζομένῃ καὶ διὰ τοὺς κτήτορας αὐτῆς μεγάλους Βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Θεοδοσίου φημὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ |¹⁵ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ εἶτα τῶν Κομνηνῶν, Κατακουζηνῶν καὶ τελευταῖον τῶν Παλαιολόγων σεμνηνομένῃ τε |¹⁶ καὶ ἐγκαυχομένῃ, οἷα δὴ τιούτους ἐκέκτητο τοὺς προστάτας καὶ ἀντιλήπτορας, νῦν δὲ κατηφεῖ καὶ πένητι μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ εἰς μέγα ἐρύ |¹⁷ πειον καθεστηκυίᾳ καὶ δεομένῃ βασιλέων ἢ τοὐλάχιστον τῆς γενικῆς τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ χριστιανῶν συνδρομῆς τε καὶ συναντιλή |¹⁸ ψεως, εἰ μέλλοι τι πράξειν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἐπάξιον, μέλη λέγω ἐσμὲν τοῦ ὅλου πληρώματος καὶ μέλη οὐκ ἀπόβλητα, ἀλλ' εὔχρηστα.

|¹⁹ Καταπιεζόμενοι λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τοῦ ἀνυποίστου χρέους καὶ τῶν συγχνῶν καὶ ἀπαραιτήτων ἀπαιτήσεων, ἕνεκα τοῦ τῆς τυραννικῆς δου |²⁰ λείας ζυγοῦ, καὶ μὴ ὑποφέροντες ὁρᾶν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀρχαίαν τοῦ γένους

μονὴν ὑπόσαθρον καὶ τὸν παντελῆ ἐπαπειλοῦσαν |[21] ἀφανισμόν, προσδραμεῖν ἔγνωμεν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν χριστιανούς, εἰς τὰ γνήσια τέκνα καὶ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τοῦ |[22] Χριστοῦ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ ἐν αἰσθήσει τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν ἀποκαθιστῶντες τοὺς ἀδελφούς, διὰ νὰ |[23] μένῃ τὸ ἓν μέλος τοῦ ἄλλου ἀναίσθητον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν προφητικόν, ὅταν ἡ κοιλία ἀλγῇ νὰ μαιμάσωσι τὰ αἰσθητήρια, νομίζοντα |[24] τὸ ἓν τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ κακὸν τοῦ ἄλλου ὡς ἴδιον.

|[25] Πέμπομεν τοίνην, ἀγαπητοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ περιπόθητοι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ θεοσεβέστατον ὑμῶν ἀδελφάτον τὸν |[26] πανοσιώτατον καὶ σεβασμιώτατον ἀγαπητὸν συναδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ προηγούμενον κύριον Πανάρετον, τὴν ἀνάγκην ἡμῶν καὶ ἣν |[27] ὑποστῶμεν δυναστείαν ἐκτραγῳδήσαντα καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ παγχάλεπα, ἃ καθ᾽ἑκάστην δοκιμάζομεν παρὰ τοῦ τῆς τυραννικῆς |[28] καὶ ἀνυποίοτου δουλείας ζυγοῦ διατρανώσαντα καὶ ὧν ἡ ἡμετέρα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ γένους μονὴ χρήζει ἀπαραιτήτως, ἵνα μὴ εἰς |[29] τέλος ἐκλείψῃ καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα δόγματα εἰς διαρπαγὴν καὶ παντελῆ ἀμνημοσύνην γενήσωνται.

|[30] Ὑποδέξασθε λοιπὸν αὐτόν, ἀδελφοί, εὐμενῶς τε καὶ φιλαδέλφως, φιλικτειρμόνως καὶ θεοφιλῶς, γνωρίζοντες αὐτὸν πιστὸν τέκνον |[31] καὶ μέλος γνήσιον ταύτης τῆς καθ᾽ἡμᾶς ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπαιδίου καὶ βοηθήσατε ἡμῖν δι᾽αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἐνόντα ἕκαστος τρόπον, |[32] συνεργοῦντες μὲ πόνον ψυχῆς καὶ μὲ θεῖον ζῆλον εἰς τὸν σκοπόν τους, προτρεπόμενοι καὶ παρακινοῦντες ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ |[33] εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ εἰς διαιωνίζουσαν συντήρησιν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν μονῆς.

|[34] Οὕτω δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἡμεῖς μέν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ ἀρχαία αὕτη βασιλικὴ μονὴ δι᾽αὐτοῦ θέλει εὕρῃ ἄνεσίν τινα καὶ ἀνακουφισμὸν |[35] τῶν βαρυτάτων χρεῶν καὶ ἀνορθώσεως καὶ καλλοπισμοῦ ἀξιωθῇ τοῦ προτέρου, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἕξοιτε μυριοπλασίους μισθοὺς παρὰ τοῦ μισθα |[36] ποδότου Θεοῦ ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι παραπέμπουσα τὰ πανευγενῆ ὑμῶν ὀνόματα διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων |[37] ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεὰν καὶ ἀναγράφουσα αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν Κωνσταντίνων, τῶν Θεοδοσίων, τῶν Κομνη |[38] νῶν, τῶν Εὐγενικῶν, τῶν Κατακουζηνῶν, τῶν Παλαιολόγων καὶ τῶν Στεφάνων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἔχετε ὀφειλέτας πρὸς Κύριον, ὅπως τὸ |[39] θεῖον ἐξαιτούμενοι νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας χαρίζῃ ὑμῖν ὑγιείαν μακρόβιον, εὐτυχίαν ἀμετάπτωτον, εὐφροσύνην λύπης ἀμέτοχον καὶ |[40] εἴ τι ἄλλο θυμηδίας γέμον καὶ χάριτος, συνελόντι φάναι πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον. Ἀμήν.

Ἅγιον Ὄρος, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Βατοπαιδίου. |[41] αψπεᵠ.

|[42] Ὁ σκευοφύλαξ τῆς ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς καὶ πατριαρχικῆς μεγίστης μονῆς τῆς |[43] Λαύρας τοῦ Βατοπαιδίου Φιλόθεος ἱερομόναχος καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοί.

9 1 Corinth. XII,27   23 Jer. IV,19

Commentaire

Le signataire de cette lettre encyclique, pleine d'ornements rhétoriques, le skevophylax Philothée (originaire de Mountanie de l'Asie Mineure), est également connu par plusieurs inscriptions du monastère de Vatopédi, des années 1780 (*Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes du Mont Athos*, recueillies et publiées

par MM. G. Millet, J. Pargoire et L. Petit, Paris 1904, p. 30, nº 90), 1785 (ibid., p. 36, nº 117), 1788 (ibid., p. 21, nº 66 et p. 43, nº 143), 1789 (ibid., p. 17, nº 53) et 1798 (ibid., p. 34, nº 109), ainsi que par la longue inscription métrique non datée peinte sur la «trapéza» (ibid., pp. 36-37, nº 119). Ses multiples restaurations, attestées par ces inscriptions prouvent qu'il a développé une activité peu commune, dont un autre aspect fut probablement son zêle pour organiser des collectes en faveur de son couvent.

Il est à noter qu'une lettre analogue, déplorant la ruine du monastère de Vatopédi et recommandant l'hiéromoine Daniel, envoyé pour quêter, et adressée (sans date, mais du XVIII^e siècle) de la part du cathigoumène Nathanael à la Compagnie Grecque de Tokay (en Autriche), a été publiée par Thém. Volidis, Ἀνέκδοτος ἀλληλογραφία περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος τῆς Τοκαΐας dans *EEBS* 22 (1952): 80-81 (nº 5).

VI. LETTRE D'IOANNIKIOS, HIGOUMÈNE D'IVIRON, AU MÉTROPOLITE DE PHILADELPHIE POUR AIDER LE PROHIGOUMÈNE IGNATIOS, ENVOYÉ POUR QUÊTER

1787

Résumé. — L'higoumène du monastère d'Iviron, l'hiéromoine Ioannikios, adresse la présente au métropolite de Philadelphie [Sophronios Coutouvalis], par laquelle il recommande le prohigoumène Ignatios, envoyé pour faire des quêtes. Le monastère est chargé de graves dettes (qui s'élèvent à 400 «bourses») et a besoin de l'aide de tous les chrétiens, et notamment de ceux qui habitent l'Europe libre, étant donné que les chrétiens vivant sous le joug turc, ruinés par les impôts fréquents exigés par les souverains insatiables, se trouvent dans l'impossibilité d'apporter leur aide.

Original (Institut Hellénique de Venise, 19/27, dossier 394).

Papier en double feuille, de 345 × 235 mm. (la seconde feuille est blanche). Très bon état de conservation.

Le texte sur le f. a^r-v. Marge à gauche 35mm. Écriture claire, penchée à droite, de la main de l'expéditeur et signataire, l'higoumène Ioannikios. Au f. a^r, à gauche des l. 1-3, l'empreinte du sceau du monastère, représentant la Dormition de la Vierge et portant tout autour l'inscription suivante: ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΒΙΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΡΤΑΪΤΙΣΣΗΣ.

L'enveloppe de la lettre a été conservée; elle porte l'adresse suivante, écrite de la même main de l'expéditeur: Τῷ πανιερωτάτῳ καὶ θεοκοσμήτῳ ἁγίῳ Φιλαδελφείας | κυρίῳ κυρίῳ Σωφρονίῳ, τῷ σεβασμιωτάτῳ ἡμῖν πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῃ | προσκυνητῶς | εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν.

† Τὴν θειοτάτην καὶ σεβασμιωτάτην ἡμῖν πανιερότητα |² ταπεινῶς προσκυνοῦντες, πανευλαβῶς καταφιλοῦμεν |³ τὴν χαριτόβρυτον καὶ θεοφόρον αὐτῆς δεξιάν.

|⁴ Χάρις τῷ παναγάθῳ θεῷ (πανιερώτατε ἡμῶν Δέσποτα) τῷ εὐδοκήσαντι οὕτω συμφερόντως |⁵ νὰ διαλάμπῃ ἀρχιερατικὴ δόξα ἐν τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις,

πρὸς καταρτισμὸν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῆς |[6] ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀμωμήτου ἡμῶν || τῶν || χριστιανῶν πίστεως καὶ τῶν ὅσων τῇ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ διαλαμπόντων αὐτό |[7] θι.

Ἐπειδὴ ὄχι μόνον εἶναι καύχημα καὶ χαρὰ ἄκρα τῶν αὐτόθι φιλοχρίστων χρι |[8] στιανῶν τὸ νὰ βλέπωσι ποιμένα καὶ δεσπότην γαληνότατον ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς |[9] τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἶναι σεμνολόγημα τὸ νὰ ἀκούωμεν τὴν φήμην τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς της με |[10] γαλειότητος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν εἶναι καμμία ἀμφιβολία εἰς ἡμᾶς ὅτι, διάγουσα ἡ ὑμετέρα πατρότης ἐν |[11] ἀταράχῳ καὶ ἀκύμονι βίῳ, ὡς ἀπηλλοτριωμένη τῶν φροντίδων ἐκείνων ὁποῦ οἱ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπικρα |[12] τείᾳ ἀδελφοί της ἀρχιερεῖς ἔχουσι, δὲν προθυμοποιεῖται εἰς ἄλλο περισσότερον παρὰ εἰς τὸ νὰ προὺξε |[13] νῇ κάθε πνευματικὴν καὶ σωματικὴν βοήθειαν εἰς τὸ γένος, νὰ διορθοῖ ψυχὰς πταιόντων |[14] μὲ τὰ ἀκεσόδυνα βότανα τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς χάριτος, νὰ παραμυθῇ ἀπόρους, νὰ βοηθῇ ἀδυνά |[15] τοις, νὰ εὐεργετῇ ἁπαξαπλῶς πάντας τοὺς χρείαν ἔχοντας. Ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁποῦ, κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδε μό |[16] νος Κύριος, ἀπὸ τὰς καιρικὰς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ ἀθλιότητας τοῦ γένους κατηντήσαμεν εἰς χρέος ἀνύ |[17] ποιστον καὶ δυσβάστακτον καὶ προστρέχομεν εἰς τοὺς αὐτόθι ἐν Χριστῷ ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς χριστιανοὺς χάριν |[18] ἐλέους, δὲν ἔχομεν μετὰ Θεὸν τὰς χρηστὰς ἐλπίδας μας παρὰ εἰς τὴν πατρικήν της στοργὴν τὰς ἀνατιθέ |[19] μεθα, συνιστῶντες αὐτῇ τὸν παρόντα ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφὸν προηγούμενον κὺρ Ἰγνάτιον, διὰ τοῦ |[20] παρόντος ἡμῶν δουλικοῦ. ἣν καὶ μετὰ τὰς ὑποκλιτικὰς ἡμῶν προσκυνήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας, πα |[21] ρακαλοῦμεν θερμότατα νὰ τὸν ὑποδεχθῇ εὐμενῶς, νὰ τὸν συστήσῃ πατρικῶς εἰς ὅλα αὐτῆς τὰ |[22] λογικὰ πρόβατα, εἰς ὅλους δηλονότι τοὺς αὐτόθι εὐσεβεῖς χριστιανοὺς καὶ χρησιμωτάτους πραγματευτάς, |[23] ὅπως διὰ τῆς δεσποτικῆς της προστασίας καὶ παρακινήσεως δυνηθῇ οὗτος ἡμῶν ποιῆσαι ἁδράν τινα |[24] βοήθειαν καὶ προφθάσῃ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀνυποίστους ταύτας ἀνάγκας τοῦ βαρυτάτου ἡμῶν χρέους, τὸ ὁποῖον |[25] παρ᾽ ὀλίγων καταντᾶ εἰς τετρακοσίων πουγγείων ποσότητα, εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν ἐξαρκοῦμεν οἱ τάλανες νὰ ἀ |[26] ποπληρώνωμεν τοὺς τόκους πρὸς τοὺς δανειστὰς καὶ κινδυνεύομεν νὰ διασκορπισθῶμεν, ἂν ὁ Θεὸς δὲν κά |[27] μῃ τὸ ἔλεός του πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μας χριστιανοὶ τὴν πλουσίαν τους βοήθειαν. Εἰς τοὺς κατὰ ταύτην |[28] τὴν τυραννικὴν ἐπικράτειαν εὑρισκομένους χριστιανοὺς δὲν δυνάμεθα νὰ λάβωμεν καμμίαν ἁ |[29] δρὰν βοήθειαν ὡς τελείως ἀφανισθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν πυκνῶν δασμοφοριῶν καὶ δοσιμάτων πρὸς τοὺς |[30] ἀκορέστους ἡγεμόνας. Ἡ ἐλπίς μας ἅπασα μετὰ Θεὸν εἰς τὴν πληθὺν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὁμογενῶν μας |[31] τῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης σκέπην διατελούντων ἵσταται. Ἂν καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν παροραθῶ |[32] μεν (ὃ μὴ γένοιτο), δὲν μένει πλέον ἐλπὶς εἰς ἡμᾶς. Ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πολυτίμητον αὐτῷ |[33] ζωήν, ἃς δείξῃ στοργὴν πατρικὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι᾽ ἔργων καὶ λόγων καὶ ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων καλῶν |[34] μένομεν οἱ πάντες ὀφειλέται διηνεκῶς νά παρακαλῶμεν τὸν ὕψιστον Θεὸν καὶ τὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν |[35] Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν, τὴν διὰ θαυματουργίαν Πορταΐτισσαν ἐπιλεγομένην, νὰ πολυετῇ τὸ ἔνθεον |[36] αὐτῆς ὕψος, μετὰ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀταράχου διαμονῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγιωτάτης αὐτῆς καθέδρας μέχρι |[37] γήρως βαθυτάτου καὶ λιπαροῦ καὶ διὰ νὰ ἀξιωθῇ τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλείας καὶ ὁμοσκηνίας τῶν |[38] συνιεραρχῶν. Ἀμήν.

Ταῦτα μὲν προσκυνητῶς καὶ ἱκετικῶς, δέσποτα ἡμῶν ἁγιώτατε, |[39] αἱ δὲ πανίεροι καὶ θεοπειθεῖς αὐτῆς εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐλογίαι εἴησαν ἡμῖν ἀπαλλαγὴ

ἀνεπαίσθητος |40 τῶν παρόντων λυπηρῶν καὶ φυλακτήριοι παντὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ βίου. ,αψπζῳ. |41 Τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοδοξάστου πανιερότητος

|42 δοῦλοι ταπεινοὶ καὶ πειθήνιοι τῶν ἱερῶν της προσταγῶν

|43 Ὁ Καθηγούμενος τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος τοῦ Ἄθω ἱερᾶς μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῶν |44 Ἰβήρων λεγομένης, Ἰωαννίκιος ἱερομόναχος καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοί.

Commentaire

Le destinataire de cette lettre est Sophronios Coutouvalis, le dernier métropolite de Philadelphie établi à Venise (1780-1790), sur lequel voir M. I. Manoussacas, Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα (1547-1806) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βενετίᾳ μητροπολίτας Φιλαδελφείας καὶ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀδελφότητα, Venise 1968, pp. 94-126, et G. Moschopoulos, Οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆς Βενετίας καὶ Ἰλλυρίας (1768-1797). Ἡ μητρόπολη Φιλαδελφείας καὶ ἡ σημασία της γιὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸ τῆς Β. Ἀδριατικῆς, Athènes 1980, pp. 117-183.

L'higoumène du couvent d'Iviron, l'hiéromoine Ioannikios qui signe la lettre semble avoir une assez bonne instruction. Étant donné qu'il signe en 1787 comme simple hiéromoine, j'hésiterais à l'identifier avec l'archimandrite Ioannikios attesté comme donateur du couvent par des inscriptions de peu antérieures (1774 et 1785) (G. Millet, J. Pargoire, L. Petit, *Recueil* etc., p. 84, n^os^ 265-266).

Istituto Ellenico, Venise

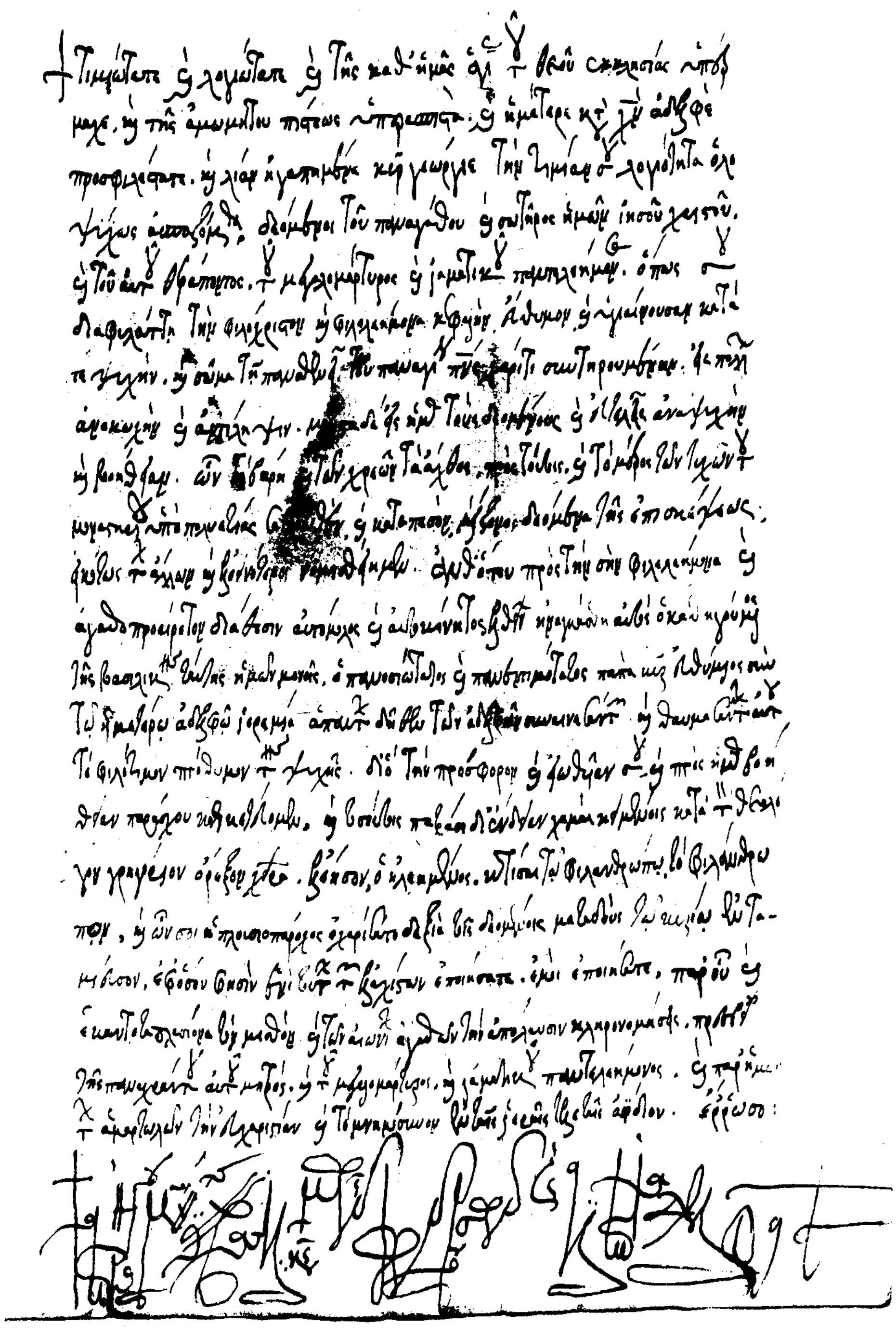


Planche I : Le document I : Lettre du prohigoumène du monastère de Saint-Pantéléimon de l'Athos à Georges Higouménos à Venise (Archives de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise, dossier 79).

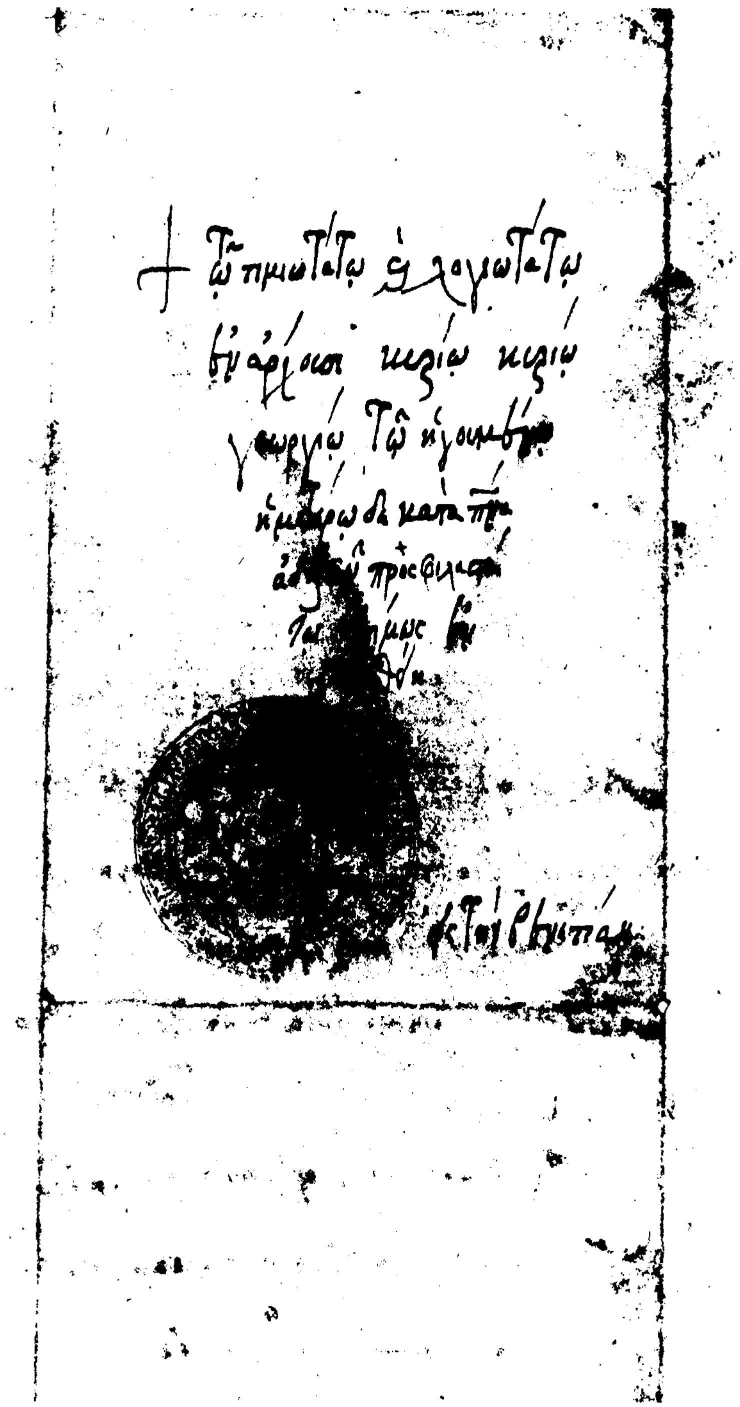


Planche II: Le dos du doc. I, comportant l'adresse du destinataire et le sceau du monastère.

Is "Hesychasm" the Right Word? Remarks on Religious Ideology in the Fourteenth Century

JOHN MEYENDORFF

The fourteenth century was a turbulent and divisive period in the history of Eastern Europe. However, it also witnessed a new awareness of religious and cultural unity between Byzantium and the Slavic nations. Politically, the empire was reduced to a symbolic power. Economically, it was dependent upon Genoese and Venetian interests and politics, which in turn were linked to relations existing between the Italian city-states and the Mongol and Ottoman authorities around the Black Sea. However, Byzantium was still regarded as the religious, ideological, and intellectual center of Eastern Christendom, and the church effectively controlled a centralized administrative network spread across Eastern Europe, providing the main channel through which Greek texts—and therefore ideas—were being translated and distributed there.

Under such circumstances, it was inevitable that internal events in the Byzantine church would also influence the Slavs. Thus, the monastic predominance in Byzantine church administration, which began already under Patriarch Athanasius I (1289-1293, 1303-1310) and was sanctioned by the successive victories of the Palamites in 1341, 1347 and 1351, made it inevitable that a great proportion of Greek texts reaching the Slavs were related to monastic spirituality. But the monastic predominance in the Byzantine church of what is generally called "hesychasm" should not be interpreted in the narrow sense of this originally very technical term.

The purpose of my brief remarks is to challenge the somewhat exclusive, and therefore misleading, use of the term "hesychasm" to describe the events in Byzantium itself and their repercussions in Slavic lands.

1. *What does the word "hesychasm" mean in the context of fourteenth-century history?*

Since the fourth century, the term ἡσυχία was used to designate the contemplative monastic way of life. According to Evagrius Ponticus,

"quietude" (ἡσυχία) is "the joy of the true monk" and implies "life in the desert."[1] St. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of "hesychasts" (ἡσυχασταί) who "isolate themselves for forty years from human society."[2] Imperial legislation defines their rights vis-à-vis the cenobitic monasteries using the word "hesychast" synonymously with "anchorite" (ἀναχωρητής).[3] Since Evagrius, the spirituality of contemplative monasticism in the Christian East was always centered upon *mental* prayer. Eventually, monastic tradition moved somewhat away from Evagrian and Origenistic intellectualism in interpreting the meaning of that prayer. It became directly influenced by the biblical understanding of the Name of God, as implying divine presence itself, and, since Christ was God incarnate, the Evagrian mental prayer took the well-known form of "the prayer of Jesus." The writings of Ps. Macarius also introduce the concept of "prayer of the heart." Possibly reflecting earlier traditions, some contemplatives of the thirteenth century — particularly Nicephorus the Hesychast — recommended the use of a breathing technique to reach permanent concentration in prayer. Such is, basically, the history of "hesychasm" before the debates of the fourteenth century.

In order to understand the use of the term "hesychast" in the period with which we are primarily concerned, one should remember the very specific circumstances of the initial encounter between Barlaam and Palamas. In 1337-1341, the Calabrian philosopher Barlaam, overreacting against criticism directed by Palamas against his anti-Latin treatises, ridiculed the breathing technique used by some hesychasts in Thessalonica and Constantinople, calling them ὀμφαλόψυχοι ("people-having-their-soul-in-their-navel"). Attacking more broadly the very principle of mystical knowledge and experience, he soon also launched the accusation of Messalianism against a much wider circle of Byzantine monks.[4] Even then, however, Barlaam did not attack all "hesychasts" as

[1] *Rer. mon.* 2, Migne, PG 40, col. 1253B; also *De or.* 111, Migne, PG 79, col. 1192C; trans. Evagrius, *The Praktikos: Chapters on Prayer* (Spencer, Mass.; Cistercian Publications, 1970), p. 74.

[2] *In Psalm.*, Migne, PG 44, col. 456B.

[3] Οὓς δὴ καλεῖν ἀναχωρητάς τε καὶ ἡσυχαστὰς εἰώθασιν, Justinian, *Novella* 5, 3, ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll, p. 32. On the early and original forms of hesychasm, see P. Adnes, "Hésychasme," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vols. 44-45 (Paris, 1968), cols. 381-399.

[4] For the circumstances of these early episodes of the controversy, see my articles reprinted in *Byzantine Hesychasm* (Variorum, 1974), and my *Introduction a l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959), pp. 65-80. Cf. also an updating of the issue in Robert E. Sinkewicz, "A New Interpretation for the First Episode in the Controversy between Barlaam the Calabrian and Gregory Palamas," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1980, pp. 489-500.

such. He expressed admiration of several "hesychasts" of Thessalonica who—in his opinion—were not guilty of the abuses of "omphalopsychia." His writings show that he had some knowledge of the monastic contemplative tradition.[5]

Whereas Barlaam did not intend to condemn all the "hesychasts," Palamas certainly believed that the attacks on the Calabrian philosopher were directed against the basic content and inspiration of the monastic spiritual tradition. While Barlaam was attacking some unknown monks who practiced breathing techniques, Palamas published his *Triads*, "For the defense of the holy hesychasts" (Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶς ἡσυχαζόντων), that is, *all* hesychasts. But in this major work he devoted only two short treatises (I, 2 and II, 2) to the issue of the psychosomatic methods of prayer, which he justified on theological and spiritual grounds, while admitting the possibility of abuses. In the rest of his work, he raised much wider questions of the God-man relationship. Palamas certainly knew the original meaning of the word "hesychast," as synonymous with "anchorite," but he also saw the theological issues involved in Barlaam's criticism: Is man really destined to communion with God, and *theôsis*? Can the human body itself be involved in the very reality of "deification"? What is the nature of the vision of divine Light? If communion with God is real, is it a communion with the divine essence itself? And if not, are the "energies" really "God," i.e., are they "uncreated"?

These questions and their answers constitute the content of Palamite theology and form the substance of the debate which followed the Council of 1341, but they are much broader than the issue of "hesychasm" as such. In 1341, Barlaam was formally rebuked for his attacks against the psycho-somatic methods of prayer. In fact, on this particular point, he found no support at all. Even Akindynos, who led the anti-Palamite party in Constantinople during the period of civil war (1341-1347), was formally and from the beginning opposed to Barlaam's attacks against monastic spirituality.[6] In fact, therefore, the

[5] Cf. particularly his letter to the hesychast Ignatius in G. Schirò, *Barlaam Calabro, Epistole greche* (Palermo, 1954), p. 323. For a more recent evaluation of Barlaam's views, see G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich, 1977), pp. 125ff.

[6] In 1340, he was writing to Barlaam that his attacks against the "anchorite" (τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας) are "hypocritical" and "unworthy of a philosopher" (πράγματος ἀφιλοσοφωτάτου), and that his calling them "Messalians" was both unjustified and stupid (*Scorial. gr.* III II, col. 230-231; quoted in my *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, p. 73, fn. 28). The letters of Akindynos are presently being prepared for publication by Angela Hero in *Dumbarton Oaks Texts*.

debate on "hesychasm" as such took place only for the short period between 1337 and 1341. What followed was a protracted controversy on the theological formulae used by Palamas to express the traditional doctrine of *theôsis*, or "deification."

This debate involved all social groups. The issue was not hesychast spirituality. Whereas the vast majority of the monks sided with Palamas, there were also eminent monastic personalities in the opposite camp, including the nun Eulogia Choumnaina, related to the imperial family and a spiritual daughter of one of the leaders of late Byzantine hesychasm, the metropolitan Theoleptos of Philadelphia.[7] Akindynos himself claimed to be a "hesychast." Palamas, however, was supported not only by the former patron of Barlaam and other intellectual, John Cantacuzenos, but by a clear majority of ecclesiastical public opinion, which led to his victory.

The remarks I have made are important in order to dispel the idea that in the fourteenth century the Byzantine church and society were taken over by a group of esoteric mystical sectarians. This idea seems often to be implied by historians, including those who, for example, make general statements about the "drying up" of Palaeologan art in the middle of the fourteenth century, or the attitude of the Byzantine church towards the study of secular philosophy. The issue is also of major importance in any discussion of the relations between Byzantium and the Slavs. Indeed scholars who consider "monastic rigorism" responsible for the end of the so-called "Palaeologan Renaissance" in art must not only justify the rather questionable use of the term "Renaissance" in this context, but also explain the indisputable fact that "Palaeologan" art was particularly successful in Slavic countries, where monastic contacts were the strongest form of Byzantine influence. Indeed, Byzantine humanists (often sharing anti-Palamite feelings) had neither the possibility nor the interest to promote their ideas among the Slavs, who knew no Greek and were still far from sharing the intellectual concerns of a Choumnaina or a Gregoras or a Gemisthos Pletho. Nevertheless, the artistic "Renaissance" flourished in the monastic establishments of the Serbian and Bulgarian empires, and, a little later, in the remote regions of Muscovy, where it was welcomed by the monastic circles of St. Sergius of Radonezh. These

[7] Cf. my *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, pp. 120-128. Her very curious and intimate correspondence with her new spiritual father (after the death of Theoleptus) is soon to be published by Angela Hero.

circles, however, did not hide their connections with Patriarch Philotheos and other leaders of Palamism in Byzantium.[8]

All this shows that the use of the word "hesychasm" to define the vast movement of ideas, specifically religious, political and cultural, which can clearly be seen as a major phenomenon of East European history in the fourteenth century is inaccurate. Indeed, if the term "hesychasm" stands for *anachoretism*, it certainly does not correspond to the concerns of Patriarch Philotheos, who exhorted and, indeed, ordered St. Sergius, around 1363, specifically to abandon anachoretism and establish a cenobitic community at Holy Trinity, near Moscow.[9] If "hesychasm" designates only the practice of mental prayer, sustained by the breathing discipline described by Nicephorus the Hesychast in the thirteenth century and implying a highly individual form of spirituality, one wonders why those who are generally considered as the main promoters of hesychasm — Patriarch Philotheos, Patriarch Ethymius of Trnovo, St. Theodosius of Trnovo and Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev — were most essentially concerned with such subjects as the liturgy, the rubrics, and the promotion of a unified liturgical Typikon — that of St. Sabbas of Palestine — in both Byzantium and Slavic lands. Most prominent among their activities were administrative, political, intellectual and literary pursuits. These men were certainly united by a common monastic background and formation, but there is no evidence that such hesychastic practices as the psycho-somatic method of prayer constituted an obligatory or even a particularly important aspect of their spirituality.

Shall we then abandon the term "hesychasm," when we speak of the broad phenomenon of spiritual and ecclesiastical revival in the fourteenth century? Not necessarily. It has become a convenient and probably irreplaceable term encompassing a broad religious and political movement which struggled for a common set of values, promoted political and cultural priorities inherited from Byzantium, and, in the face of challenges coming from the East and the West, maintained the universalism and the dynamism of Orthodox Christianity amidst drastic social and political changes.

But, in using the term, we should be careful to avoid technical associations with anachoretism, obscurantism, or esoteric mysticism. Certainly, the mystical tradition of ancient Hesychasm received new strength through the victory of Palamism, but neither the monastic

[8] Cf. my recent book, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 138-144.

[9] Cf. the texts referred to in *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 134-135.

revival which preceded and followed that victory, nor the overall character of the Byzantine influence upon the Slavs in the Palaeologan period was "hesychastic" in a narrow sense.

This can be illustrated by a short case study involving political ideology, spiritual priorities and ecclesiastical concerns. The case can be seen as connected with what we call today the "hesychast movement" of the fourteenth century, because it involved major personalities of that movement, namely, Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos and Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev, among others. It offers an opportunity to discuss the whole ideological framework that they shared.

2. *A Case Study: The Three Lithuanian Martyrs*

The so-called Voskresenskaia Chronicle signals that in 1347 three young Christians were executed in Vilnius by the pagan grand prince of Lithuania, Olgerd (Algirdas). The young men, who had changed their pagan names Kruglets, Nezhil, and Kumets to the Christian names Anthony, John, and Eustathius, had been officials of Olgerd's court, but had refused to comply with Lithuanian habits, such as shaving, and had ostensibly observed Orthodox fasting rules.[10]

Professor Ivan Dujčev has rightly noted in a recent study that Slavic saints were very seldom accepted in the liturgical calendar of the Greek church.[11] However, there are signs indicating that, in this respect, the Byzantine church under its new monastic leadership became less self-centered and more universal in its hagiographic outlook. Such signs include, for example, the composition of the Life of St. Theodosius of Trnovo by Patriarch Callistos. In this connection I would like to point out the case of the three Lithuanian martyrs, which has been largely ignored in spite of its obvious ideological and historical importance.[12]

This particular episode of martyrdom has sometimes been regarded as legendary by historians, who were acquainted only with late Muscovite accounts. Indeed, Olgerd, though a pagan, was not a persecutor of Christianity. He himself was successively married to two Orthodox

[10] Cf. E. E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh v russkoi tserkvi* (Moscow, 1903), pp. 69-71, p. 542.
[11] "Slawische Heilige in der Byzantinischen Hagiographie," *Medioevo bizantino-slavo* (Rome), 2 (1968): 202-223.
[12] A more detailed study of the case is given in J. Meyendorff, "Byzantium, Moscow, and Lithuania in the Fourteenth Century: The Three Lithuanian Martyrs in Literature and Iconography," *Eikon and Logos* (Festschrift Onash), 1981.

princesses and his relations with the Orthodox church, which included a majority of his principality's population, were generally quite good.

However, the martyrdom of Anthony, John, and Eustathius are witnessed and interpreted by contemporary documents of exceptional importance and great interest that have so far been ignored by historians. These documents include one Slavonic *Vita*, a Greek *Encomion* of the three martyrs, and the image of Anthony, John, and Eustathius on the "Major Sakkos" of Metropolitan Photius, now in the Armory of the Moscow Kremlin.

The text of the Slavonic *Vita*, according to its editor, M. N. Speranskii, was composed by a Serbian author.[13] After giving an account of the martyrdom, the author reports two important facts: (1) that after the martyrs' deaths, the sons of Olgerd, also converts to Orthodox Christianity, helped to preserve the martyrs' relics and that Olgerd himself agreed to buy land for the construction of a church in their memory; (2) that in 1374 and "during the patriarchate of ecumenical Patriarch Philotheos" (1364-1376), portions of the saints' relics were carried "to the most holy and great church," where they were venerated and performed miraculous healings.

The chronology in the *Vita* and the extraordinarily positive information given about Olgerd and his family, as showing a new sympathy towards Orthodox Christianity, reflect very well the developments that occurred in the 1370s. It is precisely in those years that the Patriarchate of Constantinople occupied by Patriarch Philotheos abandoned the rigid pro-Muscovite policy of the previous period and began to show active concern for the future of the Orthodox population of the Lithuanian-dominated areas. In 1373-1375, a patriarchal envoy, the Bulgarian monk Cyprian, engaged in active efforts of reconciliation between the warring principalities of the Rus'. He established solid connections at the Lithuanian court, which led to his appointment as metropolitan in Lithuania in 1375.[14] The solemn transfer of the relics to Constantinople in 1374 was certainly performed on his initiative. And if one were to seek a possible Serbian author of the *Vita*, a man interested in the affairs of the Rus' and close to Cyprian, one would necessarily consider the Serbian monk Isaiah, abbot of the Rus' monastery on Mt. Athos, who,

[13] "Serbskoe zhitie litovskikh muchenikov," *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* (Moscow, 1909), pp. 1-47. A later Russian version based on the Serbian original appears in Makarii, *Velikiia Minei Chetii*, vol. 2, Izdanie Imperatorskoi arkheograficheskoi kommissii (Moscow, 1912), cols. 438-443.
[14] Cf. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 187-199.

in 1371, translated into Slavic the writings of Ps. Dionysius the Areopagite. A copy of this translation, in the hand of Metropolitan Cyprian himself, is still preserved.[15]

The Greek *Encomion* of the martyrs was composed by a rhetor of the Great Church, Michael Balsamon. I am showing elsewhere that the probable date of the *Encomion* is ca. 1390, i.e., a time when Cyprian finally assumed his post as metropolitan in Moscow and when his policy of encouraging friendship between Moscow and Lithuania received formal support in Byzantium, as well. Balsamon calls the martyrs *Rhōsoi* (Ῥῶσοι γὰρ ὄντες), although he is also aware of their Lithuanian origin. Actually for him "Lithuanians" seem hardly distinguishable from *Rhōsoi*. "They are Rus'," he writes, "but not from among those who, from the beginning, have been coming to us by boat ..., but from among those who are called Lithuanians and fire-worshippers" (οὓς Λιτβοὺς ὡς δὲ καὶ πυρσολάτρας ὁ λόγος καλεῖ).[16] Balsamon also reports the fact of the transfer of the relics and their veneration in Constantinople, giving all the credit to Patriarch Philotheos, whose reputation, prestige, and policies were fully acknowledged in Byzantium after 1390:

"And our own City," Balsamon writes, ... "has received some parts of the martyrs' relics ..., for they were brought here by holy hands [of Cyprian?], as substitutes for armament and security, and were received by the even holier hands ... of the great Philotheos (Φιλοθέου τοῦ πάνυ) ..., who was first in venerating them as martyrs and honoring them with icons, prostrating, and annual liturgical celebrations."[17]

The appearance of images representing the martyrs on a remarkable piece of embroidery, symbolizing the spiritual and political ties between Constantinople and the Rus', is even more significant. The *sakkos* of Metropolitan Photius, which can be dated between 1414 and 1417,[18] is decorated, in the lower front part, with a scene of the *Anastasis* (see fig 1,

[15] Cf. B. Moshin, "Zhitie startsa Isaii, igumena Russkogo monastyria na Afone," *Sbornik Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva v korolevstve Iugoslavii* (Belgrade, 1940), pp. 125-167. The possible identification of the author of the *Vita* as the monk Isaiah has been suggested to me by Dr. Hermann Goltz of Halle.
[16] Speranskii, "Serbskoe zhitie," p. 36. The *Encomion* was also published twice by M. Gedeon in Νέα βιβλιοθήκη ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων, vol. 1 (Constantinople, 1903), pp. 85-102, and in Ἀρχεῖον ἐκκλησιαστκῆς ἱστορίας, vol. 1 (Constantinople, 1911), pp. 152-174.
[17] Ed. cit., p. 47.
[18] Cf. D. Obolensky, "Some Notes Concerning a Byzantine Portrait of John VIII Palaeologus," *Eastern Churches Review* 4, no. 2 (1972): 141-146.

p. 457). Below the figure of the rising Christ, there are frontal representations of two couples. On the one side — Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and his first wife Anna (d. 1417), daughter of Grand-Prince Vasilii Dimitrievich of Moscow. On the other side — the grand prince Vasilii himself with his wife Sophia, daughter of Grand Prince Vitovt of Lithuania. The ideological and artistic significance of these portraits has often been discussed by historians. However, the additional importance of the triple image found directly under the Anastasis scene and between the two princely couples is also notable. It represents our three martyrs, clearly identified by Greek inscriptions as John, Eustathius, and Anthony, the *Rhōsoi* (οἱ Ῥῶσοι —, as in the *Encomion* of Balsamon).[19]

I do not think that this image, seen against the general ideological conception reflected on the *sakkos*, needs much commentary. Its significance is self-explanatory. The three martyrs of Vilnius were witnesses of the surviving Orthodox Christianity in Lithuania, which since 1386 — under Vitovt — was no longer ruled by pagan princes, but found itself under the Roman Catholic Polish monarchy. However, as metropolitan "of all the Rus'," Photius, on behalf of the Byzantine Orthodox church and empire, bore responsibility for the entire territories of both Muscovy and Lithuania. The success of his ministry depended upon peace and agreement between the rulers of both principalities. This peace — in the understanding of Byzantine diplomacy — could be achieved only under the symbolic aegis of the still surviving Empire of the New Rome. This conception was entrusted to Photius when he succeeded Cyprian as metropolitan of Kiev and all the Rus'. As Obolensky suggests, the *sakkos* was given to him in Constantinople as an objective and solemn reminder of his mission.

Two other small art objects bear witness to the veneration of the three martyrs. One is a golden reliquary cross of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, found at the Holy Trinity Monastery (Zagorsk), which tradition identifies as a gift of Patriarch Philotheos to St. Sergius. The Slavonic inscription indicates that the reliquary contained pieces of the True Cross, relics of martyrs from Constantinople, and, also, relics of "the new martyrs of Lithuania."[20] Another silver reliquary, dated 1414, with relics of "the newly-manifested Lithuanian martyrs" and which

[19] Cf. a recent and excellent reproduction in A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad, 1977), pl. 303.

[20] O. A. Belobrova "Posol'stvo Konstantinopol'skogo patriarkha Filofeia k Sergiiu Radonezhskomu," *Soobshcheniia Zagorskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-khudozhestvennogo muzeia-zapovednika*, vol. 2 (Zagorsk, 1958), pp. 12-18.

likewise contained a golden cross with a Greek inscription, was also kept at the Trinity Monastery before 1917. Its present whereabouts are unknown.[21]

The symbolic significance of the three martyrs is therefore manifold: their veneration, in Byzantium and among the Rus', was a reminder to the Roman Catholic rulers of Lithuania that the Great Church and its representative, the metropolitan of the Rus', was concerned with the fate of the Orthodox population of Lithuania. It also implied an appeal, addressed to the Muscovite princes, not to indulge in narrow Muscovite provincialism, but become leaders of the Rus' as a whole. Was this a "hesychast" legacy? Certainly not, if one uses "hesychasm" in the word's narrow sense. But it was a legacy implying certain *spiritual priorities.*

The priorities entrusted to Photius included the preeminence of Orthodoxy over secular concerns and the perpetuation of an imperial ideology which placed the myth of the New Rome (in fact, a very "aging" reality) above the emerging Slavic nationalisms. But if Byzantium was all but dead, the supra-national, spiritual legacy brought to the Slavs by the Byzantine monastic revival of the fourteenth century lived on. It was to have little effect on the official level of Muscovite politics, since Muscovy gradually defined itself in terms of a nation-state, but it was maintained in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by influential personalities like Nil Sorskii and Maximus the Greek. It was not allowed to venture very far from the "hesychastic" refuges beyond the Volga, but it never lacked followers until our own time.

Fordham University
and
St. Vladimir's Seminary

21 Belobrova, "Posol'stvo," pp. 14-16.

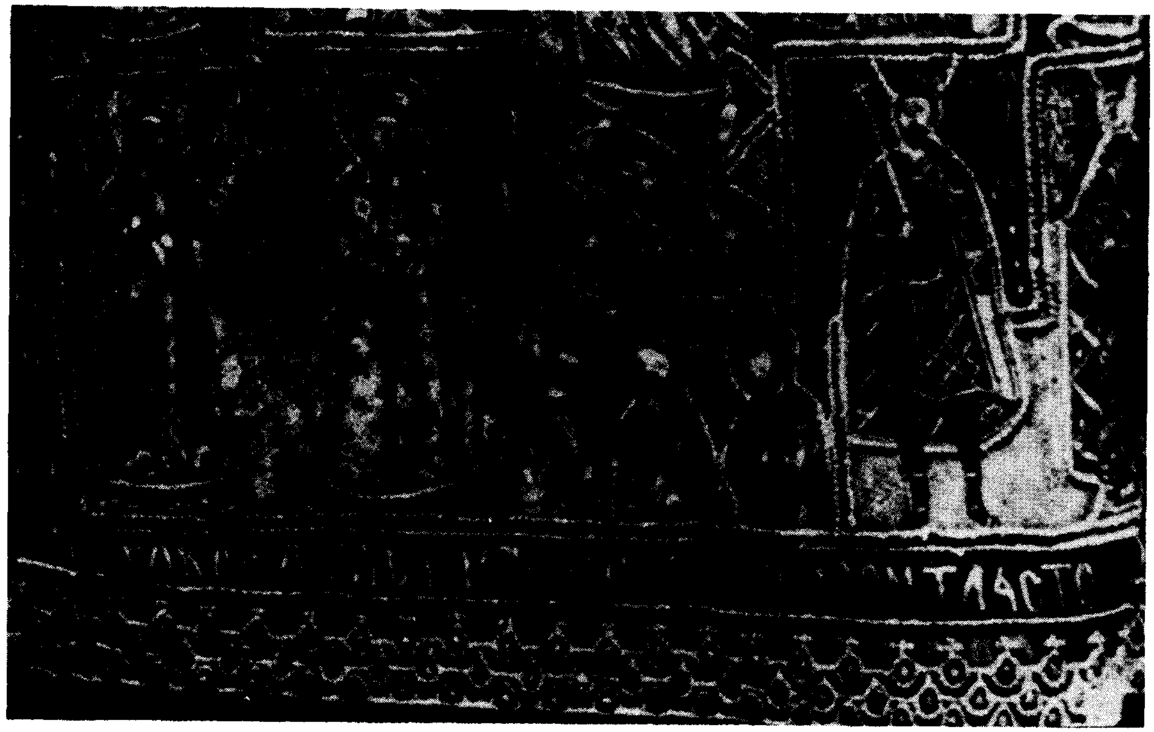


Fig. 1. Moscow. The Kremlin. Armory Museum. The *sakkos* of Metropolitan Photius. Embroidery (1414-1417). Reproduced from A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad, 1977), pl. 300, detail. Figures represent, on the left, the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus and his wife Ann, daughter of Vasilii Dimitrievich of Moscow; on the right, the grand prince Vasilii and his wife Sophia, daughter of Vitovt of Lithuania. In the center are the three "Lithuanian martyrs."

Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life in Two Palaeologan Frescoes Depicting the Baptism

DOULA MOURIKI

For our understanding of the Byzantine attitudes towards the art of antiquity,[1] written sources, as would be expected, are restricted in scope. Pictorial evidence assumes, therefore, special significance, notwithstanding a large degree of ambiguity regarding the meaning and motivation of classical borrowings in Byzantine art.[2] Antique "quotations" were used, as in the case of Byzantine literature, in different pictorial contexts and for varied purposes.[3] Consequently, they often

[1] For this question, see C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 17 (1963): 53ff.

[2] The complex issue of the antique borrowings in Byzantine art has been discussed in many studies. See, in particular: K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, N.J., 1951); idem, "Das klassische Erbe in der Kunst Konstantinopels," *Alte und Neue Kunst* 3 (1954): 41ff., translated and reprinted as "The Classical Heritage in the Art of Constantinople," in K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago and London, 1971), pp. 126ff.; idem, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); idem, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography," *DOP* 14 (1960): 43ff.; idem, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance* ("Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaft"), vol. 107 (Cologne and Opladen, 1963), translated and reprinted as "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 176ff.; idem, "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression," in *Byzantine Art—An European Art* (Athens, 1966), pp. 149ff., reprinted ibid., pp. 151ff.; E. Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art," *DOP* 17 (1963): 95ff.; idem, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art Reconsidered," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress: Akten* I/2. *JÖB* 31/2 (1981): 657ff. For the influence of antique art on Palaeologan painting, see in particular T. Velmans, "L'héritage antique dans la peinture murale byzantine à l'époque du roi Milutin (1282-1321)," in *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle: Symposium de Gračanica 1973* (Belgrade 1978), pp. 39ff. The bibliography on this issue should also include: D.V. Ainalov, *Ellenističeskie osnovy vizantijskogo iskusstva* (St. Petersburg, 1900), translated and reprinted as *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, ed. C . Mango (New Brunswick, N.J., 1961); A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasburg, 1936) (Variorum Reprint, 1971).

[3] Cf. H. Hunger, "On the Imitation (Μίμησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature," *DOP* 23-24 (1969-1970): 15ff.

reveal variations as well as misunderstandings. A long chain of transmissions, usually in non-monumental expressions of art, appears to separate a Byzantine representation of a classical subject from its ultimate classical model.[4] It can be argued that the antique models which have influenced Byzantine works do not normally antedate the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.[5] Moreover, it is hardly necessary to point out that classical features characterize more systematically revival periods, such as the so-called Macedonian and Palaeologan Renaissances, and may be attributed to the antiquarian tastes of the social and intellectual élite in Constantinople.[6] The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the phenomenon of the "imitation" of antiquity in Byzantine art[7] through the evidence provided by two Late Byzantine frescoes depicting the Baptism.

The first example of the Baptism scene to be considered here forms part of the decoration of the Hodigitria or the Afendiko, one of the two churches of the monastery of the Brontochion in Mistra. On the basis of documentary evidence, these frescoes can be assigned to the period between 1311/1312 and 1322. The donor was Pachomios, the enterprising abbot of the monastery of the Brontochion who obtained important privileges from Andronikos II and Michael IX. The frescoes of this church are the most ambitious decoration of the early fourteenth century in Mistra and the one which bears the closest relation to the art of Constantinople as represented, in particular, by the mosaics and frescoes of Kariye Djami.[8] The second example of the Baptism scene

[4] Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," p. 73.

[5] Ibid., p. 74. That Byzantine artists did not necessarily have firsthand knowledge of works made during the Hellenistic period but that Hellenistic features were transmitted, in a more or less adulterated form, through works of a later date was made clear by Kitzinger, "Hellenistic Heritage," pp. 667ff.

[6] The role of Constantinople as preserver of ancient tradition has been emphasized in all relevant studies. See, in particular, Weitzmann, "Das klassische Erbe," pp. 41ff. Regarding society and intellectual life in the Palaeologan period, see I. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century," in *Actes du XIV^e^ Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucharest 1971*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 69ff.; idem, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time," *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, ed. P. A. Underwood (Princeton, N.J., 1975), pp. 19ff.

[7] For the phenomenon of the imitation of antiquity as opposed to the reproduction of ancient models in Byzantine literature, see Hunger, "On the Imitation of Antiquity," pp. 15ff. That the same phenomenon may apply to Byzantine art is indicated ibid., p. 21.

[8] For the frescoes of the Afendiko, see G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pls. 92-104; M. Chatzidakis, Μυστράς, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1956), pp. 60ff. (English translation, Athens, 1981, pp. 59ff.); S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris 1970), pp. 8ff., and passim.

relevant to our study belongs to one group of paintings in the Old Metropolis of Veria in northern Greece which are datable to the second decade of the fourteenth century. The remarkable artistic output of this city, closely connected with cultural developments in Thessaloniki, is apparent in the extant decorations from this period. Therefore, the function of the huge three-aisled basilica as a metropolitan church and the high quality of its various layers of paintings assign a particular significance to the scene under consideration.[9]

The Baptism (fig. 1) in the east half of the south barrel vault of the naos of the Afendiko forms part of the festival cycle.[10] The composition includes an impressive number of secondary themes, some of which are rare, if not without parallel, in the pictorial material from the Byzantine period. The most striking feature is a fishing scene with a net whose curved rim is held afloat by a neat series of round corks (fig. 2). Although no fish can be detected inside the net on account of the bad state of preservation of this section of the fresco, amazingly enough the forms of two male figures in unconventional poses which are trapped in it are discernible. The two ropes of the net are being pulled to the right bank of the river by means of a wooden windlass, operated by four children, clad in short tunics of alternating blue and red color (fig. 3). The way in which the rope winds around the perpendicular shaft of the windlass indicates that this was meant to be viewed from above. Additional figures are occupied with this fishing enterprise in the Jordan. On the left bank a young boy, clad in light green, is holding a rope attached to the fishing net which he draws concurrently with his young companions on the opposite bank. Another unusual feature is the depiction of a nude boy on a pillar, about to fall into the water (fig. 4). His proximity to the fishing net would seem to imply that he will likewise be trapped within its meshes. A female figure, standing behind him, extends her left arm towards him in a gesture of encouragement.

The marginal themes of the Baptism scene in the Afendiko also include two youths seated on the right bank of the river; one is unclad. Special mention should be made of a young girl, seated on the ground on a small

[9] A brief commentary on the style and dating of this group of paintings was first presented by D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," in *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e^ siècle: Symposium de Gračanica 1973*, p. 68. The early fourteenth-century layer of paintings of the Metropolis was presented by E. Tsigaridas at the First Symposium of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Archaeology and Art, organized by the Christian Archaeological Society in Athens in April 1981. See *Résumés of Communications*, pp. 85f.

[10] Millet, *Mistra*, pl. 94.2. The iconographic features of the scene became clearer after the recent cleaning and restoration of the frescoes.

plateau below John the Baptist; she is picking flowers (fig. 5). Moreover, adult figures emerging behind the folds of a rocky landscape on the left bank of the river seem to be witnessing the events. Although they are not well preserved, it may be argued that certain of these figural elements belong to the preparatory episodes of the Baptism.[11]

The second pictorial example of the Baptism (fig. 6) to be discussed is found on the upper part of the east wall of the north aisle of the Old Metropolis in Veria. The scene forms part of a developed baptismal cycle which extends onto the adjacent areas of the north and south walls. Compared with the depiction of the Baptism in the Afendiko, the one in the church of Veria includes an even more impressive number of secondary details which convey an atmosphere of marine festivities. In the upper left section of the scene a girl and three boys are dancing together on a rustic bridge supported on three arches which spans a small stream (figs. 7 and 8). Further to the left, a male adult figure seems to be watching this picturesque episode. Beneath the bridge, in the foreground, four boys are engaged in pulling in a net by a windlass (figs. 9 and 10), similar to the one preserved in the Baptism scene of the Afendiko (fig. 3). The form of the net and its contents reveal, however, some differences when compared to its counterpart in Mistra. In the first place, this is not a typical fishing net as in the case of the painting in the Afendiko; its form recalls that of a hammock. The upper side of the net, the side which is being pulled in by the windlass, is held open by a wooden cross-bar. Two cords, attached to the ends of this bar, cross midway with their ends adjusted to a second wooden bar parallel to the other. The cords are connected to the second bar in such a way as to divide it into three equal parts, presumably to make the net more flexible. Two long ropes, also attached to the second bar, are knotted together to a single thick rope which is being drawn onto the perpendicular shaft of the windlass. The playful, somewhat humorous atmosphere of the fishing enterprise, which seems otherwise quite successful, judging from the amount and variety of fish caught in the net, is enhanced by the presence of a sturdy, putto-like child lying on his back, his arms outstretched in a relaxed pose within the net.

There is also another fisherman in the scene. A nude boy, seated on a rock on the left bank of the river, near the windlass, is holding with both hands a basket net containing a number of small fish (fig. 7). Moreover,

[11] Cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1916; 2nd ed., Paris, 1960), p. 212.

below the bridge to the right, another boy, clad in a red tunic and seated on the ground at a short distance from the river, is engaged in some kind of indefinable fishing activity. The secondary figural elements of the scene also include several swimmers; a humorous detail is the lower half of a nude boy floating above water. Mention should be made also of the personification of the sea, in the form of a putto riding two dolphins (fig. 6), and that of the Jordan, in the form of a mature man with dark skin and wings. On the right bank of the river we also notice a mother stooping down and holding her child upside down in the water (fig. 11). Further groups of people are standing behind her; several of the youngest among them are taking off their garments.

The inclusion of aquatic activities by children in the iconography of the Baptism is established from the Middle Byzantine period.[12] Children appear in two scenes of the cycle of the Baptism which illustrate two consecutive episodes in the gospels referring to John baptizing the people and to John baptizing Christ (Matthew 3:1-17, Mark 1:1-11, Luke 3:1-22 and John 1:15-34). Christ's Baptism acquired paramount importance in all media of Byzantine art as one of the scenes of the festival cycle, pointing as it did to the theophany witnessed during this event and to its salutary consequences for mankind. On the other hand, the scene depicting John baptizing the people in the Jordan which preceded the baptism of Christ enjoyed relative popularity in the illustrated gospels[13] and lectionaries,[14] as well as in the illustrated copies of the liturgical edition of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. In the last case this scene occasionally serves as a frontispiece of the homily on the Holy Baptism which is read on January 7, St. John's Day (cf. fig. 12).[15]

A survey of the relevant pictorial material shows that children are normally included in depictions of the baptism of the people by John, while occurring less regularly in scenes representing the baptism of

[12] See Millet, *Recherches*, pp. 206ff.

[13] The scene occasionally serves as the title miniature of the gospel of Mark in the group of illustrated gospel books which include only four miniatures, each serving as the frontispiece of the corresponding gospel. On the other hand, in the group of gospel books with extensive illustrations, such as the Parisinus gr. 74 and the Laurentianus VI, 23, the scene is repeated in all four gospels.

[14] The lectionaries occasionally include depictions of the scene serving as illustrations of the lections for Saturday of the first week after Easter (John 3:22-23) and Sunday before Epiphany (Mark 1:1-8).

[15] G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), p. 15. Photo State Historical Museum, Moscow.

Christ. In addition, they are more at home in illuminated manuscripts. The scene of Christ's baptism in monumental painting rarely includes children prior to the thirteenth century.[16] The frescoes in the Afendiko of Mistra and in the Old Metropolis at Veria illustrate perfectly the tendency to incorporate children's activities in the iconography of the scene in monumental decorations during the Palaeologan period.[17] It may be noted that these features usually characterize pictorial examples of the scene which belong to a developed baptismal cycle, as is the case of the Metropolis in Veria, and the depictions of the scene within the context of the festival cycle that have retained figural elements from the previous episodes of the baptismal cycle; the fresco in the Afendiko of Mistra represents the latter category.

The gospel narratives referring to the two consecutive episodes of the baptism of the Hebrews and that of Christ by John do not provide satisfactory justification for the inclusion of children in the illustrations of these episodes. The concept that through "birth" by baptism one becomes a child may probably be inferred from Matthew 3:9 and Luke 3:8, where John the Baptist says that "God is able of these stones [on the banks of the Jordan] to raise up children unto Abraham."[18] The idea of baptism as a birth is explicit, however, in the Homily of Gregory of Nazianzus on Holy Baptism.[19] The title miniature of this sermon in the eleventh-century Gregory in the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Vlad. 146, fol. 145) (fig. 12)[20] depicts John baptizing the people and

[16] One of the earliest examples is the mosaic at Nea Moni on Chios. A.C. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, vol. 2: *Planches* (Athens, 1930), pl. 18.3.

[17] Further examples of the Baptism scene that include numerous activities of children in late Byzantine painting are in the fresco decorations at the Protaton, Vatopedi, and Chilandari on Mount Athos — G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos: Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pls. 11.2 and 14.1 (Protaton), 82.1 (Vatopedi), 66.1, 2 and 67.2 (Chilandari); those at the Bogorodica Ljeviška of Prizren — G. Babić et al., *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade, 1975), pl. XLIII, scheme no. 31, also P. A. Underwood, "Some Problems in Programs and Iconography of Ministry Cycles," *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, fig. 10; those at the Perivleptos of Mistra — Millet, *Mistra*, pl. 118.3; and those at the catholicon of the monastery of St. John Prodromos near Serrai. A. Xyngopoulos, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου παρά τὰς Σέρρας (Thessaloniki, 1973), pl. 31. An almost identical version of the Baptism scene at the Perivleptos of Mistra is found in an icon in the Medieval Section of the National Museum, Belgrade. M. Tatić-Đurić, "Le Baptême de Jésus-Christ, icône datant de l'époque de la renaissance des Paléologues" (in Serbian with French résumé), *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja*, vol. 4 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 267ff. and figs. 1-7.

[18] Cf. Underwood, "Some Problems," p. 276.

[19] Migne, *PG*, 36, col. 360. Cf. Underwood, "Some Problems," p. 276.

[20] Galavaris, *Illustrations*, p. 93, fig. 13.

includes an impressive number of children's activities in and by the water of the Jordan.

Notwithstanding the rather tenuous justification of the presence of children in the Baptism scene, it may be argued that most of the various activities described in the foregoing pages can be traced back to antique models. These may account both for the inclusion of similar themes in the context of the scene of the Baptism and for their playful, almost humorous overtones.

One of the main pictorial sources from antiquity for the water activities of children in the Baptism scene are the so-called Nilotic scenes which were developed as an independent genre during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[21] As suggested by the term, this kind of setting was based on elements of observable reality, primarily those pertaining to the Nilotic flora and fauna. Nevertheless, features of a mythological or legendary origin were frequently associated with Nilotic scenes in ancient art. The same applies to details of a more generic character and thus fitting in any type of aquatic setting. A clear distinction between waterscapes including most or several of the above features is hard to be made. A survey of the relevant material indicates that one of three elements, namely vegetation, fauna, and human figures, acquires a predominant place each time. The specifically "Nilotic" character is often minimized, and the format of the compositions including such features varies, with the strip form enjoying, however, wide popularity.

The inclusion of human activities, particularly those of children, in Nilotic settings in antique art is of special significance for the survival of this feature in the Byzantine depictions of the Baptism. According to an old tradition confirmed by Greek and Roman sources, the pygmies were closely associated with the Nile. Among their favorite activities was fighting cranes (γερανομαχία), which was later succeeded by assailing crocodiles and hippopotami.[22] The inclusion of pygmies is recorded repeatedly in the repertory of Nilotic scenes in Roman art, as shown, for

[21] For the Nilotic scenes see, among other references, K. Woermann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker* (Munich, 1876), pp. 270f., 303; Ainalov, *Hellenistic Origins*, pp. 192ff., 297f.; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911; reprinted New York, 1961), pp. 328, 332; L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929; 2nd ed. 1974), pp. 64ff.; K. M. Phillips, "The Barberini Mosaic: Sunt Hominum Animaliumque Complures Imagines" (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1962), passim. For some antique pictorial examples of Nilotic scenes, see S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1922), pls. 374-377.

[22] For the pygmies and their place in ancient art, see W. Brooks McDaniel, "A Fresco Picturing Pygmies," *American Journal of Archaeology* 36 (1932): 260ff., pl. IX.

instance, by the second-century mosaic pavement from Collemancio in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (fig. 13).[23] The association of pygmies with the Nile is also reflected in one of the *Images* of the Elder Philostratus. The panel called "A Marsh" included various activities of little fishermen to whom the third-century art critic gives the name πήχεις (cubit-dwarfs).[24] The name reflects the popular legend according to which pygmies were the guardians of the headwaters of the Nile, which explains why the personifications of the river, as, for example, in the marble work in the Vatican, are accompanied by sixteen children, representing the sixteen cubits of water that were the ideal rise for the fertilization of Egypt.[25] The association of children with the Nile may have been the result of confusing them with the pygmies. Moreover, the legend regarding the pygmies and the Nile may partly explain the frequent inclusion of cupids or simply putti in marine scenes closely related to the tradition of the Nilotic settings, as shown, for instance, in the North African floor mosaics.[26] The principal source for the inclusion of cupids and putti in waterscapes was the pictorial cycle relating to Venus developed in particular during the Roman period.[27]

Water settings of the type described above are often encountered in Early Christian art. In Western monumental painting the most impressive example is the lost Nilotic frieze in the lower area of the dome of Santa Costanza in Rome.[28] Notable also are several examples in the apse decorations of Roman basilicas.[29] In the context of Christian floor

[23] Photo of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. For the mosaic, see S. Aurigemma, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1963), no. 47, pp. 27f., pl. X. For further Roman works depicting pygmies in Nilotic settings, see Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures*, pls. 161,1, 3, 5, and 162,1.

[24] *Imagines*, I:5. Cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "The Imagines of the Elder Philostratus," *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941): 16ff.

[25] Cf. Brooks McDaniel, "A Fresco Picturing Pygmies," p. 262.

[26] The bibliography on the North African floor mosaics is very extensive. See, in particular, the corpus *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2: *Afrique Proconsulaire* (*Tunisie*) (Paris, 1910) by P. Gauckler; Supplément (Paris, 1915) by A. Merlin; vol. 3: *Afrique Proconsulaire. Numidie. Maurétanie* (*Algérie*) (Paris, 1911), by F. G. de Pachtère; Planches (1912-1922).

[27] For instance, a common theme in the North African mosaics is the so-called Toilet of Venus, which usually includes many marine activities by cupids and putti. A representative example is a mosaic in a house at Djemila. M. Blanchard-Lemée, *Maisons à mosaïques du quartier central de Djemila* (*Cuicul*) (Aix-en-Provence, 1975), pl. I.

[28] H. Stern, "Les mosaïques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," *DOP* 12 (1958): 166ff.

[29] The most secure evidence refers to the fresco decoration in the apse of a little private church on the Monte della Giustizia, near the Baths of Diocletian; this oratory was excavated in the late nineteenth century, but subsequently was destroyed and its painted

mosaics, a striking specimen is the fourth-century pavement in the basilica of Aquileia, which combines the Jonah story with fishing activities of cupids.[30] In the East this trend is reflected in a substantial group of floor mosaics decorating Early Christian basilicas.[31] The popularity of Nilotic settings in the painted decorations of Christian churches in the East is inferred from the two well-known passages in the letter of St. Nilus of Sinai to the prefect Olympiodorus[32] and by Choricius of Gaza in his ekphrasis of St. Stephen in Gaza.[33] Special mention should be made of the so-called Byzantinische Antike, i.e., a group of silver reliefs with Nilotic scenes from the sixth and seventh centuries.[34] The variety of media from the Early Byzantine period which include settings with similar subject matter is truly impressive.[35] An

decoration, lost. Our knowledge of this fresco derives from De Rossi's excavation report and the accompanying drawings. G. B. de Rossi, "Oratorio privato del secolo quarto," *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 1 (1876): 37ff., pls. 6 and 7. Cf. Ch. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 15f., 149f., fig. 1 (drawing). Waterscapes are found in the main apse of two important Roman basilicas, namely, Santa Maria Maggiore and San Clemente. Moreover, a similar aquatic setting was included in the lost apse decoration of San Giovanni in Laterano. As is well known, the mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore and in San Giovanni were extensively restored in the thirteenth century by Jacopo Torriti. The question remains open as to the authenticity of the waterscape in the Lateran basilica, for which some scholars argue for an Early Christian origin. On the mosaic, see G. J. Hoogewerff, "Il mosaico absidale di San Giovanni in Laterano ed altri mosaici romani," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Rendicotti*, ser. 3, 27 (1951-1954): 297ff. On the other hand, the riverscape in the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore is not authentic.

30 G. Brusin, *Aquileia e Grado* (Padua, 1956), pp. 27ff.

31 Of the pictorial material preserved in the East one may note: the Justinianic floor mosaic in the Dometios basilica at Nikopolis in Epirus — E. Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics. I: Mosaics at Nikopolis," *DOP* 6 (1951): 83ff., figs. 1-19; the floor mosaic of the church at et-Tâbga in Palestine — A. M. Schneider, *Die Brotvermehrungskirche von el-Tâbga am Genesarethsee und ihre Mosaiken* (Paderborn, 1934), pp. 57ff., pls. A and 1-17; a Nilotic setting in a water cistern in Salamis of Cyprus — M. A. Sacopoulo, "La fresque chrétienne la plus ancienne de Chypre," *Cahiers archéologiques* 13 (1962): 61ff., especially pp. 76f., figs. 3-6.

32 The fifth-century text indicates the popularity of water settings with fishing nets, fish, and fishermen on the walls of churches. Migne, *PG*, 79, col. 577C. Cf. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1972), p. 33.

33 The sixth-century ekphrasis refers to the representation of the Nile with its distinctive iconography in the aisles of the basilica of St. Stephen in Gaza. *Laudatio Marciani, Choricii Gazaei Opera*, II :50, ed. R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig. Cf. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 72.

34 Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, pp. 64ff., pls. 12-16, 19-21.

35 For instance, a Nilotic scene decorates one of the ceiling beams in the catholicon of the monastery at Sinai. See G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian. Plates* (Ann Arbor, n.d.), p. 8, pl. LXVI,2.

attempt will now be made here to trace the water activities of children and other related themes in the two Palaeologan scenes of the Baptism to the artistic tradition of antiquity and the Early Byzantine period, as well as to test their popularity in the art of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.

The act of drawing a fishing net by a windlass is doubtless the most striking among the secondary themes in the Baptism scenes in the Afendiko at Mistra and in the Metropolis at Veria. Fishing activities involving real fishermen, pygmies, cupids, or putti are very common in Graeco-Roman art.[36] The most comprehensive representation of various fishing techniques is that in the floor mosaic from the "Villa of the Nile" at Leptis Magna (fig. 14).[37] One of these techniques is the drawing of nets ashore, which sometimes requires the participation of several fishermen. Fishing with a net is also a popular theme in Early Christian art, both in the simple version with only one fisherman and in the more complex operation involving several participants.[38] The windlass used to pull in fishing nets in the Baptism scenes at Mistra and at Veria is not found in either pagan or Early Christian pictorial contexts relating to fishing activities. The two Palaeologan frescoes discussed here are the only records of this function in Byzantine art, so far as I know. However, the windlass was used extensively in antiquity, as may be inferred from written sources.[39] Apart from its various other functions, it is known to have been used for drawing up the anchor of boats from the third century A.D.[40] Use of the windlass today in technologically

[36] Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures*, pls. 274,4, 275,2, 276, 378,1, 382, 1,2. *Inventaire Tunisie*, nos. 18, 88, 92, 142, 576, 646 and 936. For some collected examples of Roman mosaic pavements with fishing scenes, see also I. Lavin, "The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and Their Sources," *DOP* 17 (1963), figs. 37-42, 44, 61, 63-64.

[37] Photo of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. For this work see G. Guidi, "La villa del Nilo," *Africa Italiana* 5 (1933): 26ff., figs. 17-19. For a color reproduction of one section of this mosaic, see G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art* (London, 1964), pl. XXXVII.

[38] See, for example, the Nilotic frieze of Santa Costanza. Stern, "Les mosaïques de Sainte-Constance," fig. 1

[39] Reference to the windlass is made, for instance, in Hero of Alexandria, *Mech.*, III: 1 (ed. Nix-Schmidt, p. 224), in Vitruvius, *De Arch.*, X: 2,7 etc. Cf. A. K. Orlandos, *Les matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens Grecs*, pt. 1 (Paris, 1966), p. 42. The treatise of Hero of Alexandria has survived only in Arabic. A thirteenth-century copy in Leiden includes among its drawings of engines that of a pulley which operates according to the same system as that of the machine in the two frescoes at Mistra and at Veria. For this drawing, see Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, pp. 8, 139 (fns. 8 and 9), fig. 4.

[40] This information is included in a Greek papyrus in the British Museum. Cf. Orlandos, *Matériaux de construction*, p. 42.

more advanced forms for raising anchors and for fishing operations conducted from two boats indicates that its appearance in the two Palaeologan examples may reflect a contemporary use of this machine. This hypothesis is corroborated by the functional rendering of the fishing nets in both instances. The net rimmed with corks at the Afendiko is noticeable in the mosaic from the "Villa of the Nile" at Leptis Magna (fig. 14). Moreover, an analogy with the realistic approach to a fishing operation in another North African mosaic can be noted. In one of the friezes framing the "Toilet of Venus" in the house at Djemila a large open net with an impressive amount of fish is being drawn by two small boats, each manned by three fishermen. While two fishermen on each boat draw the ropes, a third coils them at the prow.[41] Parallelism of a different kind can be established between the two Palaeologan depictions and two fishing episodes with nets in another Roman example from North Africa, namely, a floor mosaic from El-Alia in Tunisia in which the fishermen pull the heavy nets from the shore with the help of oxen.[42]

The theme of the solitary little fisherboy who uses a net to catch the fish in the Baptism scene at Veria can also be traced back to the pictorial tradition of antiquity. In the repertory of Roman art real fishermen, pygmies, cupids, and putti are often engaged individually in various types of fishing, one being that with a net.[43] Moreover, single fishermen are frequently encountered in Early Christian art, for example, in the lost decoration of the dome of Santa Costanza in Rome[44] and the floor mosaics in the Dometios basilica at Nikopolis.[45] The theme of the single fisherman is rarely observed in the iconography of the Baptism during the Byzantine period. The only known examples are those in the fresco decorations at Chilandari on Mount Athos of ca. 1321,[46] Saint Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani, dated 1337/38,[47] and the Hypapante church at Meteora of the year 1364.[48]

[41] Blanchard-Lemée, *Maisons à mosaïques*, pp. 67, 78, pls. XIa and XIIa.
[42] *Inventaire Tunisie*, no. 92.
[43] *Inventaire Tunisie*, nos. 18, 88, 646 and 936.
[44] Stern, "Les mosaïques de Sainte-Constance," p. 189, fig. 1.
[45] Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics," p. 94, fig. 19.
[46] Millet, *Athos*, pl. 66.2.
[47] D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens, 1975), p. 39, fig. 8.
[48] G. Subotić, "Les débuts de vie monastique aux Météores et l'église du monastère d'Hypapanté," *Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti* 2 (1966) : 161, figs. 10-11 (in Serbo-Croatian with a French résumé).

The feature of the boy on the pillar readying himself to dive into the water in the Baptism of the Afendiko is not, to my knowledge, recorded in the repertory of waterscapes from antiquity and the Early Byzantine period. This activity naturally required a rocky landscape, which the banks of the river Jordan provided, according to tradition. Divers are included in several depictions of scenes from the baptismal cycle in Byzantine art. The miniature of John baptizing the Hebrews in the late eleventh-century Gregory of Moscow (fig. 12) and the fresco depicting the Baptism of Christ in the Perivleptos of Mistra of the second half of the fourteenth century[49] exemplify this detail. In both instances the rocky banks of the river lend themselves perfectly to similar activities. By contrast, the prospective diver in the Baptism scene at the Afendiko is standing not on a rock, but on a pillar, a rather unusual feature to be included in the rocky landscape of the Jordan. This particular detail is encountered in two further pictorial examples of the Baptism from the Palaeologan period, namely, the frescoes of St. George at Staro Nagoričino (1317/1318)[50] and in the catholicon of the monastery of the Prodromos near Serrai in northern Greece.[51]

Depictions of nude male figures in upright positions on pedestals were familiar in Byzantine art, since they were meant to represent the idols of the pagan world, which were incorporated in various pictorial contexts.[52] Such depictions may have provided models for the peculiar feature commented upon. This hypothesis gains more weight from a related composition in Byzantine art where idols were associated with the river Jordan in a setting which strongly recalls that of the Baptism scene. The example in question is provided by the illustration of Psalm 113 in the Psalter Vaticanus gr. 1927 of the twelfth century. Some of the pictorial elements of the illustration are derived from verses 3 and 12 of the Psalm, which are, respectively, "The sea saw it and fled, Jordan was driven back" and "Their idols are silver and gold." The miniature

49 Millet, *Mistra*, pl. 118.3.

50 G. Millet and A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1962), pl. 125.5 (drawing).

51 Xyngopoulos, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου, p. 38, pls. 31-32.

52 For instance, in the Gregory manuscript at the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem (Taphou 14), fol. 102, idols stand on double columns. For a series of illustrations depicting pagan gods and various idols on columns, see the Gregory manuscript Panteleimon no. 6 of Mount Athos. S.M. Pelekanidis, P.C. Christou, Ch. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, and S.N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1976), figs. 311-314 and 316.

includes the stream of the Jordan with the personification of the sea, as well as those of Jor and of Dan, standing for the two sources of the river. On the upper bank, to the right, are included two idols on a single capital, while on the lower bank people are taking off their clothes prior to baptism.[53] If a pictorial model of the type of the miniature in the Psalter of the Vatican Library may account, as I believe, for the inclusion of the nude boy on the pillar at the Afendiko and in the two other Palaeologan monuments depicting the Baptism, there is no need to postulate a Late Antique model for the feature. This classicizing detail could have been borrowed from an entirely medieval pictorial context.

The mother and child group in the Baptism scene, especially the one in the Metropolis at Veria, needs special comment due to its probable affiliations with antique models. There the mother, on the right bank of the Jordan, dips a nude infant head down into the water (fig. 11), whereas in the church of the Afendiko the gesture of the female figure, who is presumably the mother, standing on the left bank of the river, seems to be encouraging the nude little boy on the pillar to go into the river (fig. 1). Similar scenes with a related content may be sought in the pictorial biographies of gods and heroes in antiquity. More particularly, a marble frieze depicting the life of Achilles, datable to the fourth century, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, depicts the baptism in the Styx, in which Thetis holds the baby Achilles by the legs with his head down,[54] as in the Late Byzantine depiction of the bath episode in Veria. According to Professor Hanfmann, "the theme of mother and child discloses something of the Hellenistic approach to humanization of myth and, at the same time, reveals some interesting traits of the attitude of the artists toward the theme of motherhood."[55] A female figure leans tensely over the river bank while holding a child that she is about to plunge in the water in the eleventh-century miniature depicting John baptizing the people in the Moscow Gregory (fig. 12). In addition to the fresco in Veria, the theme occurs in three other Palaeologan examples of the Baptism of Christ, namely, at Chilandari on Mount Athos, in St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani,[56] and in the catholicon of the monastery of the Prodromos near Serrai. Unlike the miniature in the

[53] E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. 3: *Psalms and Odes*, pt. 1: *Vaticanus graecus 1927* (Princeton, N.J., 1941), pp. 34f., XLVIII, fol. 210v, Psalm 13.

[54] See Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, pp. 55f., fig. 63a.

[55] G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Hellenistic Art," *DOP* 17 (1963): 86.

[56] Mouriki, *St. Nicholas at Platsa*, p. 39.

eleventh-century Gregory, where the mother holds the child in an upright position, all four Palaeologan examples show her holding the infant head down, as in the antique marble slab in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Of the remaining secondary themes in the Baptism scenes at the Afendiko and in the Metropolis of Veria, the girl picking flowers on the left bank of the Jordan in the fresco at Mistra and the dancing children on the small bridge in the fresco at Veria also deserve special comment. The first, because of the female sex of the child and the artist's sensitive approach to nature, seems to have no parallel in Byzantine art and possesses an antique flavor that may find analogies in pictorial contexts derived from the Amor and Psyche story[57] or related idyllic subject matter.[58]

The second theme, depicting the dancing children on a bridge in the Baptism at Veria, occurs in two other Palaeologan examples in neighboring areas, namely, at the Protaton[59] and at Chilandari[60] on Mount Athos. The latter depictions are almost identical in the number of children, who are three, their poses, and also the form of the bridge; moreover, in both instances the bridge is depicted in the lower part of the composition. By contrast, the variant in Veria includes an adult watching four dancing children, one of whom is a girl; in addition, the bridge is placed at some distance from the horizontal stream of the river at the bottom of the scene. Children dancing on a bridge do not occur in any other pictorial context in Byzantine art, so far as I know. Compared to the water activities of children in the two frescoes at Mistra and Veria, this detail seems even more peripheral to the main theme of the Baptism. The feature of the bridge, which required the depiction of a rivulet in addition to the river proper, indicates once again the strong taste for the inclusion of picturesque details in keeping with the general trends in monumental painting of the Late Byzantine period. The inclusion of the dancing children was apparently meant to contribute to the festive character pervading the iconographic variant of the Baptism in the fresco at Veria. Such figures, though not on a bridge and usually

[57] For this allegorical romance, see Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, pp. 109ff. and 153 (fns. 39-43). For depictions of episodes showing Psyche picking flowers, see Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures*, pls. 94. 12-13 and 95.3 (House of the Vettii), pls. 95.2, 5, 7 (Catacomb of Domitilla).

[58] A Roman mosaic from Chebba in Tunisia depicting the Triumph of Neptune includes a figure leaning to pick flowers. *Inventaire Tunisie*, no. 86.

[59] Millet, *Athos*, pls. 11,2 and 14,1.

[60] Millet, *Athos*, pl. 66.

assuming the form of putti, are common features in antique depictions of water settings.[61]

Because of its strong revival appearance, one more detail in the Baptism at Veria, namely, the personification of the sea, also deserves comment. Unlike most other examples of the allegory of the sea in Byzantine art, in which it is represented as a woman, the personification in the fresco at Veria assumes the form of a putto holding a whip and riding two dolphins (fig. 6). This detail echoes the theme of putti or cupids riding dolphins that enjoyed wide popularity in waterscapes in Roman art. Floor mosaics again provide the largest amount of comparative material.[62] The allegory of the sea in the form of a putto riding dolphins in the Baptism is recorded in a few other Palaeologan depictions of the scene which are characterized by strong revival tendencies, for instance, in the mosaic of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki dated to the second decade of the fourteenth century.[63]

The study of the marginal themes pertaining to children's activities in the frescoes of the Afendiko in Mistra and of the Metropolis in Veria has shown that most of them have parallels in the pictorial repertory of water settings of the Graeco-Roman period. Moreover, the great importance assigned to these elements in religious scenes, in sharp contrast to the minimal place that representations of children occupy in Byzantine art in general, should also be related to the genuine love for childhood witnessed in Hellenistic and Roman art.[64] In the pictorial repertory of antiquity the world of the infant is rendered in such a way as to bring forward elements of genre, humor and tenderness.[65] For instance, a humorous atmosphere is conveyed by representations of children engaged in works which are not appropriate for their age. This attitude is apparent in the complex fishing enterprises in the Baptism

[61] See, for instance, the figures dancing on the seashore in a depiction of the Birth of Venus in the Domus Aurea. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures*, pl. 59.6. For dancing figures in fishing scenes, see the Roman mosaic at Djemila: Blanchard-Lemée, *Maisons à mosaïques*, p. 66, pls. VIIb and Xa.

[62] See, for instance, D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. 2 : *Plates* (Princeton, 1947), pls. XXXI,c, LXXV,c, and XLI. For some further examples of putti or cupids fishing or racing on the back of dolphins in antique art, see Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures*, pls. 36,1,3, 38,6, 79,2,6,8, 80,2 and 81,1.

[63] A. Xyngopoulos, Ἡ ψηφιδωτὴ διακόσμησις τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessaloniki, 1953), pls. 16.1 and 17.1.

[64] See, for instance, M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed. (New York, 1961), pp. 136ff.; R. Zahn, "Das Kind in der antiken Kunst," *Forschungen und Berichte* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), 12 (1970) (Archäologische Beiträge): 27ff.

[65] See Hanfmann, "Hellenistic Art," pp. 85f.

scenes both at Mistra and at Veria. Another feature relating these frescoes to the tradition of antiquity is the large part assigned to landscape, which serves as the proper setting for the children's activities.[66] Details such as the picturesque bridge with the dancing children and the girl picking flowers on the bank of the river Jordan enhance the landscape's idyllic quality in the two Byzantine representations of the Baptism.

Aquatic activities of children are relatively rare in Middle Byzantine depictions of the Baptism. Such themes increase in number and variety during the Late Byzantine period, but their diffusion is still limited. The relevant examples reflect, as a rule, the humanist tendencies prevalent among the élite of Constantinopolitan society. The patronage of the decorations in the churches of Mistra and in the Macedonian monuments mentioned above confirms this assumption.[67] The two frescoes studied in this paper indicate one channel of the revival movement during the Palaeologan period. The rich antique repertory of Nilotic settings and marine scenes in general, a repertory which was widely adopted by Christian artists during the Early Byzantine period on account of its inoffensive character, may have provided the principal pictorial sources for these antique infiltrations in Palaeologan painting. On the other hand, the nature of some of these features, such as the complex fishing activities, may imply more specific types of models, namely, illustrated scientific texts with a related subject matter.[68]

It can be argued that the secondary themes studied above had a decorative function in the depictions of the Baptism, in keeping with the general tendency towards the humanization of religious iconography that characterizes the Late Byzantine period.[69] The antique material provides the proper background for grasping the spirit and the mood underlying the water activities and related themes in the Palaeologan depictions of the Baptism at Mistra and at Veria. These antique features

66 Hanfmann, "Hellenistic Art," pp. 87ff.

67 Cf. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends," pp. 58ff. 78ff.

68 See Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, pp. 5ff. A. Grabar, "L'art profane à Byzance," in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, 1: 317ff., especially 326ff. with bibliography in fn. 8.

69 Symbolic connotations in the individual themes commented upon should be excluded, as indicated by their restricted diffusion in the iconography of the scene. Symbolic meaning could no doubt be attributed to the water of the Jordan for its liturgical, salutary role in the depictions of the Baptism throughout the Byzantine period. On the other hand, in Early Christian depictions of water settings a threefold symbolism, i.e., liturgical, cosmic, and paradisiac, can usually be detected.

may have been modified by the Christian context into which they were integrated, by influences from medieval literary sources and liturgical practices or even by infiltrations from daily life. Although their revival character is in most instances undisputed, the result each time is that of an "imitation" of the art of antiquity, rather than a reproduction of entire pictorial settings from the repertory of ancient art. This phenomenon was conditioned by the unlimited copying and readapting of antique features in related or entirely new pictorial contexts in Byzantine art. This factor, in addition to the serious gaps in the pictorial evidence from the Byzantine period and the silence of the written sources, allows us few possibilities for determining the nature and date of the carriers of the antique heritage upon which the classical features in Byzantine pictorial contexts may have been modelled. Notwithstanding these limitations, the two Palaeologan paintings of the Baptism that we have discussed provide valuable evidence about the profusion, dynamism, and correct rendering of revival features of this specific type in the religious iconography of the Palaeologan period.

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Fig. 1. Mistra, Afendiko. Baptism.

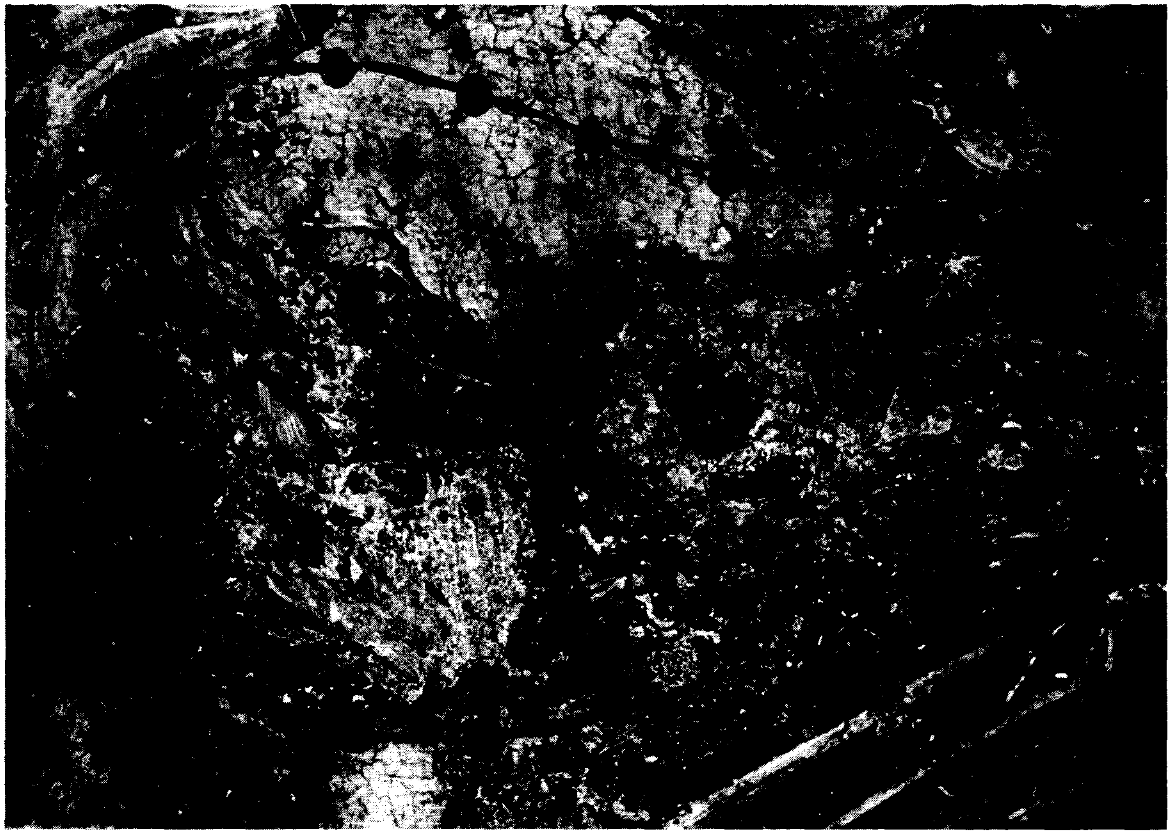


Fig. 2. Mistra, Afendiko. Baptism (detail).

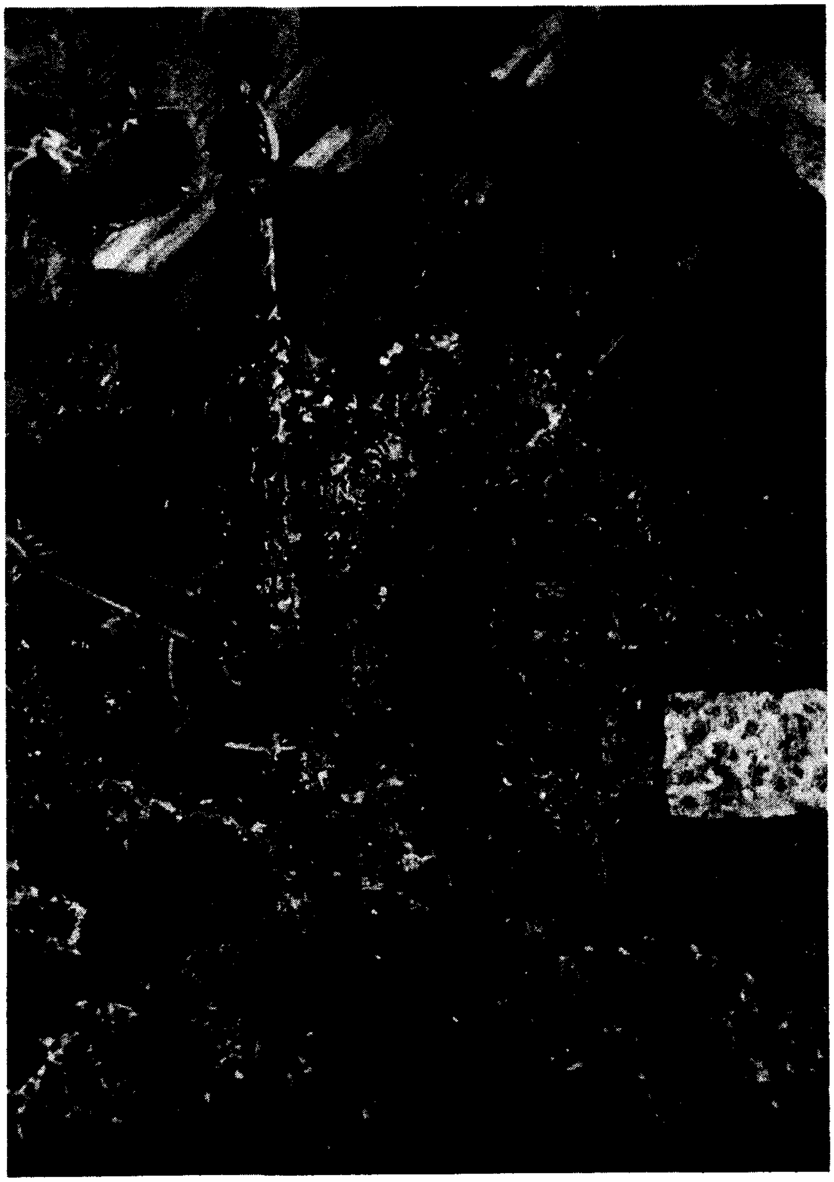


Fig. 3. Mistra, Afendiko. Baptism (detail).

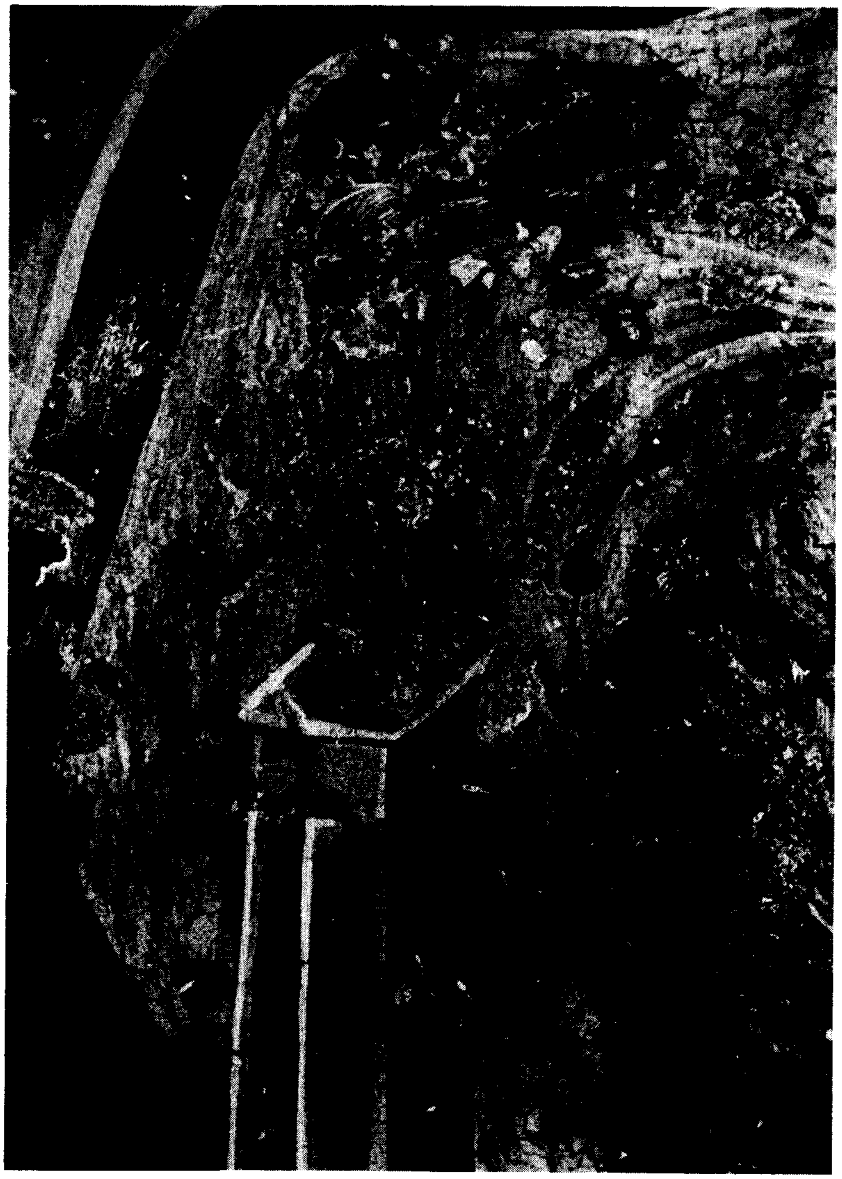


Fig. 4. Mistra, Afendiko. Baptism (detail).



Fig. 5. Mistra, Afendiko. Baptism (detail).



Fig. 6. Veria, Metropolis. Baptism (detail).

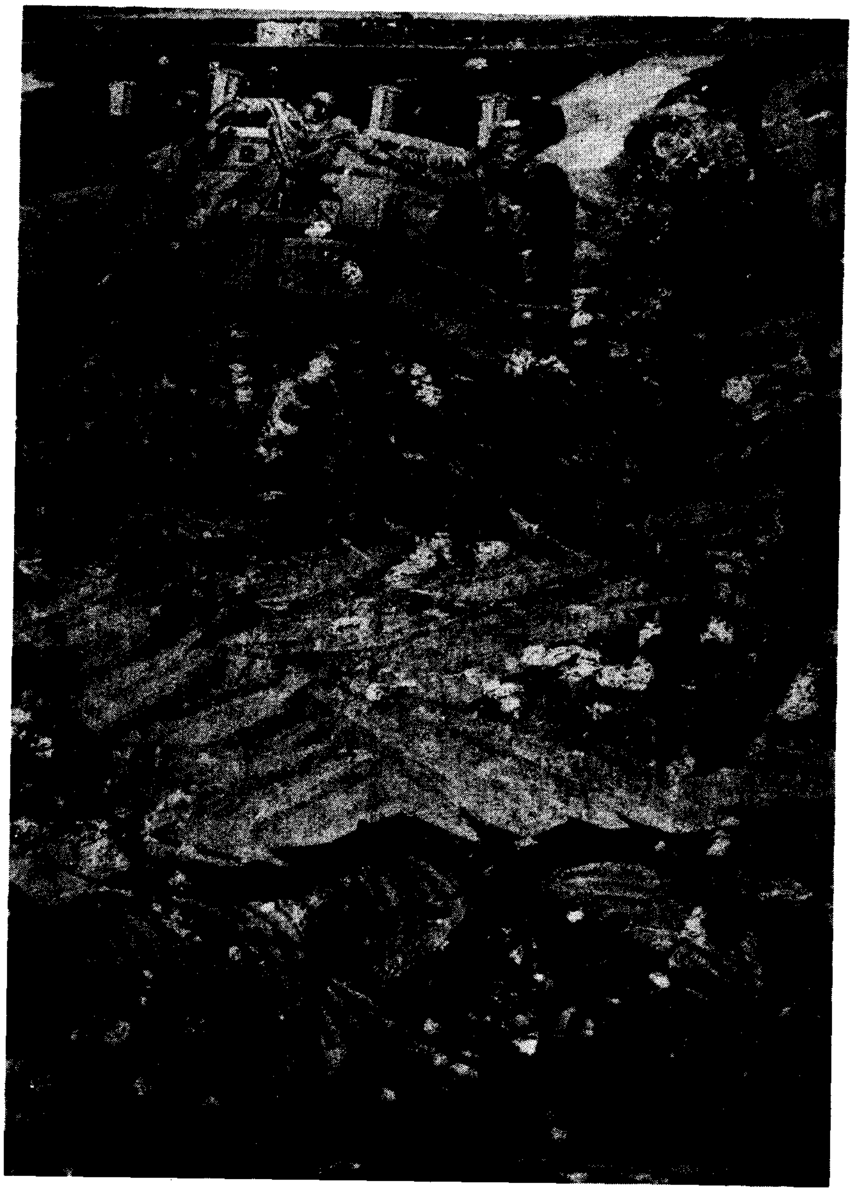


Fig. 7. Veria, Metropolis. Baptism (detail).



Fig. 8. Veria, Metropolis. Baptism (detail).



Fig. 9. Veria, Metropolis. Baptism (detail).

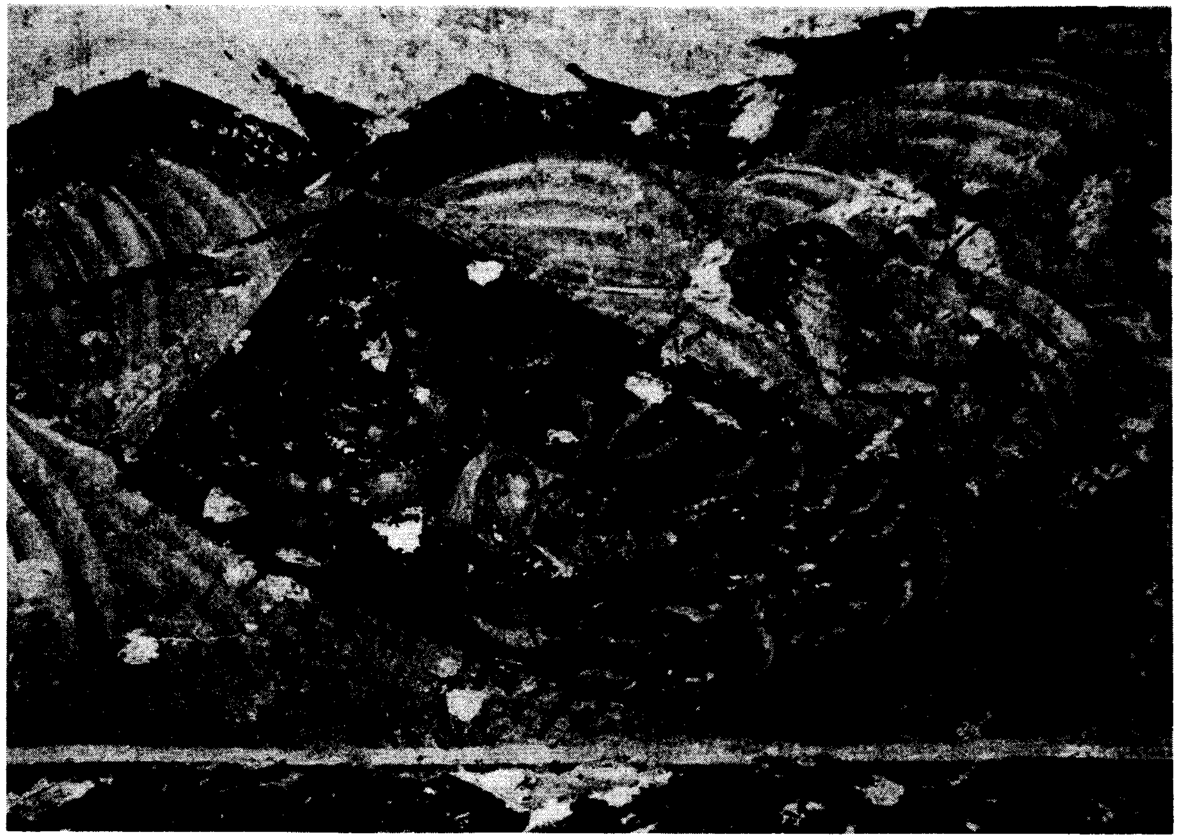


Fig. 10. Veria, Metropolis. Baptism (detail).

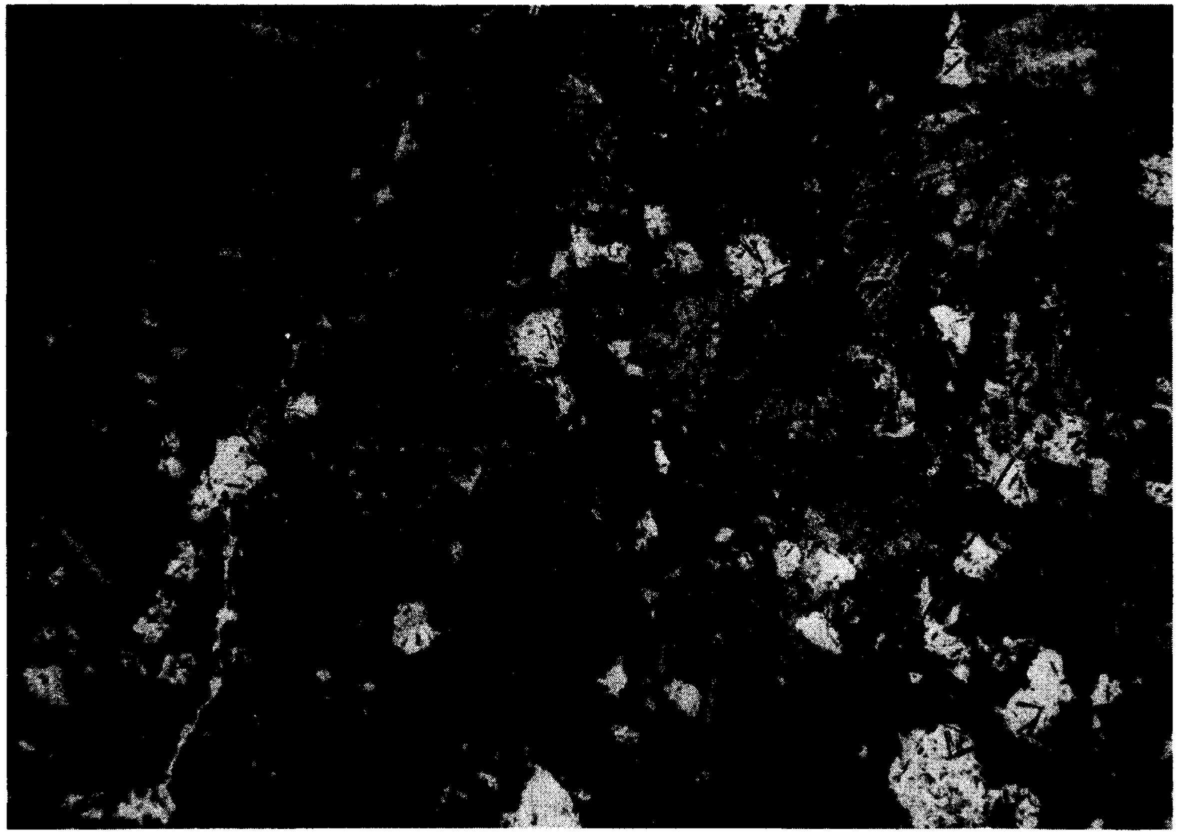


Fig. 11. Veria, Metropolis. Baptism (detail).



Fig. 12. Moscow, State Historical Museum. Homilies of Gregory. Cod. Vlad. 146, fol. 145. John baptizing the people.

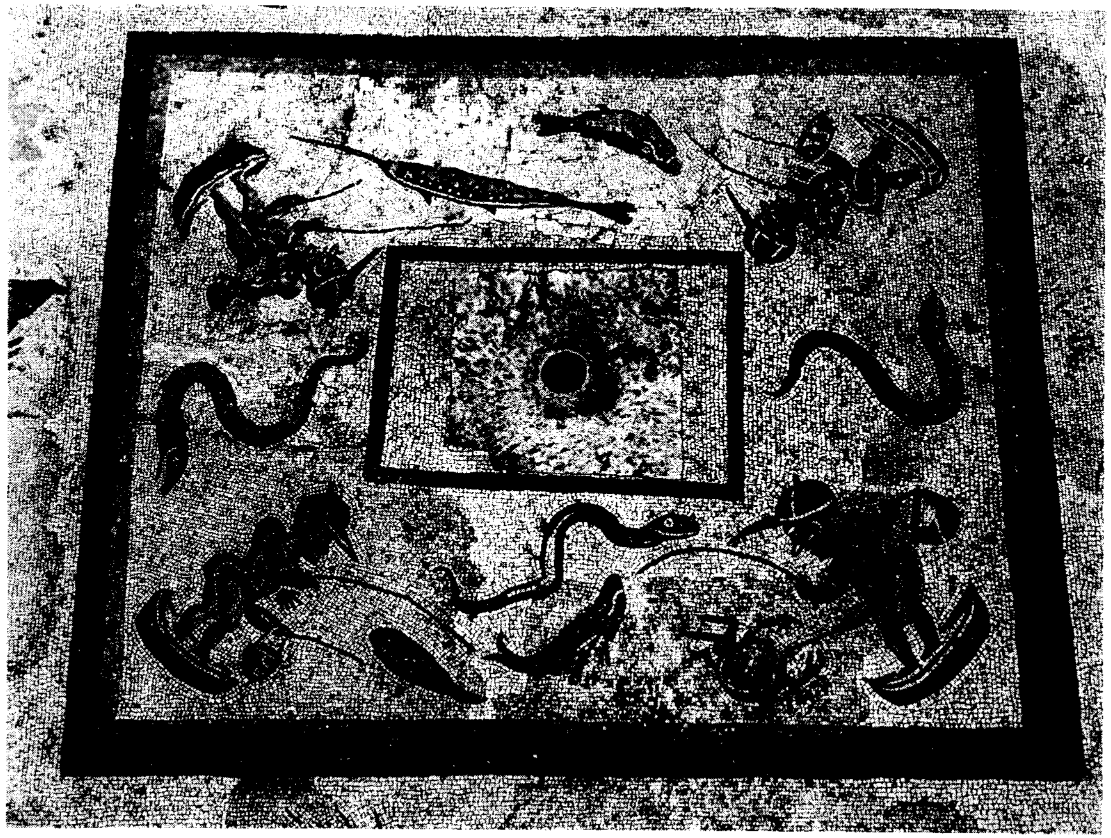


Fig. 13. Rome, Museo Nazionale. Floor mosaic. Fishing activities of pygmies.



Fig. 14. Tunisia. Tripolis, Archaeological Museum. Leptis Magna. "Villa of the Nile." Fishing scenes.

Papas Nicetas: A Byzantine Dualist in the Land of the Cathars

DIMITRI OBOLENSKY

A problem which has long been central to the study of Bogomilism, and has still not been fully solved, is that of the nature and scope of the cosmological dualism professed by the Bogomils. Two distinct forms of dualism are ascribed by medieval authors to the dualist sectarians of Eastern Europe and the Near East. One group believed in two eternal, opposite, and independent principles: on the one hand, God, the creator of light and lord of the spiritual world; on the other, the prince of darkness, creator and master of the visible, material world. The doctrines of this group are generally described as absolute dualism. In contrast, the other group of dualists, while holding that the material world was created by an evil power, whom they often identified with Satan, or the Devil, recognized that the lord of this world is inferior to, and ultimately dependent on, God.

Absolute dualism was professed by the Paulicians, a Neo-Manichaean movement which arose in Armenia and Asia Minor in the seventh century and later spread to the Balkans. Peter of Sicily, the Byzantine envoy sent in 869 to negotiate with the Paulicians on the upper Euphrates, states that they "acknowledge two principles (δύο ἀρχάς), the evil god and the good God, the one creator and sovereign of this world, the other — of the world to come."[1] The Bogomils, on the other hand, are believed by most scholars to have adhered throughout their medieval history in the Balkans to a moderate form of dualism. They called the evil creator of this world by different names: for some he was simply the Devil; for others he was the younger son of God, a fallen angel, or the unjust steward of St. Luke's parable.[2] But invariably, it seems , he was

[1] Ch. Astruc and others, "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure," *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines* (Paris), 4 (1970): 19-21. See, however, N. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague-Paris, 1967), pp. 55-73.

[2] *Le traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre*, trans. H.-C. Puech and A. Vaillant (Paris, 1945), pp. 181-96. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 122-23.

inferior to and subordinate to God. This moderate dualism, which of course is much closer to orthodox Christianity than absolute dualism, is ascribed to the Bogomils by virtually all medieval documents, from the vivid and observant tenth-century *Sermon against the Heretics* by the Bulgarian priest Cosmas,[3] to the ponderous and informative *Panoplia Dogmatike*,[4] written about the year 1100 by the Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus. There is only one apparent exception to this invariable pattern: the patriarch of Constantinople, Theophylaktos, writing in the middle of the tenth century to the Bulgarian tsar Peter, states that the newly appeared Bulgarian heretics of his time believe in the existence of two principles (δύο ἀρχάς), the one good, the other evil.[5] It is possible that the patriarch was describing Paulicianism, whose teachings had certainly spread to Bulgaria by the mid-tenth century; but most scholars believe that he had the Bogomils in mind, and that in ascribing to them the belief in absolute dualism he was guilty of ignorance or confusion.

The picture of medieval Balkan dualism emerging from most of the Greek and Slavonic sources thus seems remarkably clear and unambiguous: the Paulician and the Bogomil communities lived side by side in the Middle Ages, seldom if ever intermingling, the Paulicians professing absolute, and the Bogomils moderate, dualism. This is the simple picture which I, for one, attempted to draw in 1948, in my book on the Bogomils.

Is this picture an altogether credible one? I confess I am now inclined to doubt it. My doubts have been reinforced by three medieval Latin documents, two of which were published after my book had appeared. They are concerned with the origins of the Cathar movement in Italy and France. It has, of course, long been known that close connections existed, from the mid-twelfth century onwards, between the Cathars of Western Europe and the dualists of the Balkans, the Bogomils in particular; it is also well known that some of the dualists of Western Europe regarded the Balkans as the fount of their teaching.

The first of these Latin documents has been available to scholars since the seventeenth century. It is an account of the great assembly of

[3] Iu. K. Begunov, *Kozma Presviter v slavianskikh literaturakh* (Sofia, 1973); French trans., H.-C. Puech and A. Vaillant, *Le traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre*.
[4] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatike*, *PG*, 130, cols. 1293-1301.
[5] I. Dujčev, "L'epistola sui Bogomili del Patriarca Costantinopolitano Teofilatto," *Studi e Testi* 232 (1964): 90.

Cathars which met, probably between 1174 and 1177, in St. Félix de Caraman, near Toulouse. The document was published by Guillaume Besse in 1660.[6] However, the manuscript he used has never been found, and consequently there has been no lack of sceptics to impugn the document's authenticity. Powerful — and to me convincing — arguments in support of its genuineness were put forward by the Dominican scholar Father A. Dondaine,[7] and more recently by the British medievalist Bernard Hamilton.[8] The dualist council of St. Félix de Caraman was presided over by a certain Papa Niquinta who, as we shall see from other documents, was the leader of the dualist community in Constantinople. Niquinta was questioned about the organisation of the "primitive" dualist churches. These, he replied in a sermon addressed to the dualist Church of Toulouse, had clearly defined territorial boundaries, and, though autonomous, these churches lived in concord with each other. All, we may note, were situated in the Balkans. Niquinta listed five of them: "Ecclesiae Romanae, et Drogometiae et Melenguiae, et Bulgariae, et Dalmatiae."[9] There has been much discussion, which I cannot summarize here, about the precise location of these five dualist churches of southeastern Europe. I can only express my views very briefly. "Romania" served in the twelfth century to designate the Byzantine Empire in general. "Drogometia," or "Druguntia," or "Duguntia" (the name occurs in many different forms in Western sources)[10] raises some awkward, yet important, topographical problems. The name is usually derived from that of the Slav tribe of the Δρουγουβῖται, which

[6] G. Besse, *Histoire des ducs, marquis, et comtes de Narbonne* (Paris, 1660), pp. 483-86; A. Dondaine, "Les Actes du concile Albigeois de Saint-Félix de Caraman," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati: Studi e Testi* 125 (1946): 324-55.

[7] Dondaine, "Les Actes," pp. 327-53.

[8] B. Hamilton, "The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix Reconsidered," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 48 (1978): 23-53, reprinted in the author's *Monastic Reform, Catharism, and the Crusades (900-1300)* (London, Variorum Reprints, 1979). See also F. Šanjek, "Le rassemblement hérétique de Saint-Félix-de-Caraman (1167) et les églises cathares au XII[e] siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 67 (1972): 767-99.

[9] Dondaine, "Les Actes," pp. 326-7. The form Niquinta (Νικήτας in Greek) was explained as follows by Ch. Sandius (*Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae* [Cologne, 1676], pp. 390-91): "Nam Niquinta Galli pronunciant Nikinta: et Niceta, vocem graecam, Graeci pronunciant Nikita, quod Galli nequeunt aliter scribere, quam Niquita." Cf. F. Šanjek, *Les chrétiens Bosniaques et le mouvement cathare* (Paris, 1976), p. 42, fn. 68. A similar phenomenon of Gallicisation of a Greek proper name can be found in Villehardouin's spelling of Nikitza (a fortress to the southeast of Adrianople) as Nequise: *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, vol. 2 (Paris, 1961), paragraph 349, p. 158; cf. ibid., p. 359.

[10] For different forms of this name, see A. Dondaine, *Un traité néo-manichéen du XIII[e] siècle: Le "Liber de duobus principiis," suivi d'un rituel cathare* (Rome, 1939), p. 63.

Byzantine sources locate in two different areas of the Balkans: in southern Macedonia, between Thessalonica and Berrhoea, and also in Thrace, especially around Philippopolis.[11] It may be, as Mrs. Cankova-Petkova has recently surmised, that some of the Δρουγουβῖται migrated from Macedonia to Thrace during the Middle Ages.[12] My own view is that the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" was situated in Thrace, and was thus contiguous to Constantinople. This would help to explain the fact that Papa Niquinta, the leader of the dualists in Constantinople, belonged — as we shall see — to the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae."[13] The third dualist church on Niquinta's list, the "Ecclesia Melenguiae," is usually associated with the name of Melnik, a town in eastern Macedonia, in the valley of the Struma or Strymon. This connection seems to me to raise difficulties, not the least of which is the close proximity of Melnik to Thrace, which lies to the northeast, just beyond the Rhodope Mountains, and where we have just located the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae." An alternative solution, proposed in the 1960s by two French scholars, J. Duvernoy and Y. Dossat,[14] since then cited with guarded approval by the Czech scholar Milan Loos,[15] and recently strongly argued by Bernard Hamilton,[16] connects the Ecclesia Melenguiae with the Milingoi, a Slav tribe which in the Middle Ages lived on the slopes of the Taygetus Mountains in the southern Peloponnese.[17]

The last two churches on Niquinta's list raise no problems. " Ecclesia Bulgariae" doubtless refers to the territory organised into the *thema* of Bulgaria after the conquests of Emperor Basil II. In this sense Bulgaria comprised the greater part of Macedonia, with Skopje as its administra-

[11] See F. Barišić, in *Vizantiski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Belgrade, 1955), pp. 186-8, fn. 3; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de Saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, vol. 2: *Commentaire* (Paris, 1981), pp. 89-90.

[12] G. Cankova-Petkova, "Niakoi momenti ot razselvaneto na slavianskite plemena ot iztochniia dial na iuzhnite slaviani," *Slavianska filologiia* 14 (1973): 33-42.

[13] *Le registre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier, évêque de Pamiers (1318-25)*, vol. 1 (Toulouse, 1965), p. 28. Cf. D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Bŭlgariia* (Sofia, 1969), pp. 418-19.

[14] "A propos du concile cathare de Saint-Félix: Les Milingues," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3 (1968): 209-14. Dossat regards the geographical remoteness of the Milingoi from the other dualist communities on Niquinta's list as an argument against the authenticity of the St. Félix de Caraman document. Cf. J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: L'histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1979), pp. 73-74.

[15] *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), pp. 128, 132, fn. 10.

[16] "The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix Reconsidered," pp. 38-40.

[17] On the Milingoi, see D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, 2 vols., rev. ed. by C. Maltezou (London, Variorum Reprints, 1975), 1: 32, 323, 327-8, 334, and 2: 9, 25, 28-29, 192, 382, 384, 391; A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris, 1951), pp. 48, 63, 71, 73, 80, 102, 163.

tive centre. As for the "Ecclesia Dalmatiae," it was presumably centered in the cities on the Dalmatian coast—Zadar, Trogir, and Split.

If we accept these geographical locations, and then look at a map of the Balkans, these dualist churches of Eastern Europe will appear to have been listed in a significant order: from Constantinople to the north Adriatic coast, we are made to follow in broad outline the contours of the Balkan peninsula. We move from the shores of the Bosphorus northwestward across Thrace, then southward through Greece to the southern Peloponnese, then northward to western Macedonia, and finally northwestward to the Dalmatian coast. With the partial exception of Thrace and Macedonia, which have an inland as well as a coastal area, these five dualist communities formed a fringe round the Balkan peninsula.

The St. Félix de Caraman document highlights the central role played in this assembly by Niquinta, the leader of the dualists of Constantinople. His role is further clarified in the two other medieval Latin documents.

The first of these, entitled by its discoverer and editor, Father Dondaine, *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, was written by a Catholic in the early years of the thirteenth century.[18] Early in the history of the Cathar heresy in Lombardy, the document tells us, the local dualists had as their bishop a certain Marc, who belonged to the jurisdiction of the heretical church of Bulgaria ("habebat ordinem suum de Bulgaria"). At that time there arrived from Constantinople a certain Papas Nicheta, who belonged to the Ecclesia Dugunthiae ("ordinem Drugonthie"). Nicheta—as Niquinta is called henceforth in Latin documents (I shall call him Nicetas)—persuaded Bishop Marc and his flock to renounce their allegiance to the "Ecclesia Bulgariae" and to accept the jurisdiction of the "Ecclesiae Dugunthiae."[19] This switch of jurisdiction presumably took place at the Council of St. Félix de Caraman. And although some of the Italian dualists later reverted to the "Bulgarian" obedience, most of the Cathars in Italy and France remained faithful to the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae," which they had been persuaded to join by Nicetas of Constantinople.

The doctrinal differences between the two dualist churches are defined very clearly in our document. They are crucially important for our

[18] Dondaine, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie: I. Le 'De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia,'" *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19 (1949): 280-312.
[19] "La hiérarchie cathare," p. 306.

understanding of the history of the dualist movement in Eastern and Western Europe.

The adherents of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" professed absolute dualism: "Credunt et predicant duos deos sive dominos sine principio et sine fine, unum bonum et alterum malum."[20] In contrast the members of the "Ecclesia Bulgariae" believed in moderate dualism: "Credunt et predicant ... unum bonum deum omnipotentem sine principio, qui creavit angelos et quattuor elementa."[21] The visible, material world, they held, was created by a demiurge subordinate to God, whom they called Lucifer and regarded as a fallen angel.

The treatise *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, when combined with the evidence of the St. Félix de Caraman document, shows that the Cathar movement in Lombardy and Languedoc received a decisive imprint from the intervention of Nicetas of Constantinople. The year of the council, variously dated to 1167 and to the period 1174-77,[22] proved to be a landmark in the history of West European Catharism. Perhaps even, as Fr. Dondaine surmised, it marked in a real sense its birth.[23] The absolute dualism of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae," preached by Nicetas of Constantinople, became henceforth its central doctrine, and — despite later backslidings and schisms — remained so.

What, however, of the antecedents of the absolute dualism of the twelfth-century Cathars? Where did Nicetas learn this doctrine? And what was the origin of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae," to which the absolute dualists of Eastern Europe belonged?

I make no claim to having solved these questions, on which scholarly opinion is still divided. My hopes for this paper are more limited. Perhaps, by raising these questions within a context which, if not entirely new, is at least consistent with the evidence of the sources, Greek, Slavonic, and Latin, a fresh approach may suggest itself in the end to the problem of the origins and early history of the Bogomil movement.

Of Nicetas himself, aside from his show of authority at St. Félix de Caraman, we know next to nothing. According to *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, he was ordained by a certain Simon, who is described as "episcopus Drugonthie."[24] The Greek title "Papas," given to Nicetas

20 "La hiérarchie cathare," p. 308-309.
21 "La hiérarchie cathare," p. 310.
22 See Hamilton, "Cathar Council of Saint Félix," p. 30.
23 A. Dondaine, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie: II: Le 'Tractatus de hereticis d'Anselme d'Alexandrie,'" *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 20 (1950): 267.
24 *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19 (1949): 306.

in Western sources, is probably equivalent to "episcopus."[25] As to his origin, we know only that he came from Constantinople; we cannot even be sure that he was a Greek.

The antecedents of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" suggest a more promising line of investigation. Here we can appeal for help to the third of our three medieval Latin documents. Father Dondaine, who discovered it and published it in 1950, entitled it *Tractatus de hereticis*.[26] It is a manual for the use of inquisitors and was probably composed between 1260 and 1270 in Genoa by the Dominican Inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria.

It begins with the colourfully anachronistic statement that Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, taught "in partibus Drugontie et Bulgarie et Filadelfie";[27] in the course of time each of these three regions acquired a heretical bishop. The name Philadelphia need not detain us. It occurs in another thirteenth-century list of Cathar churches, and probably refers to the dualist community of Asia Minor.[28] But in the two other place-names mentioned by the *Tractatus* we recognize the familiar "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" and "Ecclesia Bulgariae."

At some later, though indeterminate, date, the *Tractatus* then goes on to say, Greek traders from Constantinople travelled to Bulgaria "causa mercacionis" and there became infected by heresy. On their return home they elected a bishop who was called "episcopus Grecorum." Later ("postea") the French ("Francigene") came to Constantinople, impelled by the desire for conquest ("ut subiugarent terram"). There they discovered the local Greek heretics, adopted their faith and appointed their own bishop, who was called "episcopus Latinorum."[29] Here at last we are on firmer chronological ground, for the coming of the French to Constantinople is almost certainly a reference to the Second Crusade.[30] King Louis VII and the French army reached Constantinople in October 1147. On their return home, the *Tractatus* continues, the French spread their heresy in northern France, and appointed an "episcopus Francie." And, "since the French were first seduced in Constantinople by the Bulgarians, in the whole of France they call the heretics Bulgarians"

[25] See A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart, 1953), pp. 96, 210-11.
[26] See fn. 23.
[27] *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 20 (1950): 308.
[28] Reinerius Sacconi, *Summa de catharis et leonistis*, ed. Dondaine, in *Un traité néo-manichéen du XIII^e siècle*, p. 70.
[29] *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 20 (1950): 308.
[30] Ch. Thouzellier, "Hérésie et Croisade au XII^{e} siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 49 (1954): 859-872.

("vocant per totam Franciam hereticos Bulgaros"). The heresy then spread to Provence, where it gained so much ground that no fewer than four bishoprics were created — in Carcassone, Albi, Toulouse, and Agen.[31]

In this opening section of the *Tractatus* the doctrines of the heretics are nowhere described; but the repeated assertion that they originated in Bulgaria makes it probable that the heresy in question was the moderate dualism of the "Ecclesia Bulgariae."

Thirty years later the situation was radically different. The *Tractatus* describes the arrival in Italy of Papas Nicheta, described as "episcopus illorum de Constantinopolim."[32] It was he, as we know from the two other Latin documents, who imposed the absolute dualism of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" upon the Cathars of the West.

And so we are left with our final problem: if as late as 1147 the dualist community of Constantinople, together with its *episcopus Graecorum*, professed the moderate dualism of the "Ecclesia Bulgariae," how did it come about that some thirty years later, at the Council of St. Félix de Caraman, another *episcopus Graecorum*, Nicetas, proclaimed and enforced the absolute dualism of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae"?

To this question, which that distinguished authority on dualism, H.-C. Puech, once described as "le nœud de tout le problème bogomile,"[33] there would seem to be two possible answers. The first, and the simplest, is that Nicetas, and the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" of which he was a distinguished exponent, belonged not to the Bogomil, but to the Paulician sect. There is much evidence to show that the Paulicians lived their separate and highly individualized corporate existence in the Balkans at least until the end of the Middle Ages. In the eleventh century, according to Anna Comnena, they formed the majority of the population in and around the city of Philippopolis in Thrace.[34] And the Paulicians, we know beyond reasonable doubt, believed in absolute dualism. Can we accept, therefore, that Papas Nichetas (or Bishop Nicetas), who between 1167 and 1177 planted the tenets of absolute dualism in the very heart of western Catharism, was Paulician? This was the view I was inclined to hold thirty years ago.[35]

[31] *Tractatus de hereticis*, p. 308.

[32] *Tractatus de hereticis*, p. 309.

[33] H.-C. Puech, "Catharisme médiéval et Bogomilisme," in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Convegno di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche: Oriente ed Occidente nel Medio Evo* (Rome, 1957), pp. 83-4.

[34] *Alexiad* XIV, 8, ed. B. Leib, III, 180.

[35] Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 162.

I feel far less confident today. Indeed I now find it hard to believe that a Paulician, even if he was a prestigious dualist from Constantinople, would have been accepted so readily as a spiritual leader by the Cathars of the West. For one thing, the ethos and way of life of the two communities were in several respects profoundly different. The Cathars—following in this the Bogomils of the "Ecclesia Bulgariae," their original teachers—believed in and to some extent practised a strictly ascetic code of morals. The argument supporting this code seems to have run as follows: if the visible world is the creation and realm of the Evil One, it follows that to escape from his dominion and to be united with God, all contact with matter, which is the Devil's best instrument for gaining mastery over the souls of men, should be avoided. Hence the Bogomils and the Cathars condemned those functions of man which bring him into close contact with the world of the flesh, notably marriage, the eating of meat, and the drinking of wine. And although the abstention, it seems, was enforced only on the "elect" or "perfect" of the sect, there is no doubt that rigorous asceticism was regarded as a moral ideal even by the rank and file of ordinary "believers." The Paulicians seem to have wholly lacked this moral rigorism. I have been able to find no convincing evidence to show that they preached or practised any form of moral asceticism. It is hard to believe that Nicetas, who succeeded in persuading the moderate dualists of Italy and France to accept a doctrinally more rigorous and demanding creed, could have belonged to the morally laxer and less puritanical Paulician sect.

Several other features of Paulicianism would have been hard to square with the position taken up by Nicetas at St. Félix de Caraman. On this occasion he is known to have bestowed upon a number of Cathars the *consolamentum*, in a solemn ritual whereby an ordinary member of the sect was raised to the rank of "elect" or "perfect."[36] No such distinction between initiates and ordinary believers was ever attributed to the Paulician sect. Finally, the inveterate militarism of the Paulicians, which—their heresy apart—caused the Byzantine authorities to value them as military garrisons or as wardens of mountain passes, is scarcely compatible with the admittedly shadowy image of Nicetas we derive from medieval documents.

Who, then, was Nicetas? Perhaps some tentative impression of his role in the history of the dualist movement can be gained by considering

[36] Dondaine, "Les Actes," pp. 326-27; A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart, 1953), pp. 192-97.

the history of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" to which he belonged. It is mentioned again in another medieval Latin source, the *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, written about 1250 by the Dominican inquisitor Reinerius Sacconi, who had once been a Cathar teacher in Lombardy. He gives a list of 16 Cathar churches, of which the last two are the "Ecclesia Bulgariae" and the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae." These, Reinerius asserts, are the mother churches of all the others ("et omnes habuerunt originem de duabus ultimis").[37] Some historians have concluded from this that the division between these two churches, and thus between moderate and absolute dualism, goes back to the very origins of Bogomilism in the tenth century, or at least to the eleventh. These historians, however, find themselves in difficulty, for none of the early sources on Bogomilism (except for the patriarch Theophylaktos, whose reliability, as we have seen, is suspect) ascribe absolute dualism to the sect, and the two authors who describe the Bogomil doctrines in fullest detail and from first-hand information, Cosmas and Euthymius Zigabenus, make it plain that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the Bogomils were moderate dualists. It seems more satisfactory to conclude that a schism occurred within the Bogomil community some time after 1100.

When did this schism take place? The British scholar Bernard Hamilton, in his article on "The Origins of the Dualist Church of Drugunthia," argues, probably rightly, that it occurred during the twelfth century.[38] Though it is possible that moderate and absolute tendencies coexisted earlier within Bogomil dualism, it seems most logical to date the schism between 1147 (when, as we know from the *Tractatus de hereticis*, the dualists of Constantinople still professed moderate dualism) and the 1170s, when their Bishop Nicetas preached and enforced absolute dualism. I further believe that it was during those thirty years that the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" finally took shape as the community of absolute dualists within the Bogomil movement.

The causes of the schism remain unknown. However, I will hazard the hypothesis that it was the result of a lengthy process in which the

[37] Dondaine, "Le 'Liber de duobus principiis,'" p. 70; J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: La religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976), p. 25.

[38] B. Hamilton, "The Origins of the Dualist Church of Drugunthia," *Eastern Churches Review* 5 (1973): 120-22. Hamilton suggests (p. 122) that the two dualist churches may originally have divided on linguistic lines, the "Ecclesia Bulgariae" having jurisdiction over Slavonic areas, and the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" over the Greek-speaking regions of the Byzantine Empire.

Bogomil sect experienced powerful and recurrent waves of Paulician influence. This influence, in several doctrinal fields, has been detected at the very birth of Bogomilism. It would surely be surprising if it did not later recur. Thus in the mid-eleventh century the Phoundagiagitae (or Bogomils) of Asia Minor were said to hold St. Paul in special veneration.[39] The cult of St. Paul was a notable feature of Paulicianism.[40] Contact between Bogomils and Paulicians was particularly close in Thrace, where, as Anna Comnena tells us, they lived in the eleventh century cheek-by-jowl.[41] And it was, it will be recalled, in Thrace that we located the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae."

We can only guess at some of the ways in which the absolute dualism of the Paulicians began to exert an influence upon a section of the Bogomil movement. Perhaps, as Bernard Hamilton has suggested, some Paulicians were converted to Bogomilism, and brought their absolute dualism with them.[42] It is equally possible that an influential section of the Bogomils, perhaps under Paulician influence, opted for a more extreme and radical form of dualism. The result was the rise of the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae," whose absolute dualism was espoused by the leaders of the twelfth-century Bogomils in Constantinople, Simon and his more celebrated successor Nicetas.

The tendency of twelfth-century Bogomilism to blend with Paulicianism, or at least to shift to an absolute form of dualism, can perhaps be detected in a late medieval Slavonic source, the Life of St. Hilarion of Moglena by the Bulgarian Patriarch Euthymius. In the 1130s St. Hilarion, faced with a revival of heresy in his Macedonian diocese, was called upon to confute the teachings of the Paulicians, the Armenian Monophysites, and the Bogomils. The doctrines of the Paulicians are described in his Life at some length, including their belief in absolute dualism; but when he comes to the Bogomils, the author slides over them with quite astonishing brevity, mentioning not one of their doctrines, and confining himself to the statement that their conversion had been demanded by Emperor Manuel Comnenus.[43] Is it not possible that the Life of St. Hilarion illustrates a stage in the history of

[39] G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten: Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 40; Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 182, 183, fn. 4.
[40] Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 34, 39, 54.
[41] *Alexiad*, XIV, 8; cf. Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 189.
[42] Hamilton, "The Origins," p. 120.
[43] *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375-1393)*, ed. E. Kałužniacki (Vienna, 1901; reprinted London, 1971, Variorum Reprints), pp. 33-53.

Bogomilism when the movement was absorbing Paulician elements to such an extent that the hagiographer may have felt that a separate enumeration of Bogomil teachings would be redundant?[44] Are we not perhaps glimpsing in this document the early stages of a process which, some thirty years later, would result in the absolute dualists gaining control over the Bogomil community in Constantinople?

If these arguments, however tentative, could command a measure of assent, the role played in the history of the European dualist movement by Niquinta/Nicetas will, I suggest, be clarified and enhanced. This bishop of the Bogomils of Constantinople — as I now believe him to have been — who enjoyed an unchallenged authority in northern Italy and southern France in the 1170s, gave a decisive and tragic turn to the Cathar movement of Western Europe. For as long as the Cathars subscribed to the moderate dualism of the "Ecclesia Bulgariae," they retained in the doctrinal field some links with Orthodox and Catholic Christianity. The tenets of their sect could still, at a pinch, be regarded as a Christian heresy. But when Nicetas imposed upon the majority of Cathars the far more sombre and radical doctrines of absolute dualism, these tenuous links finally snapped and the hope of a genuine reconciliation between the Catholic church and the "Ecclesia Dugunthiae" vanished forever. The seeds of the Albigensian Crusade were well and truly sown at the Council of St. Félix de Caraman.

Christ Church, Oxford

[44] The view that Bogomilism underwent a new phase of Paulician influence in the twelfth century appears to contradict the evidence of Byzantine sources, which, in this very period, begin to connect, or even identify, Bogomils with Messalianism. See Puech and Vaillant, *Le traité*, pp. 282, 294-96. Messalianism, however, could hardly have existed any more as an organised movement by that time: see A. Guillaumont, "Messaliens," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1980), col. 1074-79. Nor were the Messalians dualists in any real sense of the word: Puech and Valliant, *Le traité*, p. 330; M. Loos, "Certains aspects du Bogomilisme byzantin des XI^e et XII^e siècles," *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967): 40-44. For twelfth-century Byzantine heresiologists Messalianism may well have been little more than a label for suspect or heretical mystical currents, particularly connected with demonology. See Puech and Vaillant, *Le traité*, pp. 327-28; J. Gouillard, "L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XII^e siècle," *Travaux et mémoires* 1 (1965): 319-22. It may be that these currents were strengthened among those Bogomils who, after the twelfth-century schism (see above, p. 498), continued to profess moderate dualism.

The Dedicatory Inscription of Eğri Taş Kilisesi (Cappadocia)

N. OIKONOMIDES

The Byzantine church known as Eğri Taş Kilisesi is carved in rock near the village of Ihlara in Western Cappadocia, southwest of Nazianzus. It has been published by Nicole and M. Thierry in *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), pp. 39-72. The dedicatory inscription that will be examined here is painted on the eastern wall to the right of the apse; it commemorates the decoration of the church, giving its date and the name and titles of the donor. Its framing is somewhat awkward, leading the editors (Nicole and M. Thierry, pp. 44-45, 66) to suspect that it may in fact commemorate a transformation or repair of the church decoration rather than the initial execution of all the paintings. This, however, will not be discussed here. It should only be borne in mind that the Eğri Taş frescoes are considered unique in Cappadocia and that they have tentatively been attributed to "cet art intermédiaire, situé entre le paléochrétien et le médiéval" (ibid., pp. 66-67).

The inscription is badly preserved: large parts of its painted surface have fallen away or faded. The authors of the editio princeps have carefully and successfully transcribed the surviving text and have correctly speculated about the contents of its missing parts (pp. 42-44, fn. 6). I shall propose a new reading and, especially, new restitutions for the lost parts of the inscription. To do so I have used the drawing and photograph of the inscription provided by the editors (p. 43 and plate 36d). In order to support the restitutions, I will present a certain number of parallels which I have collected from other Cappadocian inscriptions. For this commentary, I use the following abbreviations:

Jerphanion: Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, vol. I (pts. 1 and 2), vol. II (pts. 1 and 2). Paris, 1925-1942.

Thierry, *Ayvalî*: Nicole et M. Thierry, "Ayvalî Kilise ou pigeonnier de Gülli dere: Église inédite de Cappadoce," *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965): 97-154.

Thierry, *Nouvelles*: Nicole et M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1963.
Thierry, *Un Style*: Nicole Thierry, "Un style byzantin schématique de Cappadoce daté du XI[e] siècle d'après une inscription," *Journal des Savants*, 1968, pp. 45-61.

+ ЄΚΑΛΗЄΡΓΗΘΗΟΝΑ	+ Ἐκαληεργήθη ὁ να-
ΟϹΤΗϹΠΑ.ΑΓΙΑ..ЄΟ	ὸς τῆς Πα[ν]αγία[ς Θ]εο-
3 ...ЄΤ.....ς:Χ.ΛΙ	[τόκ(ου)] ἔτ[(ος) κόσμου] ς χ[ι]λι-
.........ΚΟϹ..	[οστὸν τετρα]κοσ[ιο-]
........ΚΟϹ...	[στὸν τρια]κοσ[τὸν]
6 ....·.·....	[.........]+[ἐπὶ β-]
.......ΡΟΜ....	[ασιλέων] Ῥομ[ανοῦ, Κ-]
......ΤΙΝΟ̣....	[ωνσταν]τίνο[υ καὶ]
9 ....ΤΟΦΟΡ....	[Χρισ]τοφόρ[ου, διὰ]
....ΤȢΔ̣.Λ..	[συνδρ(ομῆς)] τοῦ δ[ού]λ[ου]
.ȢΘΥΚЄ...	[τ]οῦ Θ(εο)ῦ κὲ [τῆς]
12 ΠΑΝΑΓΗΑ..Є	Παναγήα[ς Θ]ε-
ΟΤΟΚȢϹΠΑΘΑ	οτόκου, σπαθα-
ΡΟΚΑΝ.ΙΔΑ *vacat*	ροκαν[δ]ιδά-
15 ΤȢ.ЄΤΡȢΜΑΡ	του [κ]ὲ τρουμάρ-
ΧȢϹΠΑΔΙΑΤЄ̣Ι̣	χου{ς} Παδιάτει
ΚЄΠΑΤЄϹ...	κὲ πά⟨ν⟩τες [εὔ-]
18 ΧЄ..ЄΥ...	χε[σθ]ε ὑ[πὲρ]
...ΑΜΗ.	[αὐτ(οῦ)], ἀμή[ν].

Commentary

— L. 1-3. Ἐκαλλιεργήθη ὁ ναὸς, etc., is a common formula in Cappadocian dedicatory inscriptions: cf. Jerphanion I/1, p. 122; II/1, p. 309, 311; Thierry, *Un style*, p. 46; Thierry, *Nouvelles*, p. 202 (cf. V. Laurent, in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 26 [1968]: 371).

— L. 3. The indication of the year is usually introduced by phrases such as ἔτος κόσμου (Thierry, *Ayvalî*, p. 100: inscription of the 10th century), or ἔτος (Jerphanion II/1, pp. 309, 311, 334: 11th cent.), or ἔτους (Jerphanion I/1, p. 167; II/1, pp. 3-4, 159: 12th-13th cent.). For chronological reasons I opted for ἔτος κόσμου. It has to be remembered, though, that the reading T is not certain; on the editors' drawing, one reads Π, but a look at the photograph shows that this could well be a T followed by the vertical bar of K (in κόσμου). In any case, even if one had to accept the reading of the drawing, an alternate restitution could be ἐπ[ὶ ἔτους]: it does not modify the meaning of the phrase and seems to be quite usual, although it is not as yet documented in Cappadocian inscriptions.

The habit of writing a long number partly in digits and partly in words is common and has parallels in Cappadocia: Jerphanion II/1, pp. 309, 311.

— L. 4. The restitution of the hundreds is imposed by the dates of the emperors, see below.

— L. 5. For the same reason, the only choice offered here is the one between [εἰ]κοσ[τὸν] and [τρια]κοσ[τόν]; the space which is available carries the decision.

— L. 5-6. No restitution can be proposed with any certainty for the approximately 10 letters missing here, although there is no doubt about the content of the phrase: the remainder of the date, i.e., the units of the year and the indiction. Considering the space available, I do not think that the name of the month was ever spelled out here. This is quite in keeping with the Cappadocian epigraphic formulas. See, e.g., Thierry, *Ayvalî*, p. 100 (year and month); Jerphanion I/1, p. 167 and II/1, p. 159, 334 (year and indiction only); Jerphanion II/1, pp. 3-4, 309-311 (year, indiction and month). Consequently, from among the possibilities offered by the list of emperors (l. 7-9), we are left with a free choice among the years 6430 to 6435 and the corresponding indictions 10 to 15.

— L. 6-7. Names of the emperors very often appear in Cappadocian dedicatory inscriptions; they are introduced by the formula ἐπὶ βασιλείας (cf. Jerphanion II/1, pp. 309, 311) or, more commonly, ἐπὶ βασιλέων (or βασιλέως): Jerphanion II/1, p. 3-4, 80, 159, 334; Thierry, *Nouvelles*, p. 185, 202; Thierry, *Ayvalî*, p. 99.

— L. 7-9. The restitution of the emperors' names is obvious and suggests an approximate date for the inscription: Romanus Ist Lecapenus was crowned on 17 December 920 and was deposed on 16 December 944; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, crowned on 15 May 908, died on 9 November 959; Christopher Lecapenus, crowned on 20 May 921, died in August 931. Moreover, the order in which the emperors' names are mentioned suggests a date prior to 927: after his coronation in 921, Christopher held the third hierarchical position, until October 927, when, upon the marriage of his daughter to the Bulgarian tsar Peter, he was promoted above Constantine VII, at, we are told, his new son-in-law's request. Consequently, our inscription dates between the years 6430 and 6435 (cf. above), i.e., between September 921 and 927. — On 25 December 924 two more sons of Romanus Lecapenus, Stephen and Constantine, were crowned co-emperors. But I do not think that their omission can be considered a solid clue placing the Eğri Taş

inscription before the end of 924: their names and effigies do not appear on official documents of the period prior to Christopher's death, probably because they had not yet obtained the rank of *basileis autokratores*. For the dynastic history of the period, see Aikaterine Christophilopoulou, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (Athens, 1956), pp. 100-104; Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, III/2 (Dumbarton Oaks, 1973), p. 526ff.

L. 9-11. The space between Χριστοφόρου and τοῦ is too large to warrant the hypothesis that Christopher might be the donor. Moreover, the placement of the article τοῦ seems to indicate that the donor's name should follow rather than precede this phrase. The restitution that I propose is based on Cappadocian parallels in which the expression διὰ συνδρομῆς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ is followed by the name(s) of the donor(s): Jerphanion I/1, p. 122 and II/1, p. 309. The expression διὰ συνδρομῆς is very common; see Jerphanion II/1, p. 159, 309-311, 334; Thierry, *Nouvelles*, p. 202; Thierry, *Un style*, pp. 46-47.

L. 11-13. This second mention of the Virgin stresses the donor's devotion to the Mother of God, to whom the church was dedicated (cf. l. 2-3). It can be recalled here that the Eğri Taş church seems to have had a regular clergy (coming from the nearby monastery of Karanlîk Kale?) as shown in the funerary inscription of the monk Peter, "priest of the Virgin," found in the crypt (Thierry, *Nouvelles*, p. 67).

L. 13-15. The lay titles of the donor show that he belonged to the provincial aristocracy. His honorary title of spatharocandidatos placed him in the middle of the overall hierarchy of the empire and gave him an enviable social position in the provincial context of early Xth century Cappadocia (cf. N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* [Paris, 1972], p. 297). He also held a high position in the military administration of the province: being a tourmarches, he was one of the three immediate subordinates of the strategos (Oikonomides, *Les listes*, p. 341). — The forms τρουμάρχης, τρόμαρχος, etc., are also well attested: see Oikonomides, *Les listes*, p. 55, fn. 38; p. 59, l. 1 and fn. 42; p. 109, l. 18.

— L. 16. Although entirely preserved and quite legible, this line is difficult to interpret. As far as its deciphering is concerned, only one minor problem exists: the very last sign (ᾳ) is read by the editors as an α, whereas one expects to find there a sign corresponding to the sound ι; and, judging from the photograph, I am tempted to interpret this last sign as the usual ligature for ει, which also corresponds to the same sound as the iota.

According to the restitution of the rest of the inscription, one finds here the ending of the word τουρμάρχης followed, as expected, by the donor's name. One should then read τρουμάρχου, were it not for the difficulty that would be created if the letter σ was attached to the following word (cf. below). This is why one can also propose the reading *τρουμάρχους, which, although not documented elsewhere, as far as I know, is not at all inconceivable: cf. the parallel of Βαρδάνης, gen. Βαρδάνου or Βαρδάνους (St. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* [Göttingen, 1913], p. 149).

The donor's name should read (Σ)Παδιατᾶ according to the editors' reading, or (Σ)Παδιάτει, *leg.* (Σ)Παδιάτη, as proposed above on the supposition that the final ει is a misspelling for the normal η of the ending. As the ending -ᾶς usually designates a profession (Psaltes, *Grammatik*, pp. 256-57), the reading (Σ)Παδιατᾶ (nominative (Σ)Παδιατᾶς) has to be discarded since it is completely devoid of meaning in Greek and has no connection with any foreign loanword (Professor Irfan Shahid of Georgetown University kindly drew my attention to the Persian *sepahbad* 'military commander' which also exists as a loan word in Arabic; but it is not close enough to (Σ)Παδιατᾶς to warrant such a form). — Consequently, we are left with the ending -άτης, which designates the origin of a person and which was extremely common in Byzantine times (Psaltes, *Grammatik*, p. 250; and, mainly, H. Moritz, "Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten," *Programm des K. Humanistischen Gymnasiums in Landshut* 1897/8, pp. 40-41).

Σπαδιάτης or Παδιάτης? The form Σπαδιάτης is not documented elsewhere and its meaning is not clear. Of course, if one takes into consideration that in Modern Greek and, particularly, in the Cappadocian dialect, the letter δ is sometimes used instead of a θ (cf. Jerphanion II/2, p. 452), then Σπαδιάτης < *Σπαθιάτης could be a person originating from Σπάθη, which was a Paulician fortress conquered by Basil I in 871 along with Abara and Koptos. The exact location of Spathê is not known, but presumably it should be sought within at least 300 kilometers east of the church of Eğri Taş, not far from Malatya. This hypothesis is tempting but not convincing. For Spathê see Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn, p. 267; cf. M. Canard, in A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* II/1 (Brussels, 1968), p. 33; and P. Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *Travaux et mémoires* 5 (1973): 99, fn. 38; 100, fn. 48.

Παδιάτης is a family name well-documented throughout the twelfth to fifteenth century; references are to be found in A. P. Každan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), index, *s.v.*; and in Mazaris's *Journey to Hades*, Arethusa Monographs (Buffalo, 1975), passim, particularly p. 12, l. 10 and fn., pp. 102-103. Its etymology is obscure: Moritz, "Die Zunamen," pp. 40-41, derives the name from πεδίον, which seems to me highly unlikely; on the other hand, Každan (*Social'nyj sostav*, p. 201) is rightly skeptical concerning the hypothesis that Padiates would be a native of the Italian Padua. Be that as it may, Padiates being a documented name, I prefer it to Spadiates, in spite of the fact that this invites me to propose the undocumented genitive *τρουμάρχους or to delete the σ that is clearly written in this line.

— L. 17. Πά⟨ν⟩τες: the omission of ν before τ is common in Cappadocian inscriptions: see Jerphanion I, p. 375 (πά⟨ν⟩τα) and cf. p. 321 and fn. 1, pp. 360-61, and fn. 1, p. 508: II, p. 36, and fn. 1, p. 37 and fn. 1, pp. 109, 246, 291.

— L. 17-19. This is a variant of the usual finale of Cappadocian dedicatory inscriptions, particularly frequent in the Xth-XIth centuries: see Jerphanion II/2, pp. 393-94; cf. ibid. I, p. 122; II, pp. 80, 309, 311, 334; Thierry, *Ayvalî*, p. 99-100. It also appears in many Cappadocian graffiti: Jerphanion I, pp. 169-170; II, pp. 98, 99, 269, 509, 601.

Thus, the restored text of the Eğri Taş dedicatory inscription of between 921 and 927, deprived of the epigraphic sigla (brackets, parentheses, etc.) and with its spelling mistakes corrected according to common Greek grammatical rules, should read as follows:

Ἐκαλλιεργήθη ὁ ναὸς τῆς Παναγίας Θεοτόκου ἔτος κόσμου ς' χιλιοστὸν τετρακοσιοστὸν τριακοστὸν ...., ἐπὶ βασιλέων Ῥωμανοῦ, Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Χριστοφόρου, διὰ συνδρομῆς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Παναγίας Θεοτόκου, σπαθαροκανδιδάτου καὶ τρουμάρχου Παδιάτη· καὶ πάντες εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀμήν.

The church of the Holy Virgin was decorated in the year six thousand four hundred thirty .... under the reign of Romanus, Constantine and Christopher, at the expense of the servant of God and of the Holy Virgin, the spatharocandidatos and tourmarches Padiates; all of you pray for him, amen.

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Delacroix's *Mazeppa* Oil Painting Rediscovered[1]

CHRISTINA PELENSKI

In art historical literature the *Mazeppa*[2] oil painting (fig. 1) by Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) is either designated as lost or confused with the artist's *Mazeppa* watercolor, preserved in the Ateneumin Taidemuseo, Helsinki (fig. 2). In his recent two-volume publication Lee Johnson has listed Delacroix's *Mazeppa* oil under the heading "Lost Works."[3] Luigina Rossi Bortolatto, while furnishing the correct location of Delacroix's oil painting, i.e., "Musée d'art moderne Khelil, Le Caire," has provided a reproduction of Delacroix's *Mazeppa* watercolor, thus mistaking it for the artist's oil.[4]

According to Lee Johnson, "this painting has not come to light since 1896 and is known only from the small print in Robaut and from the drawing by Robaut in Tracings 1."[5] The latter assumption will have to be revised from now on, since Delacroix's *Mazeppa* oil painting, which to my knowledge is reproduced here for the first time, is preserved in the Mohamed Mahmoud Khalil Museum, Cairo.[6] Indeed, until now the painting has been known from Alfred Robaut's fairly accurate print

[1] This article represents an excerpt from my extensive study, *The Mazeppa Legend in French Romantic Art*, soon to be published.

[2] "Mazeppa" is a French transliteration of the original name Mazepa.

[3] L. Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue, 1816-1831*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981), vol. 1: *Text*, pp. 207-208, vol. 2: *Plates*, pl. 153 (Robaut's print after Delacroix). The catalogue attempts to be complete for the period 1816 to 1831. According to the author, it will be continued in three more volumes.

[4] L. R. Bortolatto, ed., *Tout l'œuvre peint de Delacroix*, Les Classiques de l'Art (Paris, 1975), pp. 96-97, pl. 176.

[5] Johnson, *Paintings*, 1:207.

[6] I am indebted to Mme Sylvie Béguin, Conservateur au Département des Peintures, Musée du Louvre, for bringing the painting's whereabouts to my attention; to Mr. Thomas A. Homan, former Cultural Attache, the American Embassy in Cairo, for providing me with a color transparency of the painting and a certificate testifying to its authenticity (letter of 16 March 1977), and to Dr. Abdel Fattah Eid, Supervisor General, General Organization for Fine Arts and Museums, Ministry of Culture, the Mohamed Mahmoud Khalil Museum, for permission to publish a reproduction of the painting in an academic work.

(fig. 3) reproduced in his fundamental catalogue *raisonné* of Delacroix's entire *œuvre* compiled in 1885.[7]

According to Robaut, in 1885 the painting was in the possession of David d'Angers' son.[8] Apparently it was originally acquired by the elder David d'Angers and after his death in 1856 passed on to his son, for Robaut added in "Tracings 1": "qui le tient de son père, lequel a écrit derrière la toile Eugène Lacroix."[9] The next mention of the painting, which was actually a description, was made in an anonymous sale of 6 May 1896 in Paris, lot 31: "'*Mazeppa*. Il est attaché, nu, sur un cheval lancé au galop, à travers la plaine, sous un ciel qui s'éclaire d'un irradiement d'incendie. A droite, dans la vallée, des chevaux affolés s'enfuient,' 30 × 40 cm."[10] According to the information provided to me by the Mohamed Mahmoud Khalil Museum in Cairo, "the [*Mazeppa*] painting on canvas, measuring 27 × 35 cm. ... was part of the Mohamed Khalil collection and had been purchased in Paris approximately 40 years ago [i.e., ca. 1937]."[11]

The Mazeppa theme was widely used in nineteenth-century literature and music. Among numerous examples the following deserve mention: Lord Byron's poem *Mazeppa* (1819), Aleksandr Pushkin's poem *Poltava* (1828), Victor Hugo's poem "Mazeppa," included in his *Les Orientales* (1829), Juliusz Słowacki's drama *Mazepa* (1840), Franz Liszt's symphonic poem "Mazeppa" (1857), and Peter Iliich Tchaikovski's opera "Mazepa" (1884). Mazeppa also became a favorite theme for equestrian circus plays not only in Europe, but also in the United States throughout the nineteenth century.[12] It enjoyed special popularity with the French Romantics, who drew inspiration chiefly from Byron's *Mazeppa*.[13] Byron's poem is based upon passages, both historical and

[7] A. Robaut and E. Chesneau, *L'œuvre complèt d'Eugène Delacroix: Peinture, dessins. gravures, lithographies* (Paris, 1885), p. 74, no. 262: *Mazeppa*. Robaut's catalogue was reprinted without revision in 1969.

[8] A. Robaut and E. Chesneau, *L'œuvre complèt*, p. 74, no. 262. Robaut gave the measurements of the original painting as 26.5 by 35 cm.

[9] Robaut's "Tracings" and "Drawings" of works by Delacroix, in five volumes, are preserved in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Quoted by Johnson, *Paintings*, 1:208, fn. 2.

[10] Johnson, *Paintings*, 1:207.

[11] See fn. 4. The letter dated 16 March 1977.

[12] This is treated in chapter 4, "Mazeppa and the Romantic Equestrian Circus," of my forthcoming study.

[13] G. G. Byron, *The Works of Lord Byron*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 13 vols. (London and New York, 1901/1966), 4 (*Poetry* [1905]): 205-233. The original manuscript of Byron's *Mazeppa* is preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. For the first French translation of Byron's *Mazeppa*, see G. G. Byron, *Œuvres de Lord Byron*, 4th ed., rev. by A[médée] P[icho]t, 8 vols. (Paris, 1822-25), 3 (*Mazeppa* [1822]).

legendary in nature, in Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731).[14] According to a legendary passage, Mazeppa, who was born in the Palatinate of Podolia, had been brought up as a page to King Jan Kazimierz V of Poland. In his youth he had an affair with the lady of a Polish gentleman, who upon discovering the intrigue had Mazeppa bound naked upon a wild horse and let it loose in the wilderness. The horse, which had been brought from the Ukraine, carried Mazeppa, half-dead from hunger and fatigue, back home. Subsequently, Mazeppa became a prince of the Ukraine.[15] Byron made Mazeppa's legendary ride on horseback the central theme of his poem. He introduced the river, the forest with ferocious wolves, and the herd of wild horses as the three major threats of the dramatic ride, framed on both sides by the historical events of the Battle of Poltava.[16]

The legendary Mazeppa was in fact based upon a historical individual.[17] Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa was born in 1639 in Mazepyntsi on the Ukrainian lands into a family of Cossack nobility. In the mid-1650s he became a page of honor at the court of King Jan Kazimierz V. In 1687 he became hetman of the Left-Bank Ukraine under the sovereignty of Peter I of Russia. After the invasion of Russia by Charles XII of Sweden, Mazepa switched allegiances and joined Charles against Peter I. At the famous battle of Poltava of 1709 the two allies were defeated. Mazepa died in exile the same year. Besides being an outstanding statesman, politician, diplomat and military leader, Mazepa was a fervent patron of the arts. During his tenure as hetman, Ukrainian Baroque reached its peak in the fields of literature, painting, and architecture.

The Mazeppa legend originated with Jan Chryzostom Pasek (1636-1700/1701), a Polish nobleman who was a contemporary of Mazepa and

[14] F. M. A. de Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 74 vols. (Paris, 1832), 25 (*Histoire de Charles XII*): 199-200, 220, 221-222.

[15] This passage is one of the three French passages that were used as a preface or "Advertissement" to Byron's poem. For its English translation, see F. M. A. de Voltaire, *The Works of Voltaire*, trans. W. F. Fleming, 22 vols. (New York, 1901), 2 (*History of Charles XII*): 158-59.

[16] D. Englaender, *Lord Byron's Mazeppa: Eine Studie* (Berlin, 1897); H. F. Babinski, *The Mazeppa Legend in European Romanticism* (New York and London, 1974), pp. 21-46.

[17] For the best accounts of Mazepa's life and activities, and the literature on the subject, see F. M. Umanets', *Getman Mazepa* (St. Petersburg, 1897); N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i Mazepintsy: Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1905); *Mazepa: Zbirnyk 1-2*, Pratsi Ukrains'koho naukovoho instytutu v Varshavi, 46-47 (Warsaw, 1938-1939); O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka, vol. 170 (New York, etc., 1960); B. Kentrschynskyi, *Mazepa* (Stockholm, 1962); O. Subtelny, "Mazepa, Peter I, and the Question of Treason," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 2 (June, 1978): 158-83; idem, *The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Boulder, Colorado, 1981).

knew him as the young page at the Polish court. Pasek apparently invented the story of Mazepa's legendary ride on horseback as revenge for some personal or political conflict the two had had, and then recorded it in his memoirs, written sometime between 1670 and the 1690s.[18] Although Pasek's memoirs, which have remained a gem of Polish Baroque literature, were not published in part until 1821 and not in their entirety until 1836, the legend circulated widely by word of mouth and became an integral part of the story of Mazepa's life when Voltaire wrote his *Histoire de Charles XII.*[19]

French Romantic artists who depicted episodes from Mazeppa's perilous ride found Byron's poem to be a rich source of inspiration.[20] Théodore Géricault (1791-1824) did a powerful oil painting *Mazeppa* (ca. 1822-1823, Private collection, Paris) of modest dimensions (29 by 21 cm.). It depicts a nocturnal scene of the heavy horse with the naked Mazeppa stretched across its back having reached shore and trying to climb a steep river bank (fig. 4).[21] The artist treated the same episode, inspired by cantos XIV and XV of Byron's poem, in a watercolor *Mazeppa* (ca. 1821-1822, Collection Peter Nathan, Zürich; dimensions 18 by 21 cm.)[22] and lithographed it in 1823 in collaboration with Eugène Lami (1800-1890) (fig. 5).[23] Horace Vernet (1789-1863) painted a large (1.95 by 2.79 m.) canvas *Mazeppa aux chevaux* (1825; destroyed

[18] For a convenient edition of Pasek's memoirs, see J. Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, ed. W. Czapliński, 4th ed. (Wrocław, etc., 1968). Concerning the various editions and translations of Pasek's work, and the literature on the subject, cf. ibid., pp. lxiv-lxvii; *Bibliografia literatury polskiej*, "Nowy Korbut," ed. R. Pollak, *Piśmiennictwo staropolskie*, vol. 3 (N-Ż) (Warsaw, 1965), pp. 88-92. For the first English translation of Pasek's memoirs, see J. Pasek, *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque: The Writings of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, A Squire of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania*, ed. and trans. C. S. Leach, foreword by W. Weintraub (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1976).

[19] For a discussion of the dissemination of the Mazeppa legend in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe, see chapter 2, "The Mazeppa Legend and Its Literary Sources," of my forthcoming study *The Mazeppa Legend.*

[20] Concerning the influence of Byron on French Romanticism, see the classic work by E. Estève, *Byron et le romantisme français* (Paris, 1907). For additional information on the subject, see E. Partridge, *The French Romantics' Knowledge of English Literature (1820-1848)* (Paris, 1924); W. J. Philips, *France on Byron* (Philadelphia, 1941). Mazeppa belonged to a larger motif of "abduction" used frequently by Romantic artists. My forthcoming study will include a discussion of Byron's influence on the French Romantic artists and an analysis of their Mazeppa works, as well as the literature on the subject.

[21] C. Clément, *Géricault: A Biographical and Critical Study with Catalogue raisonné of the Master's Works*, Reprint of the 1879 edition with introduction and New Supplement by L. Eitner (New York, 1974), p. 316, no. 153, p. 457; P. Grunchec, *Tout l'œuvre peint de Géricault*, Les Classiques de l'Art (Milan and Paris, 1978), no. 248.

[22] For the watercolor, see *De Géricault a Matisse* (Exposition catalogue, Petit Palais, Paris, March - May 1959), no. 165.

[23] See Clément, *Géricault*, p. 406, no. 92. Dimensions 16 by 21 cm. This lithograph is

by fire at the Assemblée Nationale, Paris, in 1961) representing Mazeppa on the fallen steed surrounded by a herd of wild horses (canto XVII),[24] and another smaller (1.10 by 1.38 m.) oil painting *Mazeppa et les loups* (1826, Musée Calvet, Avignon) showing the terrified Mazeppa bound to the racing horse being pursued by a pack of wolves in a dark forest.[25] The latter picture, which illustrates canto XII of Byron's poem and remains the most popular and most frequently reproduced of pictorial works on the subject, was painted by the artist in memory of his grandfather, the seascape painter Joseph Vernet (1714-1789).[26] Horace Vernet's two Mazeppa paintings, along with the gigantic oil canvas, the *Supplice de Mazeppa* (1827, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen), by Louis Boulanger (1806-1867) were exhibited at the Salon of 1827-28.[27] Boulanger's dramatic and evocative painting, measuring 5.25 by 3.92 m., and depicting over-life-size figures, was inspired by cantos IX and X of Byron's poem. It represents the climactic moment in Mazeppa's ride when the resisting Mazeppa is being tied by executioners dressed in Oriental costumes to the wild, rearing horse under a beclouded sky. Today the painting hangs in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, in the same room as Delacroix's tremendous canvas *La justice de Trajan* (1840).[28] Boulanger and Achille Devéria (1800-1857) each produced a series of three large lithographs illustrating episodes from Mazeppa's

one of the four illustrations for the works of Byron that Géricault did in collaboration with Lami. The other three are the *Giaour*, the *Bride of Abydos*, and *Lara*. See also L. Delteil, *Théodore Géricault: Le peintre-graveur illustré*, vol. 18 (Paris, 1924), nos. 94-97.

[24] The painting was originally owned by King Louis-Philippe. Horace Vernet's preliminary ink wash study for his *Mazeppa Surrounded by Horses*, measuring 24 by 31 cm., is preserved in the Private collection in Paris. See *Horace Vernet (1789-1863)* (Exposition catalogue, Académie de France à Rome, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, March - July 1980), pp. 72-73, no. 46.

[25] Horace Vernet's preliminary oil study for his *Mazeppa Pursued by Wolves*, dated 1826 and measuring 33 by 41 cm. is preserved in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.

[26] Two identical canvases of Horace Vernet's *Mazeppa Pursued by Wolves* are preserved in the Musée Calvet, Avignon. For a discussion of the reasons behind Vernet's painting two identical pictures, see J. Girard, "Les Souvenirs des Vernet au Musée Calvet," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, 1927, pp. 49-61. See also chapter 13, "Horace Vernet's *Mazeppa*," in my forthcoming study.

[27] See *Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Gravure, Lithographie et Architecture des Artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Royal des Arts, Le 4 Novembre 1827* (Paris, 1827), no. 1031, for Vernet's *Mazeppas*, and Supplement 1, no. 1435 for Boulanger's *Mazeppa*. A. Jal, in his *Esquisses, Croquis, Pochades, ou Tout ce qu'on Voudra, sur le Salon de 1827* (Paris, 1828), dedicated a separate chapter to the *Mazeppa* paintings ("Mazeppa," pp. 339-44).

[28] See J. P. Mouilleseaux, *Mazeppa, Variations sur un theme Romantique* (Exposition catalogue, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen, 19 May - 30 June 1978), no. 9. Boulanger did a series of five preparatory studies (charcoal on paper) for his definitive painting. Four are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and one in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.

journey.[29] A scene showing the unconscious Mazeppa on the fatigued horse being discovered by a Cossack girl was depicted by Théodore Chassériau (1819-1856) in a charming and intimate oil painting, *Une jeune fille cosaque trouve Mazeppa évanoui sur le cheval sauvage mort de fatigue* (1851, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg).[30] The painting, which measures 56 by 37 cm., and was inspired by canto XX of Byron's poem, was exhibited at the Salon of 1853.[31] An identical watercolor of 1851 by Chassériau, measuring 28 by 23 cm., is preserved in the Kunsthalle, Basel. Chassériau represented his Mazeppa in an authentic Oriental setting, the vast and tranquil Algerian desert. Evidence indicates that the French Romantics regarded Mazeppa as an Oriental theme.[32] Byron's poem was labelled an Oriental tale,[33] and Victor Hugo, who conceived of Mazeppa as "a genius carried away by inspiration," included his symbolic poem "Mazeppa" in *Les Orientales* (1829).[34] Jean-François Millet deviated from Byron's interpretation in a drawing of 1851, now preserved in the Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg, and measuring 36 by 53 cm.: he depicted Mazeppa being carried away by a terrified horse in the "Western Oriental" setting of threatening American Indians.[35] A large lithograph, measuring 37 by 53 cm., of the same episode, titled *Simon Butler, le Mazeppa américain*, was rendered in 1852 by Millet in collaboration with the Swiss artist, Karl Bodmer (1809-1893).[36] It inspired

[29] The lithographs were published in 1839 by Bulla and reprinted in 1855 by Bès et Dubreuil. One copy of the series is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[30] See M. Sandoz, *Théodore Chassériau, 1819 - 1856: Catalogue raisonné des peintures et estamps* (Paris, 1975), p. 266.

[31] See *Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Gravure, Lithographie et Architecture des Artistes vivants, exposés aux Menus-Plaisirs, Le 15 Mai 1853* (Paris, 1853), no. 229.

[32] Orientalism became a major trend in the nineteenth century. For Orientalism in art, see Ph. Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford, 1977). Concerning Orientalism in French art, see J. Alazard, *L'Orient et la Peinture française au XIXᵉ siècle: Delacroix à Renoir* (Paris, 1930). See also chapter 5, "Mazeppa an Oriental Theme," in my forthcoming study.

[33] See A. Tezla, "Byron's Oriental Tales: A Critical Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1953).

[34] V. Hugo, *Œuvres complètes de Victor Hugo*, 48 vols. (Paris, 1880-89), 2 (*Les Orientales*): 179-185.

[35] A crayon study for the drawing (13 by 19 cm.) is preserved in Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

[36] Bodmer provided Millet with drawings of authentic American Indians. Bodmer had accompanied Prince Maximilian of Wied (1782-1867) on the famous expedition along the Upper Missouri River in 1833-34 that resulted in the documentary publication *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, which Bodmer illustrated. See chapter 10, "The Millet-Bodmer *Mazeppa*," in my forthcoming study. For the Simon Butler legend, see B. B. Thatcher, *Indian Traits: Being Sketches of the Manners, Customs, and Character of the North American Natives*, 2 vols. (New York, 1833, 1839, 1844, 1849, 1854, 1865), 2:34-35.

the American artist William Walcutt (1819-1895) to paint around 1853 the large (1.28 by 1.94 m.) canvas *Mazeppa American, Simon Kenton's Ride* that today hangs in the Kentucky Historical Museum, Frankfort.[37]

For his oil painting Eugène Delacroix chose a moment in Mazeppa's wild ride when the nearly-dead hero and his exhausted and terror-stricken horse are being approached by a herd of wild horses—the final threat of the legendary journey, apparently inspired by canto XVII of Byron's poem. The episode provided the artist with an opportunity to express the dynamic movement of the furiously galloping horses through rich color and lively brush stroke. In both his oil and watercolor (the latter shows Mazeppa and his staggering horse nearing the end of their perilous ride) Delacroix used a vast and solitary steppe as background.

One of the problems that arises in studying Delacroix's *œuvre* is to establish the chronology of his undated works, which include the *Mazeppa* paintings. This is a particularly difficult task because later in life the artist liked to return to themes he had already treated.[38] His watercolor (fig. 2), which is not listed in Robaut's catalogue and which is signed without date at the lower right, has been dated by Lee Johnson ca. 1824.[39] Robaut listed the unsigned and undated *Mazeppa* oil (fig. 1) under 1828, the date accepted by René Huyghe, Frank Anderson Trapp, and Luigina Rossi Bortolatto.[40] Lee Johnson questions that dating because Robaut's date of 1828 is followed by a question mark in "Tracings 1."[41]

Available evidence shows that Delacroix considered the subject in 1824. In the *Journal* that the artist kept, with two interruptions

[37] Simon Butler (1755-1836), real name Kenton, was a Kentucky pioneer and friend of Daniel Boone and James Callaway (see chapter 10 of my forthcoming study).

[38] A good example is the artist's two oil paintings of *Tam O'Shanter*, inspired, like the *Mazeppa* paintings, by a literary tale, this time by Robert Burns's poem "Tam O'Shanter." In them, as in the Mazeppa paintings, a horse with its rider is galloping from right to left across open terrain; only here it is pursued not by wolves, but by witches. One of these paintings, measuring 26 by 31 cm. and preserved in the Private collection, Switzerland, was painted ca. 1825, and the other, measuring 26 by 32 cm. and preserved in the collection of Mrs. Charlotte Bührle, Zürich, was done ca. 1829. Another Byron-inspired theme treated twice by Delacroix is the *Death of Sardanapalus*, one painting of 1827-28, Musée du Louvre (3.95 by 4.95 m.), and the second of 1844, Philadelphia Museum of Art (74 by 93 cm.).

[39] L. Johnson, *Delacroix: An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Lithographs, Arranged by the Arts Council of Great Britain in Association with the Edinburgh Festival Society* (Exhibition catalogue, the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1 October - 8 November 1964), p. 45, no. 90, pl. 38.

[40] R. Huyghe, *Delacroix*, trans. J. Griffin (London, 1963), p. 451; F. A. Trapp, *The Attainment of Delacroix* (Baltimore, London, 1971), p. 64; Bortolatto, *Tout l'œuvre peint de Delacroix*, pp. 96-97.

[41] Johnson, *Paintings*, 1:207.

(6 October 1824 - 25 January 1832, and 26 June 1832 - 18 January 1847), from 1822 to the end of his life in 1863, Delacroix referred to the Mazeppa subject four times, each time in the year 1824.[42] The first reference was made on 14 March 1824: "M. Coutan[43] m'a donné envie de faire *Mazeppa*."[44] Two pen and ink drawings, *Mazeppa* and *Cheval renversant son cavalier* [*Mazeppa*], both of a horse swimming across a river with Mazeppa reclining on its back and both preserved in the Louvre, were probably executed at that time.[45] On March 17 Delacroix noted: "Penser, en faisant mon *Mazeppa*, à ce que je dis dans ma note du 20 *février*, dans ce cahier, c'est-à-dire calquer en quelque sorte la nature dans le genre du *Faust*."[46] Presumably the artist was working on his *Mazeppa* oil (fig. 1) on that date. However, on April 11, Delacroix was again considering the theme, at which time he may have been painting his watercolor (fig. 2): "Je suis, depuis une heure, à balancer entre *Mazeppa*, *Don Juan*, *le Tasse*, et cent autres."[47] Finally, on May 11, he referred to Mazeppa in the context of meditations on the death of Géricault and thoughts about Byron: "*Les imprécations de Mazeppa* contre ceux qui l'ont attaché a son coursier, avec le château du Palatin renversé dans ses fondements."[48] At that time he most likely executed two pencil drawings, *Mazeppa attaché au cheval sauvage* (whereabouts unknown)[49] and *Mazeppa attaché sur la croupe du cheval sauvage* (Musée Magnin, Dijon).[50] The former represents Mazeppa being tied to a wild horse by executioners without any architectural setting, and the latter shows a similar scene with a castle visible in the background.

Although we do not know whether Delacroix considered the Mazeppa subject in 1828, since he did not keep his *Journal* in that year, 1824 seems to be the more reliable date for the *Mazeppa* oil, because all four entries

[42] E. Delacroix, *Journal de Eugène Delacroix* (hereafter *Journal*), ed. A. Joubin, 3 vols. (Paris, 1932).

[43] This "Coutan" was not the painter Amable-Paul Coutan, but the draper and collector L.-J.-A. Coutan, who died in 1830. See the review by J. Whiteley of Johnson, *Paintings*, in the *Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 945 (December 1981): 751.

[44] *Journal*, 1:60.

[45] The latter drawing, *Horse Unseating Its Rider* [*Mazeppa*], was dated by Robaut to 1860 (*L'œuvre complèt*, p. 499, no. 1414). Maurice Serullaz has questioned this dating on stylistic grounds and, by connecting it with the Mazeppa theme, has proposed the 1820s as the more probable date (*Memorial de l'exposition Eugène Delacroix* [Exposition catalogue, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1963], no. 119).

[46] *Journal*, 1:62.

[47] *Journal*, 1:73.

[48] *Journal*, 1:100.

[49] Robaut listed this drawing under 1824 (*L'œuvre complèt*, p. 397, no. 1493).

[50] Johnson has dated the drawing to ca. 1824 (*Delacroix: An Exhibition*, p. 45). This drawing might have been part of folio no. 310 of Delacroix's posthumous auction listed by Robaut under the year 1824 (*L'œuvre complèt*, p. 398, no. 1494).

pertaining to Mazeppa were made between March and May of 1824, that is, just after Géricault's death in January 1824 and around the time of Byron's in April 1824. It can therefore be assumed that the deaths of the two individuals whom Delacroix greatly admired and who preceded him in treating the subject might have influenced his decision to do the *Mazeppa* painting.[51] Furthermore, the thick and bold impasto execution of the painting suggests the early 1820s, when Delacroix was still under the influence of Géricault. Delacroix also followed Géricault's example when he conceived his Mazeppa oil in intimate proportions.

According to Robaut, Delacroix's *Mazeppa* oil painting (fig. 1) "a été peinte d'après la composition lithographiée par Géricault" (fig. 5), and "les changements sont insignifiants."[52] Actually, Delacroix was more under the influence of Gericault's oil painting (fig. 4) than of his lithograph (fig. 5), but in both cases still only to a limited extent. Elements like the diagonal composition directed from the lower right to the upper left across the picture plane by the Mazeppa-and-horse figure in profile, the position of Mazeppa's naked body stretched across the horse's back and with head tossed back, the way the image dominates the foreground and the Romantic landscape serves as a background setting, and the way the light illuminates Mazeppa's body and the horse's full mane and tail, were all probably derived from Géricault's *Mazeppa* oil (fig. 4). Also, the horizontal format of Delacroix's canvas, as well as the increased space around the Mazeppa-and-horse figure, suggests the influence of Géricault's lithograph (fig. 5).

Yet Delacroix introduced a number of modifications. For one thing, he depicted, evidently under the influence of Byron's poem, "a trampling troop" of horses, "the wild, the free," of various colors, advancing from a deep shadow in a distant valley and "headed by one black mighty steed."[53] By doing so he introduced a second diagonal in his compositional arrangement, which, directed from the upper right to the lower left, intersects with the dominant diagonal, where the herd of wild horses would intercept Mazeppa's horse. He also eliminated the middle ground, and by juxtaposing the very distant (the herd of wild horses) and the very near (the Mazeppa-and-horse figure) made the frontal image loom large on the canvas and appear more dramatic and more intimate to the viewer.[54]

[51] The *Journal* entry of 11 May 1824 suggests that Delacroix drew parallels between the three individuals (see fn. 48).

[52] Robaut, *L'œuvre complèt*, p. 74.

[53] Byron, "Mazeppa" (canto XVII, stanza 702), *Works*, vol. 4 (1905), p. 228.

[54] Delacroix used this device in his *Massacre of Scio* (1824, Musée du Louvre), among other works.

The figure of Mazeppa, although reflecting Géricault's masculine, graceful, and anatomically better-proportioned model, in its baroque twisted and distorted body emphatically recalls Rubens. The horse, too, although in position and bay color apparently derived from Géricault's earth-bound and statuesque prototype, is in its rounded, twisted, and voluptuous body and dynamic movement reminiscent of Rubenesque "prancing steeds." Delacroix's horse is galloping furiously "with rage and fear" into a deep, open space, whereas that of Géricault appears almost static while attempting to gain the top of the river bank. Delacroix replaced the relatively arresting quality of Géricault's work with dynamic movement. The artist also depicted a matinal scene, in contrast to Géricault's nocturnal one. The rich vermilion reds of the sky, which complement the deep blue-greens of the boundless steppe, announce daybreak, for, according to the legend, Mazeppa's horse headed east.

In comparison to Géricault's *Mazeppa* oil painting, in which emphasis is on the coordination between the figures of Mazeppa and the horse, on individual details (for example, the method of binding Mazeppa to the horse), and on plastic forms and "the union of the monumental with the realistic," Delacroix's version reveals an altogether different stylistic approach, devoid of neoclassical and naturalistic tendencies and dedicated to spontaneous, coloristic, and dynamic movement and imagination. Delacroix also captured the Romantic mood of Byron's poem. His painting, which conveys suffering, pain, and agony, as well as loneliness, sadness, and solitude, evokes a higher meaning. Here Mazeppa can stand for Delacroix himself, for the artist's personal feelings alienated him from society. The painting's modest format suggests also that the work was not intended for a public audience, as were his *Massacres de Scio* (1824, Musée du Louvre), *La Grece sur les ruines de Missolonghi* (1826, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux), or *La Mort de Sardanapale* (1827-28, Musée du Louvre), which Delacroix rendered in a "grand" format. Rather, *Mazeppa* was conceived as a record of private sorrow and anxiety. Like Géricault before him, but even more expressively, Delacroix succeeded in creating an image of Mazeppa that is a universal symbol of a suffering hero and reflects the Romantic attitude of the time.

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Fig. 1. Eugène Delacroix. *Mazeppa*. ca. 1824. Oil on canvas. 27 × 35 cm.
The Mohamed Mahmoud Khalil Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 2. Eugène Delacroix. *Mazeppa*. ca. 1824. Water color and gouache on paper 25 × 32 cm. Ateneumin Taidemuseo, Helsinki.



Fig. 3. *Mazeppa*. Engraving by Alfred Robaut after Eugène Delacroix. 2.7 × 3.5 cm.

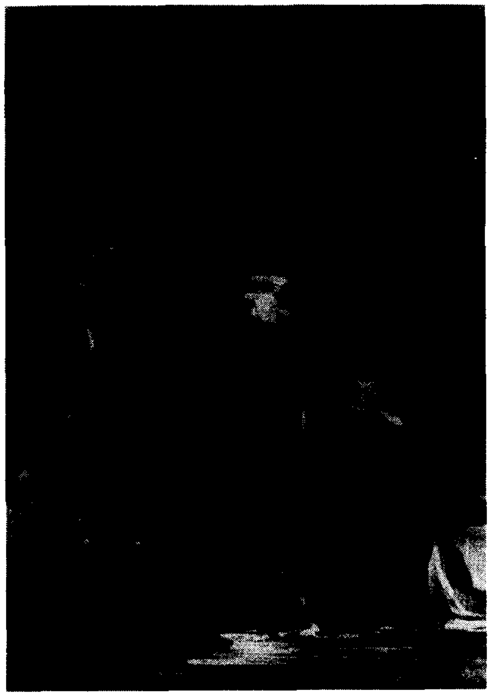


Fig. 4. Théodore Géricault. *Mazeppa*. ca. 1821-22. Oil on *papier marouflé*. 29 × 21 cm. Private collection, Paris.



Fig. 5. Théodore Géricault in collaboration with Eugène Lami. *Mazeppa*. 1823. Lithograph. 16 × 21 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The Emergence of the Muscovite Claims to the Byzantine-Kievan "Imperial Inheritance"

JAROSLAW PELENSKI

The development of the official Muscovite claims to the "Kievan inheritance" based on the uninterrupted dynastic continuity of the Rurikides, on the Kiev—(Suzdal'-)Vladimir—Moscow *translatio* theory, and on traditional patrimonial law—a development which began in the second half of the fifteenth century, or more specifically over a period from 1454 to 1504[1]—received a major new conceptual impetus and underwent a qualitative ideological transformation during the reign of Grand Prince Vasilij III (1505-1533), or, to be more precise, in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century.

These first two phases of the formulation of Muscovite claims to Kievan Rus' coincided with the first two phases of a protracted, three-centuries-long conflict between Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania for the lands of Old Rus'. The first phase extended from 1449 to 1485, and resulted in the annexation of two Great Russian states—Great Novgorod and the Grand Principality of Tver'—by Muscovy. The second phase covered the years 1487-1537, in the course of which five major wars were waged (1487-1494; 1500-1503; 1507-1508; 1512-1522; 1534-1537) and Muscovy was able to conquer not only Great Russian border areas, but also Belorussian territories and some lands of Ukrainian Rus'.[2]

[1] For a discussion of these claims, see J. Pelenski, "The Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance,'" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (hereafter *HUS*), 1, no. 1 (March, 1977): 29-52. The image of Kiev in Muscovite official and semi-official sources of the 1550s and 1560s has been analyzed in J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438-1560s)* (The Hague and Paris, 1974), pp. 113-17.

[2] An analysis of this contest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is presented in my unpublished study entitled "The Contest between Muscovite Russia and Poland-Lithuania for the Lands of Old Rus' (1450s-1580s)." For a discussion of Polish claims to Kiev and the whole land of Rus' in connection with the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands into Crown Poland in 1569, see J. Pelenski, "The Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands into Crown Poland (1969): Socio-material Interest and Ideology — A Reexamination," in

The first of the two phases in the development of Muscovite pretensions to the Kievan heritage can be divided into three stages. The first stage of their articulation coincided with the Muscovite ideological awakening of the 1450s and 1460s, following the Council of Florence (1438-39) and the fall of Constantinople (1453). It was reflected particularly in the *Vita* of Dmitrij Ivanovič [Donskoj], in which the concept of direct and uninterrupted dynastic continuity from the Kievan ruler Vladimir I to the aforesaid Muscovite grand prince was developed in official Muscovite thought for the first time. During the second stage, which belonged to the early 1470s, the editors of the official Muscovite Codex of 1472 not only integrated this *Vita* into their work, but also formulated their own version of the dynastic *translatio* theory from Kiev through Suzdal'-Vladimir to Muscovy. The third stage can be dated to the period from 1493 to 1504, when the Muscovite court formulated its claims to all of Rus' and, specifically, to Kiev in its struggle against the Jagiellonian dual monarchy.[3]

The conceptual impetus and the qualitative ideological transformation of the official Muscovite claims were reflected in the legendary accounts about the transfer of gifts, insignia, and imperial crown of Monomax [Constantine IX Monomachus] to Volodymyr/Vladimir Vsevolodovič Monomax of Old (Kievan) Rus' and the correlated forgery about the enhancement of the latter's status to that of an empire. In a clearly integrated form, the two interrelated ideological claims are attested first in the texts of the *Poslanie Spiridona-Savvy* (*Poslanie*) and somewhat later in the official *Skazanie o velikix knjazex vladimerskix velikia Rusija* (*Skazanie*). The *Poslanie* was written by Spiridon-Savva, a Russian cleric of Tver' who had a rather checkered ecclesiastical and publicistic career.[4] He was first mentioned in Russian chronicles in an entry for the year 1476, where it was stated that he had come to Lithuania from Constantinople, where he had been appointed Metropolitan of Lithuania.

American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, Warsaw, 21-27 August 1973, vol. 3 (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. 19-52; and idem, "Inkorporacja ukraińskich ziem dawnej Rusi do Korony w 1569 roku: Ideologia i korzyści -- próba nowego spojrzenia," *Przegląd Historyczny* 65, no. 2 (1974): 243-62.

[3] Pelenski, "Origins," pp. 45-52.

[4] For an account of Spiridon-Savva's life, see R. P. Dmitrieva, *Skazanie o knjaz'jax vladimirskix* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), pp. 73-81. The latter work also contains the text editions of the *Poslanie* and the *Skazanie* provided by Dmitrieva (pp. 159-70 and 171-78). Two additional studies on the texts in question by Dmitrieva should be mentioned in this context: "O nekotoryx istočnikax 'Poslanija' Spiridona-Savvy," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), 13 (1957): 440-45, and "K istorii sozdanija 'Skazanija o knjaz'jax vladimirskix,'" *TODRL* 17 (1961): 342-47.

Spiridon-Savva was not well received by King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, and a Muscovite chronicle under the year 1482 mentioned that he was imprisoned by the Lithuanian authorities as a suspect individual and was referred to as a "devil." The date of his reported arrest coincided with the Sack of Kiev of 1482, which was carried out by a Tatar army from the Crimea under the command of Khan Mengli Girey at the instigation of the Muscovite Grand Prince Ivan III.[5] Following his incarceration Spiridon-Savva apparently made his way to Muscovy, where he was received no better, since Ivan III had his own metropolitan and Spiridon-Savva's claims to the Metropolitanate of Rus' were obviously inconvenient to the Muscovite political and ecclesiastical authorities. For all these reasons he was confined to the Ferapontov Monastery, apparently sometime in the early 1490s, and lived there in 1503. During his stay at the Ferapontov Monastery he was involved in literary activities. He referred once to his age in the *Poslanie*, stating that he was ninety-one years old, but the date of his death is unknown.

The *Poslanie* contains a number of legends with loaded ideological content, such as the fictitious genealogical tale about the origins of Russian rulers from the Roman Emperor (Caesar) Augustus, the invented account concerning Monomax's gifts and regalia mentioned above, and a partially faked and politically humiliating genealogical tale regarding the origins of the Lithuanian rulers. According to its internal evidence, the *Poslanie* was composed during the reign of Vasilij III — in the opinion of I. N. Ždanov before 1523, which R. P. Dmitrieva narrowed to the years 1511-1521.[6] The *Poslanie* was apparently written at the request of the Muscovite authorities and then reedited into the official *Skazanie*, the earliest recension of which was compiled in the late 1520s or early 1530s, but before 1533.[7]

While there has been no major disagreement in scholarship about the literary history of the *Poslanie* and the *Skazanie* or about the latter's extraordinary career in official Muscovite political thought during the rest of the sixteenth century,[8] differences of opinion have

[5] For an analysis of Muscovite sources pertaining to this event, confer J. Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev in 1482 in Contemporary Muscovite Chronicle Writing," *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak*, = *HUS* 3-4 (1979-80), pt. 2:638-49.

[6] I. N. Ždanov, *Russkij bylevoj epos* (St. Petersburg, 1895), especially the chapter "Povesti o Vavilone i 'Skazanie o knjaz'jax vladimirskix'"; Dmitrieva, *Skazanie*, pp. 81-82.

[7] Dmitrieva, *Skazanie*, pp. 91-109; idem, "K istorii sozdanija 'Skazanija o knjaz'jax vladimirskix,'" *TODRL* 17 (1961): 342-47.

[8] Dmitrieva, *Skazanie*, pp. 111-51. For a discussion of the influence of the *Skazanie* on the *Kazanskaja istorija* or the *Kazanskij letopisec*, and the relevant ideological implications,

emerged concerning the dating and possible authorship of the individual components of the two texts and, in particular, of the genealogical tale about the Russian rulers as descendants of Caesar Augustus and the related account about Monomax's gifts and regalia. Dmitrieva dated the tale and the account as integral parts of the *Poslanie* and attributed their authorship to Spiridon-Savva. The late A. A. Zimin treated them as separate and original works and connected their composition with the coronation of Dmitrij Ivanovič, the grandson of Ivan III, which took place in 1498.[9] More recently A. L. Gol'dberg has redated the interrelated accounts to a later period, the 1510s and early 1520s, that is, into the same period as did Dmitrieva. He questioned her attribution of authorship, however, and suggested, instead, that the writer was a "secular" individual, a Muscovite diplomat or a court official, someone like Dmitrij Gerasimov, for example.[10] Whereas Gol'dberg has established one case of correlation between the official diplomatic records and the genealogical tale, specifically in the case of the so-called Prussian towns of Gdańsk, Toruń, Marburg, and Xvojnica,[11] his attribution of the entire tale remains less convincing than that of Dmitrieva.

The two versions of the account of Monomax's gifts and regalia included in the *Poslanie* and the *Skazanie* read as follows:

Poslanie	*Skazanie*
And in the fourth generation from the Grand Prince Rurik was the Grand Prince Vladimir, who enlightened the Russian land with holy baptism, and who was called in holy baptism Vasilij.	In the fourth generation after Grand Prince Rurik came Prince Vladimir, who enlightened the Russian land with holy baptism in the year 6496 [988]. And in the fourth generation after

see Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 106-111. The genealogical tale about the ancestry of the Russian rulers going back to Caesar Augustus, as incorporated into the *Poslanie* and the *Skazanie* and used by Muscovite diplomacy in Russo-Polish relations, became a subject of political satire in the writings of Polish Renaissance authors, including Jan Kochanowski ("Czwartynasty potomek rzymskiego cesarza / Augusta; któż wie, gdzie wziął tego kronikarza!" [Jan Kochanowski, *Jezda do Moskwy* (1583) in *Dzieła polskie*, 2 vols., (Warsaw, 1976), 2: 137]).

[9] A. A. Zimin, review of R. P. Dmitrieva, *Skazanie o knjaz'jax vladimirskix*, in *Istoričeskij Arxiv*, 1956, no. 3, pp. 236-37; idem, "Antičnye motivy v russkoj publicistike konca XV v.," in *Feodal'naja Rossija vo vsemirno-istoričeskom processe* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 129-38.

[10] A. L. Gol'dberg, "K istorii rasskaza o potomkax Avgusta i o darax Monomaxa," *TODRL* 30 (1976): 204-216, especially 210-11, and R. P. Dmitrieva's response restating her position, "O tekstologičeskoj zavisimosti meždu raznymi vidami rasskaza o potomkax Avgusta i o darax Monomaxa," *TODRL* 30 (1976):217-30.

[11] Gol'dberg, "K istorii rasskaza," p. 208.

And in the fourth generation after him was the Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič. Taking counsel with his princes, dignitaries, and boyars, he said: "I am the most recent of all those who reigned before me and held in their hands the banners of the scepter of Great Russia as Grand Prince Oleg went [forth] and took from Constantinople, the New Rome, tribute from each inhabitant, and came back in good health; and then Grand Prince Svjatoslav Igorevič, called the Nimble One (*Legky*), went forth in galleys (*v galiaxx*) with 2700 men, exacted a heavy tribute from the city of Constantine, and returned to his fatherland, the Kievan land, and died. I am the heir of my grandfathers and of my father Vsevolod Jaroslavič and the inheritor of the same honor from God. And I seek advice from thee, princes of my palace, and boyars, and *voevody*, and all the Christ-loving host under thee; the name of the life-giving Trinity may arise with the power of thy bravery, by God's will, under our command; what counsel do thou give me?" His princes, boyars, and *voevody* answered the Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič, saying: "The heart of the Tsar is in God's hands [cf. Prov. 21:1], as it is written, and as for us, we are under thy will, who art our ruler after God." Grand Prince Vladimir gathers his highly experienced and wise *voevody* and establishes captains over the various forces — chiliarchs, centurions, and *pjatdesjatniki* over the various ranks of forces, and having gathered together many thousands of warriors, sent them to Car'grad in Thrace; and they captured it to a great extent and returned with many riches, in great health. And so much for this. At that time, in the year 1045, Rome apostacized, and Pope Formos fell away

Grand Prince Vladimir came his great-grandson Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič Monomax. And when he reigned in the Grand Principality of Kiev, he began to take counsel with his princes, boyars, and dignitaries, and said: "I am the most recent of all those who reigned before me and held in their hands the banners of the scepter of Great Russia, as Grand Prince Oleg went [forth] and exacted from Constantinople heavy tribute for all his host, and came back in good health; and then Grand Prince Svjatoslav Igorevič went [forth] and exacted heavy tribute from Constantinople. And I am by God's grace the heir of my ancestors and of my father Grand Prince Vsevolod Jaroslavič and the inheritor of the same honor from God. Now I seek advice from thee, princes of my palace, and boyars and *voevody*, and all the Christ-loving host under thee; the name of the life-giving Trinity may arise with the power of thy bravery, by God's will, under our command; what counsel do thou give me?" His princes, boyars, and voevody answered the Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič: "The heart of the Tsar is in God's hands [cf. Prov. 21:1], as we are under thy will." Grand Prince Vladimir gathered the highly experienced and wise *voevody* and established captains over the various forces—chiliarchs, centurions, and *pjatdesjatniki* over the various ranks of forces — and gathered many thousands of warriors, and sent them to Car'grad in the Thracian province; and they captured most of it and returned with many riches. At that time the pious Emperor Constantine was in Constantinople, and he waged war against the Persians and Latins. And he took wise and imperial counsel and sent his envoys to Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič: Neophytos,

from the faith. Tsar Constantine Monomax was much saddened by such things; a council gathered on the tsar's advice and on the blessing of the most reverend Kir Larius [Michael I Kerularios, Patriarch of Constantinople], and urgent letters were sent to the other patriarchs: Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch. And these envoys soon returned, together with the envoys of those patriarchs, with their letters and with the advice concerning things spiritual. And the most reverend ecumenical Patriarch Kir Larius and the Christ-loving Tsar Constantine, called Monomax, deliberated, with the advice of the ecumenical council of the four patriarchs and those metropolitans and bishops under them, and the lower ranks even to the priests, clerks, and sub-clerks, and they removed the pope's name from the registers [*iz paralipomena*] of the church altars of the four ecumenical patriarchs. And from that time even unto the present day they "rome" about, having fallen away from the Orthodox faith, and [therefore] they acquired the name of "romers," and for this the pope's name is not mentioned in the church prayers from the four ecumenical altars of the patriarchs. From that time this prating Formos is not called pope, but an apostate from our Orthodox faith, which we received from the evangelical message of our Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, the word of God, and thanks to the holy teachings of his disciples and the tradition of the seven ecumenical councils. This accursed Formos divided the substance of the life-giving Trinity and introduced to the Latin people a fourth person in the Godhead, babbling that the Holy Spirit emanates from the son. But we, the adherents of Orthodoxy, believe in the eternity of the Father Metropolitan of Ephesus, and with him two bishops of Malatia[?] [militin'ska] and Mitylene[?] [mitilin'ska], and Antipas, strategus [stratiga] of Antioch, and the general of Jerusalem, Eustathius, and his other nobles. And from around his neck he took the life-giving cross made from the same life-giving tree on which the Almighty Christ was crucified. He took from his head the imperial crown and placed it on a golden platter. He ordered the sardonyx vessel to be brought, from which Augustus the Roman Caesar had rejoiced [drinking], and a stole, which he wore on his shoulders, and a censer forged of Arabian gold, and many other imperial gifts. And he gave them to Metropolitan Neophytos and the bishops and the noble envoys, and sent them to Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič, pleading with him and saying: "Accept from us, O God-loving, Pious Prince, these honorable gifts [*ot načatka večnyx let tvoego rodstva pokolen'ja car'skij žrebij*][?], for thy glory and honor and for the coronation of thy free and autocratic empire. And by means of this, our envoys will entreat thee, and we ask for thy grace, peace, and love; and may God's churches be without strife, and may all the Orthodox remain in peace under the power of thy empire and thy free autocracy of Great Russia; may thou be called from this time onward a God-crowned Tsar, crowned with the imperial crown by the hand of the Most Reverend Metropolitan Neophytos and the bishops." And from that time Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič was called Monomax and Tsar of Great Russia. And after that for a long time to come he remained in peace and love with Emperor Constantine. And from that time on with the imperial crown, which the great Emperor of the Greeks

and the co-eternity of his Son, his word, and the Holy Spirit who shares the throne emanating from the immaculate bosom of the Father; the Trinity is con-substantial: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And so much about this; let us return to the matter at hand. The God-loving Tsar Constantine Monomax took counsel and sent envoys to Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič: Neophytos, Metropolitan of Ephesus in Asia, and with him two bishops, of Malatia[?] (*militinska*) and of Mitylene (*mitilinska*), and the strategus (*stratiga*) of Antioch, Augustalius of Alexandria, and a general of Jerusalem, Eustathius. And from around his neck he took a life-giving cross from the same life-giving tree on which the Almighty Christ was crucified. He took from his head the imperial crown and placed it on a golden platter. He ordered that the sardonyx vessel be brought from which Augustus, the Roman Caesar, had rejoiced [drinking], and a stole, which he wore on his own shoulders, and a censer forged of Arabian gold, and myrrh made with many fragrant flowers of the Indian land, and frankincense [*ot zlata aravijska troma smešenie imat*], and many other gifts. And he gave them to Metropolitan Neophytos and the bishops and his noble retainers, and sent them to Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič. "Accept from us, O God-loving, pious prince, these honorable gifts [*ot načatok večnyx let tvoego rodstva pokolenia*] for thy glory and honor and for the coronation of thy free and autocratic empire. And by means of this our envoys will entreat thee, and we ask of thy grace, peace and love; Constantine Monomax sent, the grand princes of Vladimir were crowned when they were established in the Grand Principality of Russia.[12]

[12] Dmitrieva, *Skazanie*, pp. 175-78. The English translation of this crucial passage first appeared in my study *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 107-109.

may God's churches be without strife, and all the Orthodox remain in peace under the power of our empire and thy free autocracy of Great Russia; may thou be called from this time onward a God-crowned Tsar, crowned with the imperial crown by the hand of the Most Reverend Metropolitan Neophytos and the bishops." And from that time Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovič was called Monomax and Tsar of Great Russia. And from that time with the imperial crown which the great Tsar of the Greeks Constantine Monomax sent him, all the Grand Princes of Vladimir were crowned, when they were established in the Grand Principality of Russia, just as the free autocrat and Tsar of Great Russia Vasilij Ivanovič, the twelfth descendant from Grand Prince Vladimir Monomax, and from Grand Prince Rurik the twentieth descendant, together with his brothers Ivanovič and Andreevič.[13]

The account of Monomax's gifts and regalia, as well as the genealogy of the rulers of Rus' from the Roman emperor (Caesar) Augustus, are obvious historical fabrications, similar to other medieval and early modern historical legends written with the purpose of proving a distinguished lineage for the ruling dynasty and with the aim of elevating the status of a state in the community of other states. There is no evidence of any direct historical relationship between the two Monomaxs, since Volodymyr/Vladimir Monomax of Rus' (Grand Prince of Kiev, 1113-1125) was born in 1053, while Constantine Monomax died in 1055. However, Volodymyr/Vladimir Monomax's father, Vsevolod Jaroslavič (1030-1093), was apparently married to a Greek woman from the Byzantine imperial family, and Volodymyr/Vladimir was the offspring of this marriage (*ot carice gr'kyne*). Some historians have speculated that the Greek mother of the Kievan Monomax may have been a daughter of Constantine Monomax.[14]

[13] Dmitrieva, *Skazanie*, pp. 162-65.

[14] *The Russian Primary Chronicle (Laurentian Text)*, trans. and ed. S.H. Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 142, 263, fn. 192. Consult also

Furthermore, the inclusion of the imperial dynastic name Monomax into Volodymyr/Vladimir Monomax's own name represents a problem which has not been satisfactorily resolved and requires further investigation.[15] Evidently no actual relations or transfer of regalia between the two Monomaxs could have taken place.

With one major exception, the differences between the account in the more archaic *Poslanie* and the *Skazanie* are rather insignificant. The major exception is the *Poslanie*'s treatment of the first great schism in Christianity in 1054, which resulted in its breakup into the Catholic and Orthodox versions of the Christian faith, a treatment included in the middle section of the *Poslanie* account.[16] Otherwise, both accounts contain all the essential "historical events" and the relevant ideological claims. For instance, both give considerable prominence to the alleged campaign of Svjatoslav Igorevič against Constantinople and maintain that he exacted a "heavy tribute" from that city, although Svjatoslav never went to Constantinople but waged war against the Bulgarians. His name was known in Byzantium where he may have had some contacts. Both accounts also credit Volodymyr/Vladimir Monomax with an alleged victorious campaign against Constantinople and Thrace which supposedly resulted in great booty for the Rus'.

The most important elements of the two accounts pertain, of course, to the transfer of Constantine Monomax's gifts and regalia to Volodymyr/Vladimir Monomax of Rus', the latter's attainment of the status of the "Tsar of Great Russia," and the transformation of the Old (Kievan)

V. G. Brjusova, "K voprosu o proisxoždenii Vladimira Monomaxa," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 28 (1968):127-35.

[15] The name and title Monomax appears, of course, in the *Poučenie* (Testament) of Volodymyr/Vladimir Monomax inserted in the Laurentian Codex among the entries for 1096. The dates of its writing and incorporation into the Laurentian Codex have long defied scholarly explanation (*The Russian Primary Chronicle*, Appendix I, Notes to Testament of Vladimir Monomax, p. 285, fn. 1). For the more recent Soviet commentaries, and the literature on the *Poučenie*, see D. S. Lixačev, *Velikoe nasledie* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 111-31, and D. S. Lixačev, ed., *Istorija russkoj literatury X-XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 96-100. Concerning the discussion of a seal attributed to Volodymyr/Vladimir Vsevolodovič and including the name Monomax, confer V. L. Janin and G. G. Litavrin, "Novye materialy o proisxoždenii Vladimira Monomaxa," D. A. Avdusin and V. L. Janin, eds., *Istoriko-arxeologičeskij sbornik* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 204-221.

[16] Spiridon-Savva's discussion of the schism contains a number of obvious mistakes. For example, the schism did not occur in 1045, as Spiridon-Savva maintained, but in 1054, during the tenure of Pope Leo IX (1049 - April 1054) and not that of the alleged Pope Formos, to whom he referred. An abbreviated summary of his treatment of the 1054 schism was incorporated at the end of the first reconstructed recension of the *Skazanie*, but was completely eliminated from the work's second recension (Dmitrieva, *Skazanie*, p. 178 and pp. 185-91).

Rus' into an "empire" and a "free" (supreme and unlimited) autocracy[17] already in Monomax's time, and the subsequent transmission of the Kievan ruler's title and the status of an empire first to the Grand Principality of Vladimir and then to the "Great Russia" of Muscovy.

Since I. N. Ždanov's first major scholarly treatment of the *Poslanie* and the *Skazanie*, various scholars have pointed out that those who devised the genealogical tale about the rulers of Rus'—descendants from the Roman emperor Augustus—and the related account concerning the Byzantine Monomax's gifts and regalia, as well as those who used the tale and the account in question for official ideological purposes, intended to upgrade the status of the Muscovite state by connecting it with the Roman Empire of antiquity and by claiming direct inheritance from the more recent but equally prestigious Byzantine Empire.[18] Others have emphasized the national dynastic foundations of the Muscovite Rurikides as the decisive element in Muscovite state ideology, and rejected the significance of the Byzantine connection particularly as exemplified by the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Palaeologue.[19]

The Muscovite ideologues and the court, or those performing services for them, were indeed not interested in stressing the most recent connection with Byzantium, since that empire was ideologically tainted by its acquiescence to the Council and Union of Florence (1438-39), for which it had appropriately been punished by the "infidel" conquest of Constantinople (1453) and by its very downfall. Late Byzantium, the "second Rome," was hardly a convenient ideological reference, then. However, the Byzantine Empire of the "middle period" of the distinguished Macedonian dynasty, to which Constantine IX Monomachus was related, could serve as a much more suitable predecessor from which historical precedents could be borrowed and with which ideological affiliations could be construed. It was the Byzantium from

[17] The notions of supreme sovereignty and unlimited authority were expressed in Russian sources by the term *vol'nyj*, a paradoxical definition for the contemporary reader. Its early usage can be attested, already in the mid-fifteenth century, by no other than Iona, the first autonomous Metropolitan of Moscow, in relation to the Kazan Tatar khan, Mahmut (*Akty istoričeskie, sobrannye i izdannye Arxeografičeskoju kommissieju*, 1 (1841), nos. 67, 266, pp. 119-20, 497). Following the assumption of the title of Tsar by Ivan IV, the term was used officially by Muscovite bureaucrats and publicists.

[18] Ždanov, *Russkij bylevoj epos*, pp. 62-63, 101-112.

[19] G. Olšr, "Gli ultimi Rurikidi e le basi ideologiche della sovranità dello Stato Russo," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 12 (1946): 322-73.

whom Old Rus' had accepted Christianity, with whose imperial dynasty famous rulers of Old Rus' had entered into marital bonds, and who was the bulwark of Orthodox religious purity against the "perverted" Latins. Spiridon-Savva's incorporation of the account of the religious schism of 1054 was not entirely accidental, although Muscovite authorities decided to exclude it from the later official version. The Muscovite court preferred to put greater emphasis on military conquests and exaction of tribute which fitted into its own and the traditional theory of law by conquest.[20] Old Byzantium was treated both as a highly respected empire of antiquity from whom Old Rus' had inherited imperial regalia and as an indispensable link in the chain of Muscovite imperial claims. Without Byzantium, Russian imperial claims could hardly have been advanced.

However, the Muscovite court also became convinced that the advocacy of Muscovite imperial claims would be fortified by a native imperial tradition. With the help of Russian, but non-Muscovite, publicists, who readily offered their services to the rising Muscovite ruler, the Muscovite court promulgated the theory of the "Kievan imperial inheritance," for which there was no objective historical evidence, just as there was no substantiation for the assertion that the grand princes of Vladimir were crowned with an imperial crown, or that the Grand Principality of Vladimir, a relatively insignificant territorial state in its own time, held or even aspired to the status of an empire. The evidence for a conscious preoccupation with the "Kievan imperial inheritance" in official circles in Muscovy during the first decades of the sixteenth century can be found in the writings of Filofej of Pskov, who had a very keen sense of what the Muscovite court wanted to hear. In his Epistle to Vasilij III, composed sometime after 1511 and at about the same time as the *Poslanie* of Spiridon-Savva, Filofej referred to the "blessed St. Vladimir and the great Jaroslav, the chosen of God, and other venerable saints, whose lineage has been extended to thee, emperor" in the same manner as to "the other ancient Orthodox emperors" such as the great Emperor Constantine, who in one of the copies of Filofej's Epistle was directly named as an "ancestor" of Vasilij III.[21] Interestingly enough,

[20] For an analysis of the Muscovite theory of law by conquest as applied to the Khanate of Kazan, see Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 88-91. On the Polish theory of law by conquest with regard to Old Rus', cf. Pelenski, "Incorporation of Ukrainian Lands," pp. 38-44.

[21] V.N. Malinin, *Starec Eleazarova Monastyrja Filofej i ego poslanija* (Kiev, 1901), Priloženie, 9, pp. 51-52. For a rare earlier reference to Vladimir I as emperor ("Tsar") in the *Vita* of Dmitrij Ivanovič [Donskoj], consult Pelenski, "Origins," pp. 40-41.

Filofej's contribution to the formulation of the claim regarding the imperial status of the rulers of Old (Kievan) Rus' and the idea of the Byzantine-Kievan "imperial inheritance" was included in one publicistic work in which he began to explicate the theory of "Moscow — the third Rome."

The theory of "Kievan imperial inheritance," as well as those of Roman and Byzantine "imperial inheritances," had international and domestic implications. They served the Muscovite court not only in its struggle for the lands of Old Rus' against Poland-Lithuania, but also in its efforts to enhance the hierarchical status of its ruler not only vis-à-vis the ruler of Poland-Lithuania, its principal competitor for the lands of Old Rus', but also other rulers in both Europe and the East. It was during that period that Muscovite diplomacy scored its first, albeit temporary, success by receiving the acknowledgement of the title "tsar," or the Western "caesar" ("Kaiser"), for its ruler from a real emperor, Maximilian I, in the anti-Polish offensive alliance treaty Muscovy concluded with his empire in 1514.[22] The theory of a "Kievan imperial inheritance" could serve very conveniently in efforts to strengthen the authority of the Muscovite ruler. Since a "free" autocratic empire had already existed in the "Russian" realm in the Kievan antiquity, it was only natural to continue its political traditions in Muscovite Russia and to extoll the status of her rulers in relation to their subjects. Finally, the new claim to a "Kievan imperial inheritance" represented the crowning component of the Kiev—(Suzdal'-)Vladimir—Moscow *translatio* theory and elevated it to a much more lofty "imperial " level.

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[22] The best critical edition of the text of this treaty, its German translation, and a commentary were provided by G. Stökl, in L. Santifaller, ed., *1100 Jahre österreichische und europäische Geschichte* (Vienna, 1949), pp. 53-55. For the historical background of the treaty, and additional documents, cf. J. Fiedler, "Die Allianz zwischen Kaiser Maximilian I und Vasilij Ivanovič, Grossfürsten von Russland, von dem Jahre 1514," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Classe* 43, no 2 (1863):183-289, especially 196, 197-99 and fn. 1.

The Byzantine Tradition of Vettius Valens's *Anthologies*

DAVID PINGREE

When Wilhelm Kroll prepared the first edition[1] of the "complete" text of the astrological compendium composed by Vettius Valens[2] towards the end of the second century A.D.,[3] he relied basically on two late Byzantine manuscripts and their Western copies. The primary manuscript was and is Vaticanus graecus 191[4] (*V*) which (with its important apograph, Arch. Selden B. 19[5] (*S*) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) provides the text for most of the nine books of the *Anthologies*; of great importance for the first two books is Marcianus graecus 314[6] (*M*). In this paper I shall attempt to reconstruct the archetype of these two codices and to trace the history of its tradition back to the early Byzantine period.

Alexander Turyn has carefully examined and described *V*,[7] a paper manuscript of folio size (34.5 x 24 cm.) consisting of 397 folios. He has demonstrated that the manuscript consists of three codices gathered together by the latest scribe, whom he calls R. On folio 319v of *V* R has written a notice concerning the lunar eclipse of 18 May 1296 and the earthquakes that struck Constantinople on June 1 and both Constan-

1 *Anthologiarum libri* (Berlin, 1908).

2 W. and H. Gundel, *Astrologumena* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 216-21; D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), vol. 2, pp. 444-45.

3 The latest horoscope preserved in the *Anthologies* is dated 3 February 173; see O. Neugebauer and H. B. Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 130-31. See also O. Neugebauer, "The Chronology of Vettius Valens' Anthologiae," *Harvard Theological Studies* 47 (1954): 65-67. His main period of activity seems to have extended from ca, 150 to ca. 175.

4 G. Mercati and P. Franchi de Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1923), pp. 220-27, and W. Kroll, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (hereafter *CCAG*), V 2 (Brussels, 1906), pp. 3-23.

5 S. Weinstock, *CCAG* IX 1 (Brussels, 1951), pp. 74-75.

6 W. Kroll and A. Olivieri, *CCAG* II (Brussels, 1900), p. 2. Note that the manuscript used by W. Hübner, *Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 398-404, is a contaminated copy of *M*.

7 A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City, 1964), pp. 89-97.

tinople and Asia Minor on July 17 of the same year. On folio 1 R gives the rules for converting a year in the Seleucid calendar into the corresponding year in the Byzantine calendar; he uses A.D. 1303 as an example. On folios 108-111v R gives examples for using the astronomical tables found on folios 112v-127 of *V*; these include the computations of the sun's longitude on 15 April 1302, the moon's longitude on 22 April 1302, and the longitude of the moon's ascending node on 1 May 1302. In the course of these computations he mentions the *Zīj al-ʿAlāʾī* which Gregory Chioniades had recently translated into Greek,[8] and states that he, R, was in Constantinople in April 1302. In this connection it is important to note that the astronomical tables in *V* that R uses âre also associated with Chioniades.

Turyn identifies the first codex that is incorporated into *V* as consisting of folios 2-172, and he associates it with the scribe, whom he dubs G, whose handwriting is much smaller, neater, and professional than is R's. G has inscribed on folios 170-170v of *V* two further examples illustrating the use of the astronomical tables in *V*; they are the computations of the longitudes of the sun and the moon on 14 April 1298. Following this, on folios 170v-172v, R has written a long and tedious explanation of the methods employed in performing arithmetical operations with sexagesimal numbers, in the course of which he refers to the sexagesimal multiplication table, the κλειδίον, that Gregory Chioniades also uses.[9]

Thus it is clear that *V* is closely associated with Chioniades. I believe it to be likely that G and R are indeed Chioniades himself writing, respectively, in his scribal and in his cursive style; alternatively, one or the other or both scribes might be members of a circle of astronomers associated with him during his stays in Constantinople (if such a circle ever existed). In any case, G's notations indicate that the first codex in *V* already existed in 1298, though the palaeography indicates that it was not copied much earlier than that. Since R has added the quire marks throughout the volume, the three codices were originally bound together not too long before or after 1302/3.

[8] See D. Pingree, "Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 18 (1964): 133-60; my edition of Chioniades's version of the *Zīj al-ʿAlāʾī* and associated texts will appear in the *Corpus Astronomiae Byzantinae*. On Chioniades' career see further L. G. Westerink, "La profession de foi de Grégoire Chioniades," *Revue des études byzantines* 38 (1980): 233-45.
[9] *Zīj al-ʿAlāʾī* 35, etc.

Five scribes shared in the copying of the first codex of *V*. What is left of Valens's text—quires 14-18 (folios 89-107)—were copied by Turyn's third scribe, C (quires 14-16; now folios 89-104), and his first, A (quires 17-18; now folios 105-107). The composition of this section of *V* as it is presently bound is as follows (the page and line numbers refer to Kroll's edition, the chapter and sentence numbers to my forthcoming edition):

quire 14. folio 89 (I 5,1 - I 17,22 and I 21,41 - I 22, title: p. 22, 29 - p. 32,17 and p. 53,1-5).
six folios lost.
folio 96 (II 37,39 - II 41,3: p. 112,23 - p. 124,8).
quire 15. one folio lost.
folios 90-95 (III 3,7 - IV 25,2: p. 136,27 - p. 201,2).
one folio lost.
quire 16. folios 97-104 (V 2,10 - VIII 3,9: p. 211,16 - p. 297,34).
quire 17. folio 105 (VIII 3,9 - VIII 5,45: p. 297,34 - p. 303,32).
six folios lost.
folio 106 (Addit. p. 364,2 - p. 366,10).
quire 18. folio 107 (Addit. p. 366,11 - p. 372,41).

Fortunately, before *V* was so wretchedly reduced it was copied into *S* in the early sixteenth century for the French humanist and lawyer Christophe de Longueil, who was born at Malines in 1488 and died at Padua on 11 September 1522. *V*, which had belonged to Cardinal Isidore of Kiev, apparently entered the Vatican Library upon his death on 27 April 1463. From the registers of the Vatican Library we know that *V* was borrowed by Dominus Petrus Bembus on 4 February 1518,[10] and by Petrus Paulus Arretinus on 6 July 1522, who returned it on 8 August of the same year[11]—a month before de Longueil's death. Perhaps *S* was copied on one of these occasions, though the length of *S*, which originally also included Arch. Selden B. 17 so that it consisted of 324 folios, makes the second alternative less likely, though certainly not impossible[12] From *S* we know that the lost folios of quires 14-17[13] were still included with *V*, in their proper order, when it was copied. It is also evident from the status of the text that *V*, when complete, presented neither an accurate nor a full version of the *Anthologies*. Particularly noteworthy are the space of eleven lines left blank on folio 90v after III 6

[10] M. Bertòla, *I due primi registri di prestito della Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1942), p. 55.
[11] Bertòla, p. 50.
[12] *CCAG* IX 1, p. 74.
[13] The text preserved in *S* and printed on pp. 304-363 of Kroll's edition could just be made to fit in the 6 folios that followed folio 105 in quire 17 of *V*.

(p. 145,22), the space of thirteen lines left blank on folio 99 to hold the table of V 7,18 (p. 233,23), and the space of thirty-one lines left blank on folio 105v after VIII 5,45 (p. 303,32); and *S* ends abruptly seven lines before the end of folio 176v in IX 19 (p. 363,25).

None of these gaps, but those at the beginning of the text (I 1 - I 4) and in the middle of the first book (I 17,22 - I 21,14) can be filled in and the text of the first two books improved by consulting *M*. This manuscript of 286 folios was copied at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and so is contemporaneous with *V*. On folios 256-286 (presumably quires 33-36) are preserved Vettius Valens, *Anthologies* I 1 - I 5; I 7 - I 15,16; I 16 - II 20; and II 23 - II 28,4 (p. 1,4 - p. 23,15; p. 24,23 - p. 30,18; p. 31,2 - p. 82,5; and p. 87,7 - p. 95,8). Folio 286v was originally blank; it now bears an index and an indication of Bessarion's ownership.

Since the text of *M* shares numerous wrong readings with *V*, both are clearly descended from a single source, which I shall dub α. The physical arrangement of α can be established by a comparison of its two descendants. For this purpose we must consider the following data:

A. I 1 - I 4 contain 5,746 words (only in *M*).

B. I 5 - I 17,22 contain 2,955 words, but I 15, 17-27 (omitted by *M* and clearly a clumsy interpolation in *V*) contain 151 words; therefore this segment of α contained 2,804 words (*V* and *M*).

C. I 17,22 - I 21,41 contain 5,588 words (*M* only).

D. I 21,41 - II 28,4 (including II 21-22) contain 11,071 words (*M*; also in *VS*).

From this we hypothesize that one page of α contained about 350 words, so that a quire of sixteen pages contained about 5,600 words. Then A above (I 1 - I 4) filled one quire in α; this was lost before *V* was copied. B was contained on four folios, which was the first gathering when *V* was copied. C filled another quire, which was missing when *V* was copied. And D was contained in two quires of α; when the scribe of *M* completed copying them, he stopped. *M*, therefore, or its ancestor was copied from α before *V*, and α was damaged in the interim.

But before that happened another copy was made of at least parts of α; this is now known to us through the excerpts in Vaticanus graecus 1066[14] (*v*). This is a manuscript of 175 folios copied in the fifteenth century. It is already known that *v* (folios 103v-124) shares with the

[14] F. Cumont and F. Boll, *CCAG* V 1 (Brussels, 1904), pp. 74-79.

second codex in *V* (folios 248v-286v) and with Parisinus graecus 2506[15] (*B*) (folios 156-158v and 173v-175v) the distinction of preserving what remains of the Byzantine translation of Abū Maʿshar's *Kitāb aḥkām taḥāwīl sinī al-mawālīd*,[16] though for this text *v* is certainly not copied from *V*. The same is true with regard to Valens, since *v* preserves some of the text of α that was missing when *V* was copied. Unfortunately, *v* contains only excerpts, but these are extremely valuable in providing a check on *M*.

Folios 14-16 of *v* contain I 18, 6-70, on computing the longitudes of the five star-planets, in a version that in several cases preserves the correct reading when *M* does not. Folios 26-32v of *v* preserve I 19, 1 - I 20,5 and folios 33-34 I 20,33-41; and folios 34-35 contain IV 12, 1-3. The gap of 1,564 words between folio 32v and folio 33 of v is due to the loss of a number of leaves from that manuscript; 1,564 is not close to being an integer multiple of 350.

Manuscript *B*, which shares with *V* and *v* the responsibility for preserving Abū Maʿshar, also contains, as does Marcianus graecus 335[17] (*H*), Epitome IV of Rhetorius,[18] a work put together in Byzantium in the late tenth or early eleventh century, perhaps by that Demophilus who cast the horoscope of Constantinople in about 990 and who displays a familiarity with the works of Dorotheus, Ptolemy, Valens, and Porphyrius[19] as does the compiler of Epitome IV. The author of Epitome IV frequently cites both book and chapter numbers of the *Anthologies*; these correspond quite consistently with the chapter numbers in *V* and in *S* insofar as they are preserved (and not with the chapter numbers in Kroll's edition). For example, in its chapter 16 Epitome IV refers to Valens III 8, VI 2, and VII 4, 5, and 6 correctly, though also to III 3 as III 5 (a scribal error because of his correct reference to III 8); in chapter 18 he refers to VI 8 as VI 10 (etacism); and in chapter 21 to IV ⟨1⟩4, IV ⟨25⟩, and VIII 6 correctly. This demonstrates that the text of the *Anthologies* was divided into the same chapters in ca. 1000 as they were in ca. 1300.

15 F. Cumont, *CCAG* VIII 1 (Brussels, 1929), pp. 74-115.
16 Ed. D. Pingree, Leipzig 1968.
17 *CCAG* II, pp. 37-70.
18 D. Pingree, "Antiochus and Rhetorius," *Classical Philology* (hereafter *CPh*), 72 (1977): 203-223, especially 216-19.
19 D. Pingree, "The Horoscope of Constantinople," Πρίσματα (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 305-315.

More substantial excerpts from Valens are found in Byzantine manuscripts whose contents go back to the period of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, including especially *B* and *H* as well as Marcianus graecus 334[20] (*C*); these are generally reworkings and rearrangements of Valens's material, and its mixture with excerpts from Ptolemy, Anubio, and others. The excerpts are derived primarily from books I, II, IV, and V of the *Anthologies*; they will be edited as appendices to my edition. Unfortunately, we know nothing of their author, but he clearly had a text very similar to that of α.

Other Valentian excerpts which belong to the Middle Byzantine period are direct copies (sometimes abbreviated) of one or more manuscripts belonging to the α tradition. Among these excerpts are those of *Anthologies* I 11 and 13 and III 5 that a member of the School of John Abramius,[21] who had access to manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, copied into Laurentianus 28,14[22] (*J*) in the 1380s, and that of III 6 in Vindobonensis phil. gr. 115[23] (*W*), a manuscript copied not very long before 6 October 1241. Perhaps also from an ancestor of α is the chapter on transits found in Parisinus graecus 2419[24] (*G*), which was copied by George Midiates in 1461,[25] and in Vindobonensis phil. gr. 108[26] (*U*), a manuscript of the sixteenth century; this chapter has been published from these two manuscripts by F. Cumont,[27] who did not realize that a sentence from it is cited as Valens's on folio 156 of Vaticanus graecus 1056[28] (*X*), a fourteenth-century manuscript based on eleventh- and twelfth-century sources.[29] *U* also contains brief reworkings of chapters from books VIII and IX. Several of these manuscripts (notably *B* and *X*) as well as others also contain spurious texts (e.g., because they are based on Islamic sources)[30] attributed to Valens.

[20] *CCAG* II, pp. 16-37.
[21] D. Pingree, "The Astrological School of John Abramius," *DOP* 25 (1971): 189-215.
[22] A. Olivieri, *CCAG* I (Brussels, 1898), pp. 20-37.
[23] W. Kroll, *CCAG* VI (Brussels, 1903), pp. 16-28.
[24] *CCAG* VIII 1, pp. 20-63.
[25] For the date, see D. Pingree, ed, *Hephaestionis Thebani Apostelesmatica*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1974), p. xvi, fn. 5.
[26] *CCAG* VI, pp. 1-16.
[27] *CCAG* VIII 1, pp. 161-71.
[28] J. Heeg, *CCAG* V 3 (Brussels, 1910), pp. 7-64.
[29] For the date of the sources of *X*, see *DOP* 18 (1964): 138-39, and *Hephaestio*, 2: XXI-XXII.
[30] Such is the text edited in *CCAG* V 3, pp. 110-21, which is based on a horoscope that can be dated 7 November 939; see Πρίσματα, p. 314. This misattribution is another demonstration of Valens's notoriety in the tenth century in Byzantium.

A more curious witness to the Byzantine interest in the *Anthologies* is the reworking of his rather absurd rules for determining the longitudes of the planets found in I 4 and 17-18.[31] This revision, whose epoch is 1 January 906 (cf. the horoscope of Constantine Porphyrogenitus cast for 3 September 905),[32] is found in three manuscripts: Parisinus suppl. gr. 464 (not seen by me), Vaticanus Rossianus graecus 897 (a note at the end of the text gives the present date as 1295), and Vaticanus graecus 184 (a note at the end of the text in this manuscript gives the present date as 1270). A further abbreviation of the redaction of 906 is found in *J* (a note at the end of this gives the present date as 1292). The dates of these subscriptions clearly indicate that scholars of the early Palaeologan period were interested not only in the text of the *Anthologies* themselves (as is evident from the existence of *V*, *M*, *v*, and their early fourteenth-century copies), but as well in this abortive attempt to make sense of some of its astronomical passages in the early tenth century. Unfortunately, the text of that attempt has been so transformed from Valens's exposition that it is impossible to determine whether or not a manuscript of the α class was its basis.

Another compilation, probably of the ninth or tenth century, possibly attests to the existence in Byzantium at that time of a different recension of Valens's work than that which α has preserved. This is the *Liber Hermetis* published by W. Gundel,[33] which is a thirteenth-century Latin translation of a Byzantine compilation closely related to Rhetorius, of whose work it is Epitome V.[34] Its chapters IV-XV are closely related to α's V, 1-8; but the *Liber* presents a more logically ordered and internally consistent text than does α. In particular, the *Liber* omits V 6-V 8, 22, which, while genuinely Valentinian, are misplaced in α (cf. the repetition of V 3,12 at the end of V 5); and *Liber* XIV is no longer found in α, though it clearly had a Greek source and is used in the *Liber's* version of Valens V 8, 24-108, which probably represents the original more closely than does α. It seems very probable, then, that a better text of Valens existed in ca. 900 than can be recovered from α, but it remains a question whether α and the *Liber* are descended from the same or

[31] Edited by A. Tihon, "Le calcul de la longitude de Vénus (des planètes) d'après un texte anonyme du Vat. gr. 184," *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge de Rome* 39 (1968): 51-82, and 52 (1982): 5-29; see also O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (New York, 1975), pp. 799-800.

[32] D. Pingree, "The Horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus," *DOP* 27 (1973): 217-31.

[33] *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos* (Munich, 1936).

[34] *CPh* 72 (1977): 219-20.

different minuscule transliterations of the *Anthologies*. Unfortunately, the other Latin translations of Valentian chapters in the *Liber* (XVII from Valens II 38 and XXII from II 30) shed no light on this problem.

Rather, we must seek for only a hypothetical answer in noting the relationship between the *Liber*, which, as has been seen, is a representative of the Rhetorian tradition, and the Valentian excerpts preserved in Laurentianus 28,34[35] (*L*), an early eleventh-century manuscript[36] which contains, *inter alia*, Epitome II of Rhetorius,[37] and in Parisinus graecus 2425[38] (*R*), a fifteenth-century codex that preserves both Epitome I[39] and Epitome III[40] of Rhetorius. These excerpts include I 15 (*R* VI 10)[41] and III 8 (*R* VI 19) as well as the well-known collection of zodiacal geographies gleaned from Ptolemy, Paulus, Hephaestio, and Valens (*R* VI 20).[42] The chapter of Valens that was utilized by the author of *R* VI 20 was *Anthologies* I 2. In α the geographical localities dominated by Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius are omitted; this is also the case in *R* VI 20, which therefore, whether it was compiled in the early seventh century by Rhetorius himself or only at some time anterior to the copying of *L* in the early eleventh century, attests to the fact that some of the defects of α already existed in a manuscript of Valens in the early Middle Byzantine period. If one were certain that Rhetorius himself was instrumental in transmitting both *R* VI 20 (*R* VI 17 and 18 are directly attributed to him, but this could mean that he was *not* involved in the other sections of *R* VI) and the compilation that was translated as the *Liber*, one might contend with more conviction that the *Liber* represents an earlier stage than does α in a single line of transmission that originated in the seventh century. In the present uncertainty concerning the exact nature of Rhetorius's labors, this solution remains only one of several that are possible.

35 *CCAG* I, pp. 60-72.
36 Evidence that the scribe of *L* had access to a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript is provided by his copy of a confused scholium of Leo the Philosopher (*CCAG* I, p. 139; cf. *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 8 [New York, 1973], p. 191) and by his reference to the banishment of the Patriarch Photius in 867 (*CCAG* I, p. 140; the text attributed, rightly or wrongly, to Valens ends before this, on line 15).
37 *CPh* 72 (1977): 206-208.
38 P. Boudreaux, *CCAG* VIII 4 (Brussels, 1922), pp. 22-42.
39 *CPh* 72 (1977): 205-206.
40 *CPh* 72 (1977): 210-12.
41 Edited by F. Cumont, *CCAG* VIII 4, p. 239.
42 Edited from *L* by A. Ludwich, *Maximi et Ammonis Carminum ... reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 112-19.

In any case, however, Rhetorius's use of Valens seems certain, since the latter is cited in Epitome II 13 and III 57, 78, and 79; further, if the usual interpretation of the ascription in Berolinensis graecus 173[43] (*D*) is accepted as correct, Rhetorius wrote a new version of Valens I 1. Unfortunately, none of this material allows us to characterize definitively the status of the manuscript of the *Anthologies* that was available to Rhetorius.

Whatever may be the true account of the transmission of the Valentian text in the Middle Byzantine period, it is clear that α is descended from an archetype of the late fifth century; for it contains explanations of some of Valens' obscurities illustrated by two horoscopes that can be dated, respectively, 2 July 419[44] and 9 January 431.[45] Undoubtedly many of the corruptions in α go back to the misunderstandings of Valens's peculiar techniques and style to which this fifth-century redactor was subject. He, like the many Byzantine scholars who struggled with the text and the remains of whose efforts are the subject of this paper, valiantly attempted by deletions, additions, transpositions, repetitions, and emendations to make sense of it. Though some help is available for an eventual recovery of Valens's ideas from the use of his work in such texts as the mid-fourth century Greek antecedent of the first section of the *Praeceptum canonis Ptolemaei*[46] and, more importantly, from the Arabic translations[47] (and their Latin derivatives)[48] of the Pahlavī version of the *Anthologies*,[49] a critical edition of the Greek text can only hope to establish the form that it had when α was transcribed — perhaps as late as the early Palaeologan period — with a judicious restoration of certain elements (particularly in the astronomical sections) that we can be sure were stated differently by Valens than they

[43] Edited with many unwarranted conflations by F. Boll, *CCAG* VII (Brussels, 1908), pp. 192-224.

[44] Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 136-38; Valentinian III.

[45] Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, p. 140.

[46] *Praeceptum* I 23 is based on *Anthologies* I 17; the author of the *Praeceptum* uses a computation for 354 as an example.

[47] Some of the Arabic material (but by no means all) is referred to by F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 7 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 38-41.

[48] Particularly important are the quotations from Valens, Rhetorius, and others given in the *Liber Aristotelis De 255 Indorum voluminibus*, translated by Hugo of Sanctalla in the early twelfth century; an edition and commentary are being prepared by C. Burnett and myself.

[49] For this see C.A. Nallino, "Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi per trafila pehlevica," in *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Professor E.G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 345-63.

were by the scribe of α. But at least the investigation of the Byzantine struggles with this impossible author should demonstrate that, however imperfect their tools, they did not shrink from the scholar's task of rescuing, preserving, and "improving" the absurd.

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Remains of an Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes

D. I. POLEMIS

There are several hagiographical texts pertaining to the saintly activities of the emperor John Ducas Batatzes (1233-54), all of them known for some time.[1] Among these there is a modern *acoluthia*, written by Nikodemos Hagioreites (1749-1809) at Mount Athos in the late eighteenth century and published only many years afterwards by Agathangelos [Gabrielides], metropolitan of Ephesus.[2] The *acoluthia* had presumably been commissioned by the Christian community of Magnesia, where the cultus of Batatzes was particularly observed, and the manuscript copy of Nikodemos's composition was kept in that city[3] until Agathangelos, occupant of the see comprising Magnesia, the customary official residence of the metropolitan of Ephesus, decided to publish it.

[1] *Bibliotheca hagiografica graeca*, 3rd. ed., by F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957), [hereafter *BHG*³], nos. 933-34c. The last text referred to actually concerns another homonymous saint, a contemporary of Batatzes, who had died as a hermit on Mount Olympus in Bithynia; cf. D. I. Polemis, "The Speech of Constantine Akropolites on St. John Merciful the Young," *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973): 31-54.

[2] Ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βατάτση τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος τοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ παρὰ τὸν Ἕρμον (Constantinople, 1872), 56 pages; cf. L. Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* (Brussels, 1926), p. 121. Apart from the ἀκολουθία proper, the slender volume includes a lengthy βίος (pp. 30-56), which was originally written in learned language but was paraphrased by Nikodemos as he himself attests elsewhere; see his Συναξαριστὴς τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν, vol. 1 (Venice, 1819), p. 233, fn. 1. This *Life* was written in the seventeenth century (the original learned version has never been traced) and is independent of the better known ἐγκώμιον edited by Heisenberg (*BHG*³, no. 933) although very often both appear to draw from a common lost source. In spite of the fact that the *Life* has preserved certain information not to be found elsewhere, it has been overlooked by scholars, with the exception of H. Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIIIᵉ siècle," *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1965): 10, fn. 56 and passim. In fairness it should be noted that the publication of Agathangelos is one of extreme rarity; I know of no other copy besides the one mentioned by Petit, which is now in the Vatican Library.

[3] Apparently a copy of it was also kept at the church of Nyfio (Nymphaeum); see N. Kararas, Τὸ Νύμφαιο (Athens, 1968), p. 65.

What other liturgical texts were available to the local church authorities at Magnesia prior to the end of the eighteenth century is not known. It is possible, however, that the learned seventeenth-century *Life* was preserved there and that this text could have been sent to Nikodemos at Mount Athos to enable him to compose his *acoluthia* and to paraphrase and incorporate in his work the *Life* itself. The celebration of the saint's festival was thus made possible by the thorough treatment of Nikodemos.

Yet, as one would expect, there is evidence that at one time church hymns, and possibly a complete *acoluthia*, had been in use in the region of the *metropolis* of Ephesus. A sixteenth-century London manuscript, which was certainly written in that area, preserves the three fundamental hymns of the *acoluthia*, the τροπάριον, the κοντάκιον and the οἶκος, in honour of the emperor John Ducas Batatzes. These have never been published, although a passing reference to them was made in another of my publications.[4]

Here follows the edition of the three hymns from the British Library cod. Burney 54, fol. 219v. The numerous spelling mistakes have, of course, been corrected.

Τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου καὶ ἰσαποστόλου βασιλέως Ἰωάννου
τοῦ νέου ἐλεήμονος τοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ καὶ Βατάτζη

Τροπάριον. Ἦχος δ´
⟨Πρὸς τὸ Ταχὺ προκατάλαβε⟩

Ταχὺς εἰς παράκλησιν τῶν προστρεχόντων εἰς σέ,
ἀνάκτων ὑπέρτατε καὶ πενομένων τροφεῦ,
Ἰωάννη ἀοίδιμε, εἵλκυσας σὺ πρὸς πίστιν
τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ πλήθη· ἔλαβες παραδόξως
τοῦ ἰᾶσθαι τὰς νόσους τῶν πίστει προστρεχόντων σε.
διὸ καὶ οἱ ἐν πίστει προστρέχουσί σε
ἀφθόνως λαμβάνουσι τὴν ἴασιν.

Κοντάκιον. Ἦχος β´
Πρὸς ⟨τὸ⟩ Τὰ ἄνω ζητῶν

Πρόνοια θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων βασιλεύοντος
ἐλέῳ αὐτοῦ ἐχρίσθης, παναοίδιμε·
Ἰωάννη, κράτιστε τῶν ἀνάκτων, ἄναξ ὑπέρτατε,
τῶν ἰαμάτων τὴν χάριν λαβών,
νοσούντων ὑπάρχεις παραμύθιον.

1 εἰς ἀποστόλους /// 5 εἰσέ /// 9 ἰᾶσθε ///

[4] D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), p. 108, fn. 8; cf. R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), p. 71, fn. 23.

Ὁ οἶκος

Τίς ἱκανὸς διᾶραι τὰ χείλη αὐτοῦ,
τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀξίως κινῆσαι
πρὸς εὐφημίαν τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἄνακτος
ἢ δυνήσηται καταγγεῖλαι τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης τὸ πέλαγος;
ἀλλὰ πόθῳ καρδίας τολμῶντες
εὐφημοῦμεν σε, Ἰωάννη Δούκα μακάριε,
ὅτι τὸν δεσπότην ὁλοψύχως ἀγαπήσας
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἔνειμας
καὶ μεγας ἐδείχθης τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητής·
νοσούντων ὑπάρχεις παραμύθιον.

20 ἱκανῶς /// 28 τόν

Although, as is common with liturgical texts, no substantial historical information is to be found in these short hymns, they nevertheless pose certain questions regarding the whole problem of the hagiography of Batatzes. The first is, of course, when and how the hymns came to be written. The manuscript itself is to a great extent an εὐχολόγιον, written in the middle of the sixteenth century by the priest Argyropoulos, who eventually became a metropolitan of Ephesus under the name Athanasios.[5] In addition to the material one would expect to find in an εὐχολόγιον, the manuscript preserves a number of other texts of a rather peculiar nature, such as texts from ἀντιμήνσια, an ἀλφάβητος, and contemporary documents pertaining to local church life and administration.[6] To some measure, the manuscript may have been used by the compiler and scribe in his church duties in the area. The inclusion, therefore, of the three hymns in honour of the local saint of Magnesia, by then the official residence of the metropolitans of Ephesus, is not strange at all. What has still to be explained is whether the texts did actually survive from a complete *acoluthia* proper, now lost, or were composed independently, in the absence of an *acoluthia*, and came to be used for liturgical purposes at Magnesia. No evidence exists to support either view, but the date of the hymns shows that already by the middle of the sixteenth century the cultus of Batatzes was firmly established. This is noteworthy because it has been said, though possibly on insufficient

[5] The scribe is also known from other manuscripts; cf. the note in Sp. P. Lampros, Ἀργυροπούλεια (Athens, 1910), p. ϛδʹ.

[6] See now D.I. Polemis, "Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἐφέσου κατὰ τὸν δέκατο ἕκτον αἰῶνα," Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 45 (1981/82): 313-63.

grounds, that the Greek church began to honour the memory of the emperor in about the middle of the seventeenth century.[7]

Likewise it is not possible to determine whether Metropolitan Athanasios himself, who was apparently not an uneducated man, had a hand in composing the three hymns or whether he simply copied them from an older manuscript. What can reasonably be assumed is that they must have entered the liturgical service at Magnesia. We have no means of knowing how long they continued to be in use. There is no trace of them in Nikodemos's *acoluthia.* If the τροπάριον had still been known and used in Nikodemos's time, it is extremely difficult to imagine that it would have been replaced by an altogether new composition, not associated with the local cultus, and allowed to fall into oblivion.

Curiously, there is no calendar date in the manuscript attached to the hymns. It is, of course, known that the emperor's μνήμη was observed on November 4.

The piety of the emperor-saint as well as his concern for the poor are particularly stressed in our texts. Both these aspects of Batatzes' character are fully documented by other sources and permeate the pages of the known hagiographical texts. This is after all something to be expected. Batatzes had been a "great disciple of the Lord" (line 29) whom "he had loved with all his soul" (line 27.) As to the evidence of his φιλανθρωπία, the hymns praise his "ocean of almsgiving" (line 24) and the fact that "he spread benevolence to his subjects" (line 28) and became a "nourisher of the poor" (line 6.)

This φιλανθρωπία of Batatzes has been seen as the main element for his elevation to sainthood.[8] Undoubtedly this was a factor contributing to the character portrayal in the hagiographical tradition. However, the basis for canonization (which, after all, is not officially promulgated until long afterwards and only rarely) in cases where the cultus originates among the lower strata of the population and spreads from below rests solely on supernatural manifestations. It is more than probable that Batatzes' cultus also followed this pattern.

[7] M. I. Gedeon, Πατριαρχικοὶ πίνακες (Constantinople, 1890), p. 588. Gedeon seems to have based his conclusion on the statement in the *Life* (Ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία, p. 51) that the author witnessed a miracle in the year 1658, which is in itself irrelevant. According to local tradition, Batatzes began to be honoured as a saint at Magnesia "shortly" after his death; cf. the Introduction to the Ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία by Agathangelos, who was a native of Magnesia.

[8] D. J. Constantellos, "Emperor John Vatatzes' Social Concern: Basis for Canonization," Κληρονομία 4 (1972): 92-104; cf. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood," pp. 69-71.

This miracle working, a fundamental ingredient in any saint worship within the church, finds several echoes in our texts. Batatzes too "had received the grace of healing" (line 17); indeed, this is a common motive in all three hymns and is further stressed by being inserted as a refrain in the κοντάκιον and the οἶκος. Both the ἐγκώμιον[9] and the *Life*[10] provide additional evidence of Batatzes' powers of healing the sick who flocked to his grave.

A verse in the τροπάριον rhetorically acclaims Batatzes for having christianized multitudes of barbarians (εἵλκυσας σὺ πρὸς πίστιν τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ πλήθη). According to the *Life*, the emperor was instrumental in forcing into baptism a large number of Jews living in his dominions.[11] However, the reference above does not appear to be to this conversion of the Jews.[12] Other evidence, though not hagiographical, as might have been expected, exists to the effect that Batatzes baptized large numbers of Cumans who had settled in areas of the empire of Nicaea.[13] It is this incident that prompted the writer of the hymns to praise the imperial policy in this manner. Where did he draw his material from? Apart from the funeral Oration of Akropolites, no other known source

[9] . . . οὗ νῦν ἡ σωρὸς κεῖται, ἐξ ἧς βρύουσι θεραπεῖαι νοσημάτων παντοίων; see A. Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14 (1905): 233.

[10] Ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία, pp. 49-52.

[11] . . . τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἀμωμήτῳ πίστει δι᾽ αὐτοῦ προστεθέντων, ibid., p. 6; . . . ἐστάθη οὗτος καὶ ζηλωτὴς εἰς τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν τῆς πίστεως, μαρτυρεῖ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐβαπτίσθη ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτοῦ καὶ προσετέθη εἰς τὴν ἀμώμητον πίστιν τῶν χριστιανῶν, ibid., p. 40. The anti-Jewish policy of Batatzes is also attested by a Hebrew source; see J. Starr, *Romania : The Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade* (Paris, 1949), p. 20.

[12] The word βάρβαρος is normally never attached to the Jewish nation; no such attribution is listed in H. Ditten, "Βάρβαροι, Ἕλληνες und Ρωμαῖοι bei den letzten byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern," *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 273-99, or in E. Follieri, "Gli appellativi dei persecutori nel Sinassario di Costantinopoli," Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 39/40 (1972/73), especially pp. 365-72.

[13] In the Funeral Oration to Batatzes by Akropolites it is said: Οὐκ ὁρᾶτε τὴν ἄπειρον πληθὺν τῶν Σκυθῶν; τούτους καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐχθρῶν προσδοκωμένης βλάβης αὐτὸς ἠλευθέρωσε καὶ τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ βαπτίσματος λύμης τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀπεκάθηρε· καὶ νῦν εἰσι Χριστοῦ πρόβατα, λύκοι ὄντες τὸ πρίν, ὑπὸ Χριστῷ τῷ πρώτῳ ποιμένι καὶ ἀρχιποιμένι πρὸς χλόης τόπον καὶ σωτηρίας καθοδηγούμενοι, καὶ κύνες δὲ ἐν καιρῷ τῶν κινουμένων καθυλακτοῦντες κατὰ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου κληρονομίας καὶ τῶν θρεμμάτων αὐτῶν. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 24. There can be no doubt that the Σκύθαι here are none other than the Cumans; see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1958), p. 267. Cumans in great numbers had been settled in the Maeander valley and in nearby regions by Batatzes in about 1241, and it is they who were christianized and eventually hellenized. See M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (London, 1975), pp. 105 and 48; cf. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood," p. 71, fn. 23.

makes reference to the massive conversion. Perhaps the author of the hymns was scholarly enough to have laid his hands on the work of Akropolites; or, more likely, he depended upon a local tradition still surviving in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

An *acoluthia* proper includes many more στιχηρά and κανόνες. However, the three hymns given above constitute the most important part of it, and, as suggested, these could either have originated from a now lost *acoluthia* or even have been the only compositions attempted. The place of τροπάριον, κοντάκιον, and οἶκος in the liturgy must be seen in the context of later developments; the first two are modelled and sung after the ἦχος of other well-known hymns, whereas the οἶκος came simply to be read and not sung. It was common, though by no means general, practice to repeat the last verse of the κοντάκιον at the end of the οἶκος.[14]

It goes without saying that the metrical pattern of the τροπάριον and the κοντάκιον followed the respective εἱρμός. In the τροπάριον this metrical correspondence is lost in line 5 after the word νόσους; the last two and a half lines simply cannot be sung like the main part of the τροπάριον. This does not appear to be due to a corrupt text; it derives rather from clumsiness of composition, inasmuch as the words make sense grammatically.

Andros

[14] Of which the first verse has been borrowed from another οἶκος found in the Μηναῖον for January 30th.

A Byzantine Inscription from Siphnos

† LINOS POLITIS

The monastery of Vrysi (also known as Panagia tis Vrysis or Kyria Vrysiani) on Siphnos, whose annual feast is the Nativity of the Virgin Mary celebrated on September 8, is one of those familiar white monasteries of the Cyclades, built, like so many others, in the seventeenth century. It is situated a short distance from the village Exampela on the road that leads from the capital Apollonia to Platys Gialos on the eastern shore of the island.[1] The monastery was restored with devotion and good taste by the archimandrite Amphilochios, abbot from 1966 until 1979 (presently a layman under the name of Panagiotis Chrysoloras), who collected there a number of icons and other objects, including a few manuscripts, that had been scattered all over the island and so built up an important little museum.[2] When I visited the monastery in July 1977, Father Amphilochios showed me there the Byzantine inscription that forms the subject of this contribution. He had published it himself in a short note in a local newspaper,[3] in which he gave some details about its discovery. In view of the fact that his

[1] See the book by S. M. Symeonidis, Ἡ Κυρία Βρυσιανή, ἤγουν συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ἐν Σίφνῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Γενεθλίου τῆς Θεοτόκου (Athens, 1966). In the monastery is kept a *sigillion* of the patriarch Gregory V (dated May 1798) which confirms a previous one of the patriarch Parthenios (surely Parthenios IV, first tenure, 1657-62) in which the monastery had been declared stauropegiac. The earlier *sigillion* stated that ἀνεκαίνισεν [sc. the monastery] ὁ τότε | Βασίλειος Λογοθέτης προκτισθὲν παρὰ τοῦ π(ατ)ρὸς αὐτοῦ. See Ph. Vitalis, Ἀνέκδοτον σιγίλλιον τοῦ πατριάρχου Κων/πόλεως Γρηγορίου Εʹ περὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βρύσεως Σίφνου, Κυκλαδικά, 1 (1956) : 229-35, where, in the published text, πρ̅ο̅ς (πατρός) was misread as προ[κατόχου](!). In the *codex* of the monastery the founder is named as μισὲρ Βασίλης Λογοθέτης with the date 1634 : see Symeonidis, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[2] For the collection of 17 MSS see Μορφωτικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης, Ἱστορικὸ καὶ Παλαιογραφικὸ Ἀρχεῖο, Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καὶ ἀρχείων, I (Athens, 1978), pp. 19, 31-32. All the manuscripts have been microfilmed by the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank.

[3] Archimandrite Amphilochios, Μαρμάρινη ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ 1295 in the newspaper Σιφναϊκὴ Φωνή, no. 130 (October 1975). The publication is perfectly accurate, except for a mistake in the date: ͵ΑϹϟΕʹ (1295) instead of ͵ϚϹϟΕʹ.

publication is not easily accessible to the scholarly public, Father Amphilochios readily gave me permission to republish it and I am doing so now to honour a colleague who has done so much for the study of Byzantine epigraphy.

In his note the archimandrite Amphilochios says that he had discovered the inscription "quite by chance, in the wall of a field near the chapel of St. Thomas at a place called Tou Pothitou. It was," he continues, "whitewashed and partly covered with plaster," and weighed about 80 kgms. He transported it with considerable toil and, after cleaning it, placed it in the museum of the monastery. He himself gave me the following additional information, namely, that at the place of discovery are the remains of a Byzantine settlement; that the nearby church of St. Thomas was built in 1897 on the ruins of an older one; and, furthermore, that there exists in the same settlement a church of the Transfiguration built on the ruins of a three-aisled basilica.

The inscription (fig. 1) is carved on a marble block, 55 cm. wide, 28 high and 20.2 thick. Except for the front face, all the other sides of the block have been left rough. A small piece is missing in the upper right-hand corner, but not a single letter is seriously affected by the loss. A fairly wide border encloses the inscribed surface, the latter measuring 45.8 × 21.5 cm. The height of the letters varies from 1.5 to 3 cm. Characteristic letters forms: ⲁ, ʙ, ϵ, c, v and ⲩ, ω, ȣ and οⲩ. The inscription is carefully carved in a rounded ductus, to the exclusion of square and rhomboid forms such as ⊏ ,⊔⊔,◇ , ⦶ . For the *beta* with a horizontal base-line, see the remarks of I. Ševčenko in *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 566-67.[4]

+ $\overline{Κϵ}$ ʙωΗΘΗ ΤȢ ΔȢΛȢ CȢ +
ϵVCΤΟΡΓΗ ΚΟCΜȢC ΛϵωΝΤȢ
3 ΝΗΚΗΤⲁ ΛⲁΝΠΟⲩCⲁC
ΤωΝ ϵΜΟΝ ΤϵΚΝωΝ ⲁΜΗΝ
ϵΚΤΗCCΤΗΝ ω ⲁΓΗωC Θω
6 ΜⲁC ϵΙC ϵΤΟC ,ϚCϟϵ

Transcription: Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τοῦ δούλου σου [2] Εὐστόργη, Κοσμοῦς, Λεόντου, [3] Νικήτα, Λαμπούσας, [4] τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων, ἀμήν. [5] Ἐκτίστην ὁ ἅγιος Θω [6] μᾶς εἰς ἔτος ,ϛσϟε΄.

[4] The round alphabet is closer to that of the inscription of the Rhesion gate (Mevlevihane kapisi) of 565-78, on which see I. Ševčenko in *Zbornik Radova Vizant. Inst*. 12 (1970): 1ff., whereas in the inscription of the kourator Sisinnios of 813 (fn. 6, below) there occur square and rhomboid letters.

Spelling mistakes: βωηθη, Νηκητα, Λανπουσας, εμον, εκτησστην ω αγηως.

The most significant element of the inscription is surely its date, concerning which there can be no doubt: both the *stigma* and the *sigma* are perfectly distinct (fig. 2), thus giving the date 6295 = A.D. 787 according to the Byzantine creation era. It is the year of the Seventh Ecumenical Council and of the restoration of icons under the emperor Constantine VI. Our inscription is, therefore, one of the oldest dated examples of the Middle Byzantine period: a number of earlier ones are not, properly speaking, inscriptions, but graffiti on the columns of the Parthenon.[5] Later by 26 years is another early inscription, the one that concerns Sisinnios, kourator of Tzouroulon of the year 813.[6]

Our inscription records a foundation on the part of the couple Eustorgis and Kosmou and their children, Leon, Niketas, and Lampousa. The record of the construction of the church of St. Thomas in 787 has considerable importance for the little-known history of the Cyclades and specifically of Siphnos during the period of Iconoclasm, especially when it is combined with the information supplied by the archimandrite Amphilochios, namely, that there was a Byzantine settlement at the place of discovery and that the present church of St. Thomas was built on the ruins of an older one.

The inscription is also interesting from the linguistic point of view, especially with regard to the popular elements it contains, most of which, of course, are also known from older examples. Such are the forms Λανπουσα (with a *nu*), ἐκτίστην (3rd person singular passive, line 5) and εἰς ἔτος (line 6) instead of ἐν ἔτει. Of greater interest are the five proper names which constitute the main content of the inscription. They are all in the genitive following τοῦ δούλου σου in line 1.

Εὐστόργη: gen. of Εὐστόργης, demotic form of Eustorgios. In Pape's lexicon[7] the name Eustorgios appears only once, in an epigram (*Anth.*

[5] The graffiti in question record the death of various persons and are often dated by year, indiction, month, and day. Those earlier than our inscription that are surely dated are CIG IV, 9350-53 of the years 693, 704, 713, and 779, respectively. There is a better edition based on personal inspection by A. K. Orlandos, Τὰ χαράγματα τοῦ Παρθενῶνος (Athens, 1973), nos. 34, 80, 83, 82. A few allegedly earlier examples, Orlandos, nos. 141 (591?), 68 (782?), 67 (768 or 813), 74 (550 or 640), have a date that is either dubious or based on conjecture.

[6] I. Ševčenko, "Inscription commemorating Sisinnios, 'curator' of Tzouroulon (A.D. 813)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 564ff., concerning which the editor notes that it is "among the quite few precisely dated Byzantine inscriptions that have come down to us from the first quarter of the ninth century."

[7] Here and further down I am basing my remarks on the well-known (and not yet

Pal. VII, 589) of Agathias scholasticus (6th century), entitled Εἰς Εὐστόργιον τὸν Ἀντιοχέα, νόμοις Ῥωμαϊκοῖς διαπρέποντα (the name appears in line 3: οὕνεκεν ἐξαπίνης Εὐστόργιος ἔλλιπε μοῦσαν). To this one can add Eustorgios, the reputed father of St. Panteleimon.[8] Our inscription provides a third example. The name appears to have been of ecclesiastical origin, in spite of the fact that no saint of that name is recorded.[9] For the transformation of the ending -ιος in ancient masculine names into -ης on the analogy of those of the first declension ending in -ης, see Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §301; D. Georgacas, *Class. Philology*, 53, 243ff.; Andriotis, Ἐτυμ. Λεξικό, s.v. -ης.

Κοσμοῦς: gen. of Κοσμοῦ, fem. andronymic from masc. Κοσμᾶς, like Βασιλού,[10] Μιχαλού, etc., which, according to Chatzidakis (Μεσ. καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά, II, 78), "pertain to the later period and are remnants of the Ionic dialect."[11] In our case, however, it appears that Κοσμοῦ is not an andronymic, since she is the wife of Eustorgis, but the diminutive of Κοσμία, a name that already appears in ancient inscriptions (see Pape-Benseler, s.v.) and was borne by a saint who became a nun "through the blessing of St. Auxentios of the Mount in the monastery of Trichanaria, where she died in peace."[12]

Λεόντου: the name, spelled Λεωντου, is perfectly clear and no letter appears to have been left out, thus excluding Λεοντίου (admittedly a very common name). Λεόντου can only be a demotic gen. of Λέων, unrecorded, as far as I know, but similar to ἀρχόντου, γερόντου, δαιμόνου, δρακόντου: for the formation see Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, II, 4. Cf. τὸ χρυσοδρακοντόκαστρον καὶ τὴν δρακόντου πόλιν (*Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, 1380); ἤτονε δεκοχτὼ χρονῶ μά᾽χε γερόντου γνώση (*Erotokritos*, A 79. 12).[13]

Λαμποῦσα: also appears to be unrecorded as a proper name, except as a toponym in Cyprus (corresponding to the site of ancient Lapethos). In Pape-Benseler I find only the cognates Λαμπάς (name of a hetaira), Λαμπαδία, Λαμπιδώ, Λαμπιτώ and the masc. Λάμπων, whose fem. form λάμπουσα later shifted its accent to the penultimate by being

superseded) *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ of W. Pape and G. E. Benseler (Braunschweig, 1863-70).

8 See, e.g., *Synaxarium eccl. CP*, ed. Delehaye, 847. 14.

9 It appears neither in F. Halkin, *BHG*³ nor in S. Eustratiadis, Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας (Athens, n.d.).

10 Cf. Orlandos, *op. cit.*, no. 16.

11 See also Andriotis, Ἐτυμολ. Λεξικό, s.v. -ού, and Jannaris, §1043.

12 Eustratiadis, *op. cit.*, s.v.

13 These examples are taken from the Lexicon of E. Kriaras, s. vv.

confused with participles of contracted verbs.[14] In Renaissance Cretan literature we encounter the names Λαμπροῦσα in the *Stathis*, Ἀννοῦσα in the *Fortounatos* and, of course, Ἀρετοῦσα.

Finally, it may be noted that, except for Leon and Nikitas, none of the other names in the inscription appears to have survived in modern Greek.[15]

Athens

Translated from the Greek by C. Mango

[14] See Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, II, 121-22; Andriotis, *op. cit.*, s.v. -οῦσα.
[15] See A. Boutouras, Τὰ νεοελληνικὰ κύρια ὀνόματα (Athens, 1912).

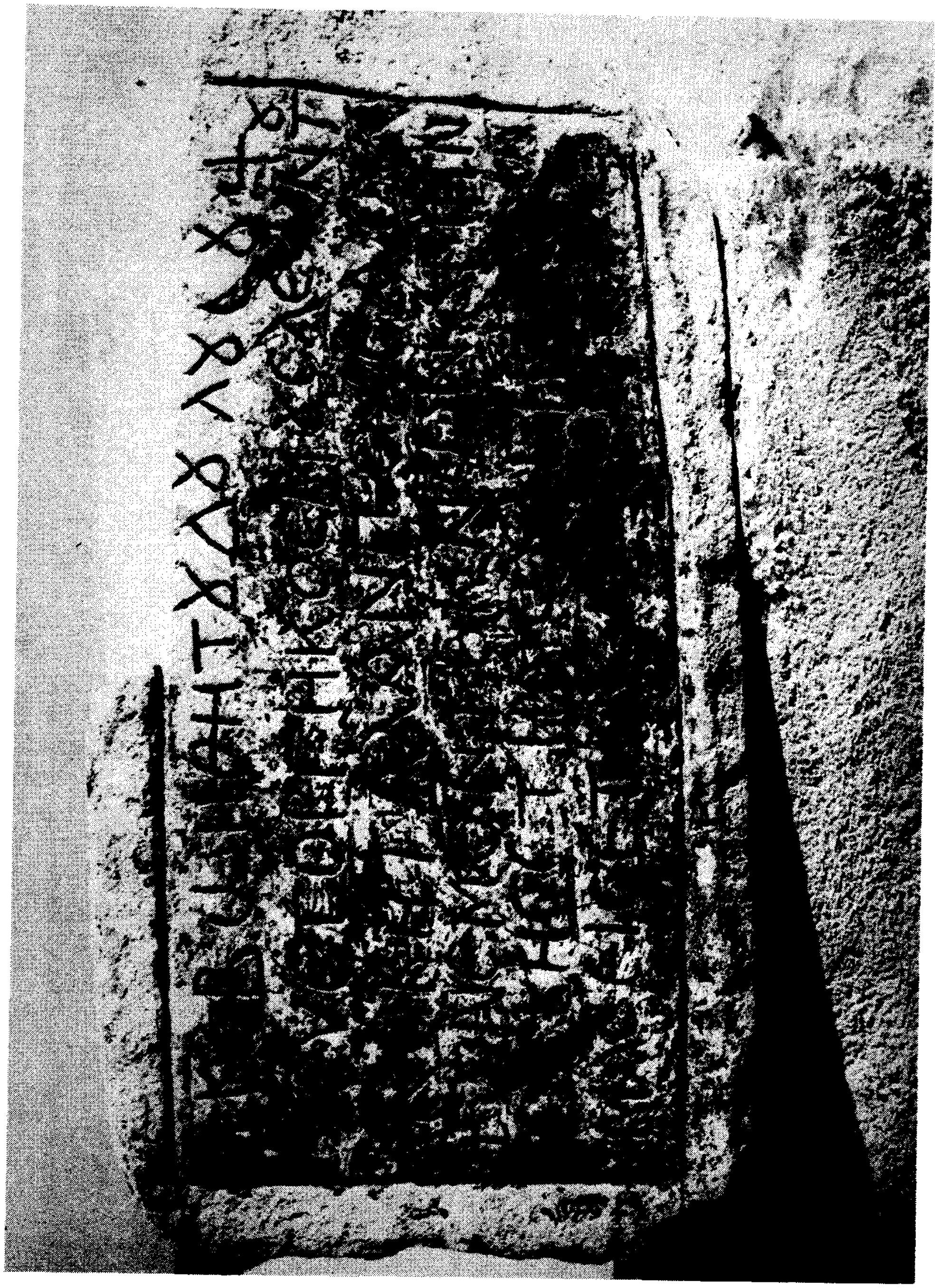


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Where Was Constantine's Inner Rus'?

OMELJAN PRITSAK

1.

Chapter 9 of the *De administrando Imperio* (ca. 948), in which the learned emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (d. 959) dealt with the Rus' traders along the Dnieper-Black Sea trade route, contains the following passage:[1]

Ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω Ῥωσίας μονόξυλα κατερχόμενα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εἰσὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεμογαρδάς, ἐν ᾧ Σφενδοσθλάβος, ὁ υἱὸς Ἴγγωρ, τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ῥωσίας, ἐκαθέζετο, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ κάστρον τὴν Μιλινίσκαν καὶ ἀπὸ Τελιούτζαν καὶ Τζερνιγῶγαν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουσεγραδέ. Ταῦτα οὖν ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατέρχονται Δανάπρεως, καὶ ἐπισυνάγονται εἰς τὸ κάστρον | τὸ Κιοάβα, τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαμβατάς. Οἱ δὲ Σκλάβοι, οἱ πακτιῶται αὐτῶν, οἱ Κριβηταιηνοὶ λεγόμενοι, καὶ οἱ Λενζανῆνοι καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ | Σκλαβηνίαι εἰς τὰ ὄρη αὐτῶν κόπτουσι τὰ μονόξυλα ἐν τῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος καιρῷ, καὶ καταρτίσαντες αὐτά, τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνοιγομένου, ἡνίκα διαλυθῇ ὁ παγετός, εἰς τὰς πλησίον οὔσας λίμνας εἰσάγουσιν αὐτά. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖναι εἰσβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Δάναπριν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε οὗτοι εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν

The single-straked ships which come down from Outer Rus' (ἡ ἔξω Ῥωσία) to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Svjatoslav, son of Igor', prince of Rus', has his seat, and others from the city of Smolensk, and from Ljubeč and Černihiv and from Vyšhorod. All these came down the river Dnieper, and are collected together at the city (castle) of Kiev, also called Sambatas. Their Slaviç tributaries, the so-called Krivichians and the Lenzanins (= Poljanians)[2] and the rest of the Sklavinias (Slavic regions), cut the single-strakers on their mountains in winter time, and when they have fastened them together, as spring approaches and the ice melts, they bring them on to the neighboring lakes. And since these lakes debouch into the river Dnieper, they enter thence onto this same river, and come down to Kiev, and draw the ships along to be

[1] The text and translation, with minor emendations, is reproduced from *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De Administrando Imperio*, Greek text edited by Gyula Moravcsik, English translation by Romily J. M. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), pp. 56, 58 and 57, 59.
[2] I elaborated on this question in my article "LENZEN-IN-Konstantyna Porfirorodnoho," in *Symbolae in honorem Georgii Y. Shevelov* (Munich, 1971), pp. 351-59.

εἰσέρχονται καὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν Κίοβα, καὶ σύρουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξάρτισιν, καὶ ἀπεμπολοῦσιν αὐτὰ εἰς τοὺς Ῥῶς. Οἱ δὲ Ῥῶς σκαφίδια καὶ μόνα ταῦτα ἀγοράζοντες, τὰ παλαιὰ αὐτῶν μονόξυλα καταλύοντες, ἐξ αὐτῶν βάλλουσιν πέλλας καὶ σκαρμοὺς εἰς αὐτὰ καὶ λοιπὰς | χρείας... ἐξοπλίζουσιν αὐτά. Καὶ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Δανάπρεως ἀποκινοῦντες, κατέρχονται εἰς τὸ Βιτετζέβη, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πακτιωτικὸν κάστρον τῶν Ῥῶς, καὶ συναθροιζόμενοι ἐκεῖσε μέχρι δύο καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἡνίκα ἂν ἅπαντα ἀποσυναχθῶσι τὰ μονόξυλα, τότε ἀποκινοῦσιν, καὶ κατέρχονται διὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ.

fitted out, and sell them to the Rus'. The Rus' buy these bottoms only, furnishing them with oars and rowlocks and other tackle from their old single-strakers, which they dismantle; and so they fit them out. And in the month of June they move off down the river Dnieper and come to Vytyčiv, which is a tributary castle of the Rus', and there they gather during two or three days; and when all the single-strakers are collected together, then they set out, and come down to the said Dnieper River.

This *locus classicus* is important because of the occurrence of ἡ ἔξω Ῥωσία 'the Outer Rus',' a designation which is a *hapax* in Byzantine literature. Ever since T.S. Bayer made chapter 9 of *De administrando Imperio* known to scholars of Eastern Europe, in 1737-1744, a great many interpretations and emendations have been proposed,[3] but the question of what was considered inner in contrast to outer Rus' has remained without a satisfactory answer. Most scholars, believing in the original primacy of Kiev in Rus' (a concept actually imposed by the clever chronicler of the first quarter of the twelfth century) maintained that Kiev was "the Inner Rus'"; others proposed to exclude the embarassing word *Rhōsija* from the text and to explain it as a later addition, taken from the title of chapter 9.

An unbiased analysis of the text, however, can yield only one valid conclusion: Constantine's text gives evidence of a very clear dichotomy of political structure along the Dnieper route around the 940s. Cities were under the direct control of Outer Rus'. Seven are mentioned by name: the five along the route were Novgorod, Smolensk, Ljubeč, Černihiv, and Vyšhorod/Vyšegrad; and the two central gathering points

[3] See A.L. Pogodin, "'Vnešnjaja Rossija' Konstantina Bagrjanorodnogo," *Beličev Zbornik* (Belgrade, 1937), pp. 77-85; Alexandre Soloviev, "Ἡ ἔξω Ῥωσία," *Byzantion* (Brussels), 13 (1938): 227-32; M.A. Šangin(†) and A.F. Višnjakova, "Suščestvovala li 'vnešnjaja Rus''?," *Vizantijskij vremennik* (Moscow), 14 (1958): 97-102; Dimitri Obolensky in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De Administrando Imperio*, vol. 2: *Commentary*, ed. R.J.H. Jenkins (London, 1962), pp. 25-26.

in Rus' were Kiev, also called Sambatas, and Vytyčiv. On the other hand there appear the Slavic regions (αἱ Σκλαβήνιαι),[4] tributary to Rus' and apparently located outside the Rus'-dominated cities. Only two such regions are mentioned by name in the quoted passage: that of the Krivichians, the most northern, and that of the Lenzanins/Polianians, the most southern. No "Inner" Rus', however, is mentioned in our text.

2.

Curiously enough, the term "Outer Rus'" reappears two centuries later — as a *hapax* in the Arabic (and Islamic) literature, in the *Kitāb Ruǧǧār* (1154) by ʿAbū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, who worked at the court of the Norman king Roger II (1105-1154) in Palermo (Sicily). The title of the sixth section of the sixth climate reads as follows:[5]

إن الذي تضمنه هذا الجزء السادس من
البحر البنطسي فهو طرف البحر بما عليه من
البلاد وتضمن أيضا قطعة من أرض القمانية
وبلاد الروسية الخارجة وبعض بلاد البلغارية
وبعض بلاد بسجرت وبلاد اللان وأرض
الخزر وبلادها وأنهارها.

This sixth section includes the Pontus (Black Sea), i.e., the outermost part of that sea, together with its countries. It contains [in this way] also a section of the country of Cumania (Polovcians) and the country of Outer Rus' (*ar-Rūsiya al-khāriǧa*), part of the country of Bulġāriya and country of Bašǧirt and country of Alānia and the land of Khazaria, as well as their towns and rivers.

The specific information on "Outer Rus'" which al-Idrīsī furnishes in this section is not original. He took it from a work of the tenth-century Arabic classical school of geography as represented by al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal. The former, author of the *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, wrote towards the end of the first half of the A.H. 400s/ca. A.D. 940-950, and the work of the latter dates from ca. A.D. 367/A.D. 977. It was typical for this geographical school to name three different kinds (not "tribes")

[4] On the meaning of "Slavic regions," see O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," in *Gli Slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo*, Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Trentesima Settimana di studio, Spoleto, 15-21 aprile 1982, vol. 2 (Spoleto, forthcoming).

[5] Cited after Tadeusz Lewicki in *Al-Idrīsī. Opus Geographicum*, ed. A. Bombaci (†), U. Rizzitano et al., Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, fasc. 8 (Naples and Rome, 1978), p. 914. My edition of the text and commentary will appear in the forthcoming volume 3 of my *Origin of Rus'*.

of Rūs, who were engaged in trade with the Muslim world: those of Kiev (*Kūyābā*), Novgorod (*aṣ-Ṣlāwiya*), and the still enigmatic *Arṯā*.[6]

The information on Rūs/Rus' provided by Constantine and al-Iṣṭakhrī was actually contemporaneous. In the extant manuscripts of works by al-Iṣṭakhrī-Ibn Ḥawqal, however, the word "outer" (*al-khāriǧa*) does not occur together with Rūs. It is out of the question that al-Idrīsī (or his predecessors) could have had access to the secret handbook of Byzantine diplomacy written by Constantine Porphyrogenitus for the use of future emperors only. Hence the Arabic "Outer Rūs" must be based on an independent tradition from the mid-tenth century.

Without going into details at this time, it is important to note that in both the Byzantine and the Arabic traditions of the mid-tenth century "Outer Rus'" was a designation for Rus' international traders along two trade routes: the Novgorod-Kiev-Constantinople in the Byzantine tradition, and the Novgorod-Kiev-Bulġār (on the Volga) in the Islamic Arabic tradition.[7]

3.

Islamic geographical works of the mid-tenth century associate the oppositional terms "Inner" (*ad-dākhil*) and "Outer" (*al-khāriǧ*) with two former steppe powers, the Bulġars and the Bašġirts (the future Hungarians).[8]

The "Inner" or "Great" Bulġars (a mixed Christian and Muslim population living near the Byzantine possessions) have been correctly identified by Friedrich Westberg[9] with the Bosporus "Great" or

[6] See *Al-Idrīsī. Opus Geographicum*, fasc. 8 (1978), p. 917, and *Via regnorum. Descriptio ditionis moslemicae auctore Abu Isḥák al-Fárisi al-Iṣṭakhrí*, ed. Michael Jan de Goeje, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1927), pp. 225-26; *Opus Geographicum auctore Ibn Ḥaukal*, ed. Jan Henrik Kramers, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1939), p. 397. On *Arṯāniya*, see O. Pritsak, "The Name of the Third Kind of *Rūs* and of their City," *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History* (London), 1981, no. 12, pp. 2-9.

[7] One should keep in mind that the Rūs were originally fluvial nomads ("nomads of the sea"). See O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 16, 21-22.

[8] On Inner Bulgaria, see al-Iṣṭahkrī, *Via regnorum*, ed. J. M. de Goeje, 2nd ed. (1927), pp. 7, 10; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J.H. Kramers (1939), p. 288. On the Inner Bašġirts, see Ibn Ḥawqal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J.H. Kramers, vol. 2 (1939), p. 388. Al-Idrīsī also mentions the Outer Qumāniya (Polovcian Land); see the beginning of the description of section 6 of the seventh climate, *De geographia universali: Hortulus* (Rome, 1592), p. [324].

[9] "Vnutrennye Bolgary," in "K analizu vostočnyx istočnikov o vostočnoj Evrope," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* (St. Petersburg), 1908, no. 2, pp. 386-389.

"Black" Bulġars. The "Outer" Bulġars, living in " a small town having few dependencies and known only as the trading center of those [northern] countries,"[10] were certainly the Volga-Bulġars.[11]

The "Inner" Bašġirts were identical with the Hungarians prior to 898, i.e., with those still in Atelközü, since they are said to border with the Pečenegs and the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea.[12] At that time, as we are told, the "Outer" Bašġirts lived behind the Volga-Bulġars.

This association of the onomastic system of "Inner" versus "Outer" with the Bulġars and Hungarians, both originally steppe peoples, seems in fact to reflect the historical reality.[13]

4.

As far as I know, no one has undertaken to study the division of the Rus' realm into "Inner" and "Outer" territories. Two reasons for this can be posited. First, history and philology have been developed by sedentary peoples applying linear thinking. The system under discussion here, however, derived from the cyclical thinking of nomadic peoples; therefore it is outside the normal purview of the modern scholar. Since the nomads as they began to use script also began to apply linear thinking, their preserved monuments, too, are not always explicit about the existence of inner and outer spheres.

My examination of the division of the Rus' territories begins with the "Kitāb Dedem Qorqud," a collection of Turkmen-Oghuz Turkic epic stories. The Aq Qoyunlu redaction (probably dating from the first half of the fifteenth century) has come down to us in two often differing manuscripts: one (the Vatican) from ca. A.H. 956/A.D. 1549-1550, and the other (the Dresden) from ca. A.H. 993/A.D. 1585.[14]

One can hardly expect an epic about a single hero to provide details about the structure of society and the geography of a people's habitat.[15]

[10] Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Via regnorum*, ed. de Goeje (1927), p. 10.

[11] See Josef Markwart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 518.

[12] On the "Atelközü" Hungarians, see O. Pritsak, "From the Säbirs to the Hungarians," in *Hungaro-Turcica: Studies in honour of Julius Németh* (Budapest, 1976), pp. 21, 30.

[13] For some reason the same Arabic works refer to an "Inner" and "Outer" Armenia; the former included the district of Dvin (Dabīl), Nakhičawān, Karin (Qalīqalā), while the latter comprised the regions around Lake Van. For details, see M. Canard, "Armīniya," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 1 (Leiden, 1960), p. 642.

[14] See Ettore Rossi, *Il "Kitāb-i Dede Qorqut"* (Città del Vaticano, 1952), pp. 8-14.

[15] See Jan de Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, trans. B. J. Timmer (London, 1963), especially pp. 194-269.

The "Dedem Qorqud" does tell us, however, that there were two kinds of Oghuz (*Oγuz*)—the Inner, or *İč Oγuz*, and the Outer, or *Taš Oγuz*. Each had its own leadership,[16] but the Inner Oghuz were higher in rank.

In addition, the "Story of Qan Turali, son of Qangli Qoğa" gives us information about the extent of the two groups' territories. We are told that in the quest for a suitable maiden, the super-hero Turali

Ič Oγuza girdi, qiz bulimadi.	went [first] into the Inner Oghuz [territory] but could find no maiden.
Ṭolandi Ṭaš Oγuza girdi, bulimadi.	He wandered on and went into the Outer Oghuz [territory], but could find no maiden.
Ṭolandi Ṭirabuzana geldi.[17]	He wandered on and came to Trebizond.

There he finally found a maiden to this liking. Ṭirabuzan was the Greek empire of Trebizond under the dynasty of the Grand Comneni (1204-1461). These peoples were the sedentary counterpart to the nomadic Oghuzes. The Outer Oghuzes lived on the Trebizond frontier, while the Inner Oghuzes were situated in the eastern part of their empire.[18]

4 *bis*.

The Old Turkic runic inscriptions contain the same two oppositional terms: *ič*[19] 'inner' and *taš* 'outer'.

Also mentioned are *ič il* 'the Inner realm' and *ič yär* 'the Inner land'.[20] The inner realm is specified as that of the Türgiš (-766): *bän öltəm, Türgəs äl äčəntä bäg bän* 'I died; I am the chief (commander; *bäg*) in the

[16] On the Inner and Outer Oghuzes, see Joachim Hein, *Das Buch des Dede Korkut* (Zurich, 1958), pp. 337-39, and R. Dankoff, "'Inner' and 'Outer' Oğuz in Dede Korkut," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (1982): 21-25.

[17] *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, ed. Muharrem Ergin, vol. 1 (Ankara, 1958), p. 185.

[18] Whereas Ergin is sceptical about the possibility of locating the two groups of Oghuzes (*Dede Korkut Kitabı*, 1: 51), Fahreddin Çelik concludes that the Inner (Ič) Oghuzes lived in the zone from Alašgert to Erivan, whereas the habitat of the Outer (*Taš*) Oghuzes was situated to the east of Gökče Deniz and Genğe (Gjandža). See F. Çelik, "Dede Korkut kitabındaki coğrafî isimler," *Ülkü* (Ankara), 17, no. 101 (1941): 449-56.

[19] Only in the third Talas inscription (lines 1-2) does there appear a *hapax* in the Runic Turkic *oš*, with the meaning of *iš* 'inner': *tašina ošina uliti bardəm. Bäg čor oγəl* "I went off [campaigning] to both the Outer and Inner territories; [I am] Bäg Čōr Oγəl." Sergej Efimovič Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii* (hereafter *Pamjatniki*) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1959), p. 61. Sir Gerard Clauson, who did not know about the Talas inscription, regarded Kāšġarī's (ca. 1070) *oš* = Arab *qalb* 'the heart, center of a tree trunk,' as a *hapax*; see his *Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 255.

[20] The Abakan inscription in S. E. Malov, *Enisejskaja pis'mennost' Tjurkov* (hereafter *EPT*) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1952), p. 94, no. 48, line 4.

Türgiš Inner realm'. The deceased, Äzgənä, was an *ičrägi* 'official in the Inner realm' of Qam Qan.[21] One inscription (Kara Jus) refers to an *ič sü baš* 'commander of the Inner army'.[22] In the empire of Bilgä Qaγan ca. 731, Säbəg, who had the title *Kül irkin*, was the leader of the *ič* buyruq 'the retinue of the Inner [territory]'.[23] According to the Kemčik-Džirgak inscription, in order to earn a "heroic name" (*är at*) Yula ('torch'), a man had to perform seven deeds in the "Outer" (*tašru*, 'frontier') territory.[24]

A warrior called Kümül Ögä became, at the age of 40, the leader of his *bodən* ("political tribal unit") with the title *äl tutuq*. In this capacity he fought foes in the "Outer" frontier territory (*taš*) and was victorious.[25]

4 *ter*.

According to the Chinese encyclopaedia *Wên hsien t'ung-k'ao*, written by Ma Tuan-lin (ca. 1250-1325), both the empire of the Türküt (T'u-chüe; 552-744) and that of the Uighurs (744-840) had six 外宰相六 *wai-tsai-siang*, or foreign ministers (i.e., officials acting in the Outer territory), and three 內宰相三 *nei-tsai-siang*, or inner ministers (i.e., officials acting in the Inner territory).[26]

In his *De ceremoniis*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus ranks the Danube

[21] Inscription Tuba III in Malov, *EPT*, p. 67, no. 37, lines 1-3. The older form of *ičrägi* was *ičräki*, with the non-assimilated *-k-*. It appears in the Orkhon inscriptions with reference to the *bodən* 'politically organized tribe' (*ičräki bodən*; Kül Tigin Inscription I S 2) and to a particular office: *tabγač qaγanəŋ icräki bädəzči* 'the court decorator of the Chinese emperor' (IS 12). The Orkhon inscriptions are quoted after the Finnish Atlas *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890* (Helsingfors, 1892). Two Uighur official documents dating from the reign of the third Uighur kagan, Il Itmiš (795-780), have *ičräki* as a title. It also designated high officials in modern Chinese Turkestan: the second in command of the city of Činānčkanδ (Qočo) was *Isik Ingi Ičräki Vanōmāx Ṭonṭər xān*, while the king (*khwatāw*) of Ark (Agni) was called *Ičräki Itmiš Žim Tāy-ši Uyγur Tapməš*; see the "Maḥrnāmag" of 762, in Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnamag)* (Berlin, 1913), p. 10, lines 58-60, and p. 10, lines 89-91. The institution of *ičräki orunčilar* is referred to in an inscription on a wooden pole from 767 (the third pole of Qočo); see F.W.K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (Berlin, 1915), p. 23, l. 24. See also *ičräki* in the Jenissei inscriptions; Malov, *EPT*, p. 20, no. 4, and p. 29, no. 11, line 1. On the corresponding title in Danube Bulgarian, see fn. 27.

[22] Kara-Jus inscription, in Malov, *EPT*, p. 68, no. 39, line 2.

[23] The Bilgä Qaγan inscription (II S 14). On the institution of *buyruq*, see Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 74-75.

[24] Malov, *EPT*, p. 73, no. 41, lines 2-3.

[25] Kežilig-Xobu inscription, in Malov, *EPT*, p. 81, no. 45, lines 1-4.

[26] See the 1901 edition, chapter 34, fol. 8v°.

Bulgarian ruling institutions, and puts in fifth place οἱ ἔσω καὶ ἔξω βολιάδες, i.e., the *boljars* of the Outer and Inner territories.[27]

5.

From antiquity through the medieval epoch, every nomadic empire in the Eurasian steppe had nomadic and sedentary (urban) components. The nomadic component itself was clearly divisable into an Inner and an Outer territory. As a case in point, let us examine the second empire of the Türküt (T'u-chüe; 681-744), for their history can be studied not only on the basis of foreign sources (Chinese, Persian, Byzantine, Syriac, Armenian, etc.) but also in contemporary native documents, especially imperial runic inscriptions. The restitution of the second T'u-chüe Turkic Empire in A.D. 681 is referred to both in the grave inscriptions of the two sons of the "Reichsgründer" (Il-täriš) from A.D. 731-732 and in the *Apologia pro vita sua* of his (and his sons') chief minister, Tonyuquq/Ton Yuquq (ca. 716).

Kül Tigin's inscription gives the following account:[28]

qaŋəm il-tärəs qaγanəγ ögəm	Täŋri, seizing from the height [of the sky],
il-bilgä qatunəγ täŋri töpəsindä	raised my father Il-Täriš to the [position of]
tutəp yügärü kötürməs ärənč.	emperor (*qaγan*) and my mother Il-Bilgä to the [position of] empress (*qatun*).
qaŋəm qaγan yiti yägərmi	My father, the emperor, went off [to the Outer territory] with seventeen
ärän tašəqməs.	men.
tašra yorəyur tiyən kü äsədəp,	Having heard the tidings that he was marching off to the Outer territory (*tašra*), the townspeople
baliqdaqi, taγiqməs, taγdaqi inməs.	went up [to him] and the highlanders came down [to him].

[27] J.J. Reiske, ed., in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 12 (Bonn, 1829), p. 681. The corresponding form in Proto-Bulgarian was ιτζιργου / ητζιργου / ητζουργου / чрьго. See Veselin Beševliev, *Die Protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1963), index, p. 341, 342, s.v.; idem, *Părvobălgarite. Bit i kultura* (Sofia, 1981), pp. 51-52; idem, "What was the title ητζιργου (ητζουργου) βοιλας in the Protobulgarian Inscriptions?," *Byzantinoslavica* (Prague), 16 (1955): 120-24; cf. also Vasil N. Zlatarski, "Koi sa bili vŭvrešnite i vŭršnite boljari," in *Sbornik v čest na S. S. Bobčev* (Sofia, 1921), pp. 45-51; and Ivan Dujčev, "Les boliars dits intérieurs et extérieurs de la Bolgarie médiévale," *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* (hereafter *AOH*) (Budapest), 3 (1953): 167-78. The Proto-Bulgarian *ičirgü* ~ *ičürgü* goes back to **icärigü* 'what is inside, interior, inner'; see Karl Heinrich Menges, "Altaic Elements in the Proto-Bulgarian Inscription," *Byzantion* 21 (1951): 96-97.

[28] The Kül Tigin inscription (E 11-12 = Bilgä Qaγan inscription II E 10-11).

Ton Yuquq's inscription explains exactly what the term *tašra* 'the Outer territory' referred to:[29]

Čoγay quzin² qara qumәγ olәrur ärtәmәz	We were established [at that time] in the shady slope (refuge) of the Čoγay [mountains] and in the Qara Qum [town].

In Chinese the Čoγay mountain range is called Yin-shan (both the Turkic word *čoγay* and the Chinese *yin* mean "shade"); it is situated north of the bend of the Huang-ho (Yellow River).[30] In Turkic Qara Qum means "Black Sand"; in Chinese it is also known as "Black Sand City"—*Hei-sha ch'eng*, the southern (= Outer) residence of the T'u-chüe.[31] In fact, the annals (*pen-ki*) of the history of the T'ang dynasty note, under the year 682, that the Ku-tu-lu (Il-täriš), having established himself in Hei-sha-ch'eng, started raiding the Chinese limes to the north of Ping chou.[32] The outer territory of the Turks, the region from which the Turks conducted relations with China, both peaceful and military, comprised present-day Ordos and the lands north of the bend of the Huang-ho. The Inner territory was in Mongolia, especially the valleys of the rivers Orkhon (with the Ötükän Mt.) and Selenga. "There," says the Kül Tigin inscription of 732, "all politically organized tribes (*bodәn*) of the Inner territory (*ičräki*) obey me [i.e., the emperor]."[33]

The Turks regarded the Ötükän forest as the place "from which the empire should be governed" (*il tutsәq yir*).[34] Dynastic sanctuaries with special edifices and inscriptions were located there, and it was the place where the annual rites and official ceremonies of the Tängri religion were conducted.[35] The Inner territory was regarded as the patrimony of the dynasty; therefore it was given to the "youngest son" of the emperor; along with the characteristic title "prince of the [dynastic] heart"—in Turkic *Kül Tigin* and in Mongolian *Odčigin* [< Turkic *Od tigin*].[36]

[29] The Ton Yuquq inscription is quoted after the new edition by Gustaf John Ramstedt-Pentti Aalto, *Materialien zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (Helsinki, 1958), p. 32, line 7.

[30] Károly Czeglédy, "Čoγay-Quzï, Qara-Qum, Kök-Öng," in *AOH* 15 (1962): 55-69.

[31] On *Qara Qum* = *Hei-sha-ch'êng*, see Czeglédy in *AOH* 15 (1962): 57.

[32] *Chiu T'ang-shu* (Po-na ed., 1931), ch. 5, p. 8ff.

[33] Orkhon inscription I S 2.

[34] Orkhon inscription I S 4.

[35] See Annemarie von Gabain, "Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken," *Der Islam* (Berlin), 29 (1949): 30-42.

[36] Władysław Kotwicz, "La signification du titre *Kül-tägin*," and "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale, II," in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Cracow), 15 (1949): 185-88. Cf. also Nikolaus Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 49.

The Outer territory was of vital importance to every nomadic *Pax*, since it was there that contacts were made with the sedentary states, their civilization, culture, and, especially, economy. This contact-area must also be the focal point for the historian, since it was from here that the non-historical nomadic polities of the steppe — or, for that matter, of the river — began gradually to enter the stream of history.

It was for good reason, then, that the Byzantines and the Arabs encountered and wrote about *only Outer Rus'*.

6.

Where was Inner Rus' located? In my *Origin of Rus'* I have shown that the Volga Rūs kaganate, created by a branch of the Khazar kaganate in the A.D. 830s,[37] comprised the territories within the bend of the middle Volga (ca. 150 km. in length and 110 km. in width), bounded by the Kotorosl' River, Lake Rostov, and the Sara River on the east, and Lake Kleščino with the Nerl' River (tributary of the Volga) on the south.[38] During the first period of Kievan Rus' (tenth to eleventh century) the area included the cities of Jaroslavl', Rostov, and Sarskoe gorodišče. The Islamic descriptive school of geography, as represented by Ibn Rūste (ca. A.H. 300/A.D. 912), Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (ca. A.H. 355/A.D. 966), Gardīzī (ca. A.H. 442/A.D. 1050), and al-Marwazī (A.H. 514/A.D. ca. 1120) call the territory of the Rūs qaɣan (*khāqān*) an isle, or, better yet, a peninsula (*al-ǧazīra*),[39] since it was almost completely surrounded by rivers and lakes. The extent of the Rūs *ǧazīra* ("isle" = "peninsula") given by the Islamic authors — "three days in either direction" — seems to correspond closely to reality, namely, ca. 150 km. × 110 km. This territory must be identified as Inner Rus'.

Outer Rus' originally (ca. 830-930) comprised the trade routes leading to the Azov and Caspian seas (known in Old Norse as Ellipaltar)[40]

[37] Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, 1: 26-28, 182, 583.

[38] See the map "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaja zemlja," in Arsenij Nikolaevič Nasonov, "*Russkaja zemlja*" *i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1951), facing p. 184. Also note the map appearing here, p. 567.

[39] There is a very good French analogy for "isle" as a designation for a patrimony bounded by rivers: the Île-de-France, during the Carolingian period (although use was made of the name *Francia*), was restricted to the territory bounded by the rivers Aisne, Oise, and Seine. It is possible that this parallel in usage goes back to the Frankish origin of *Ruti* > *Rūs*, on which see Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, 1: 25. Concerning the Île-de-France, see Pierre Bernus, *Histoire de l'Île-de-France* (Paris, 1934), and Armand Leyritz, *L'Île-de-France, sa géographie, son histoire* (Paris, 1948).

[40] On Ellipaltar, see Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, 1: 171-72, 180, 508.

—that is, the limes of the Khazar Empire and the frontiers of Byzantium's Crimean territories. Sometime in the 930s, the Rus' kagan (< *qaγan*) Igor' took control over a new "Outer Rus'"—the emerging Dnieper trade route including the city of Kiev.[41]

Great-Rostov based Inner Rus' continued to be the patrimony of the Rus' dynasty, and, in accordance with the steppe system, was given to members of the dynasty selected to serve as the "youngest son." Rostov was the first seat of Jaroslav (later "the Wise," d. 1054). When he was given Novgorod, Jaroslav's place in Rostov was taken by the new "youngest son"—Boris, who was later canonized.[42]

According to Jaroslav's will, Rostov (with Perejaslav) went to his youngest son, Vsevolod (d. 1093),[43] who, as the "keeper of the dynastic hearth," also took charge of Jaroslav's burial.[44] Monomax (d. 1125) first gave Rostov to his younger son Izjaslav. After Izjaslav was killed, on 6 September 1096,[45] Rostov fell to Monomax's official "youngest son," the boy Jurij (d. 1157), then under the tutelage of his elder brother, Mstislav Monomaxovič of Novgorod. In a letter to Oleg Svjatoslavič of Černihiv in 1091, Monomax described the situation with the Rostov patrimony thus: да то ти сѣдить сынъ твой хрестьный с малым братомъ своимь, хлѣбъ ѣдучи дѣдень;[46] "Let your godson [Mstislav Monomaxovič] sit with his little brother [Jurij Monomaxovič] eating his ancestral [lit. "grandfather's] bread." In this connection, it is also possible to solve a puzzle about Monomax's "collected works." These have come down to us only in the Laurentian Codex of 1377.[47] We may well ask why Monomax's "Poučen'e," for instance, was not available to the compiler of the Hypatian Chronicle of ca. 1425? As shown by Mixail Dmitrievič Priselkov[48] and Dmitrij Sergeevič Lixačev,[49] the Laurentian

[41] On this, see my statements in Norman Golb and O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), pp. 60-64, 67-69.

[42] *Povest' vremennyx let* (hereafter *PVL*), ed. D.S. Lixačev, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 83.

[43] See *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 160.

[44] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev, 1: 108-109.

[45] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev, 1: 168.

[46] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev, 1: 165.

[47] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, vol. 1: *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*, 2nd ed., by Evfimij Fedorovič Karskij (Leningrad, 1926), cols. 240-56.

[48] *Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI-XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1940), pp. 87-96 (about the Rostov editions incorporated into the Laurentian collection); pp. 51-52 (about the Hypatian collection).

[49] *Russkie letopisi i ix kul'turno-istoričeskoe značenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947),

Codex reproduces, in the final analysis, the Rostov tradition of Rus' chronicle writing of the thirteenth century, that is, the chronicle of Konstantin Vsevolodovič of Rostov (1206), that of his son Vasil'ko of Rostov (d. 1258), and the edition of 1263 by Vasil'ko's widow, Maria Mixajlovna (of Černihiv). Private dynastic documents such as the works of Monomax remained in safekeeping in Rostov, the patrimony and residence of the "youngest son." It is understandable that only the chronicler at the court of the prince of Rostov would have access to such private texts and finally include them in his compilation. Since the Hypatian Chronicle reflects chronicle writing under the patronage of the *oldest* branch of Monomax's kin (*Volodimerovo plemja*), one cannot expect it to contain any of the private papers (e.g., Monomax's "Poučen'e" or his letter to Oleg) of the previous head of the dynasty.

* * *

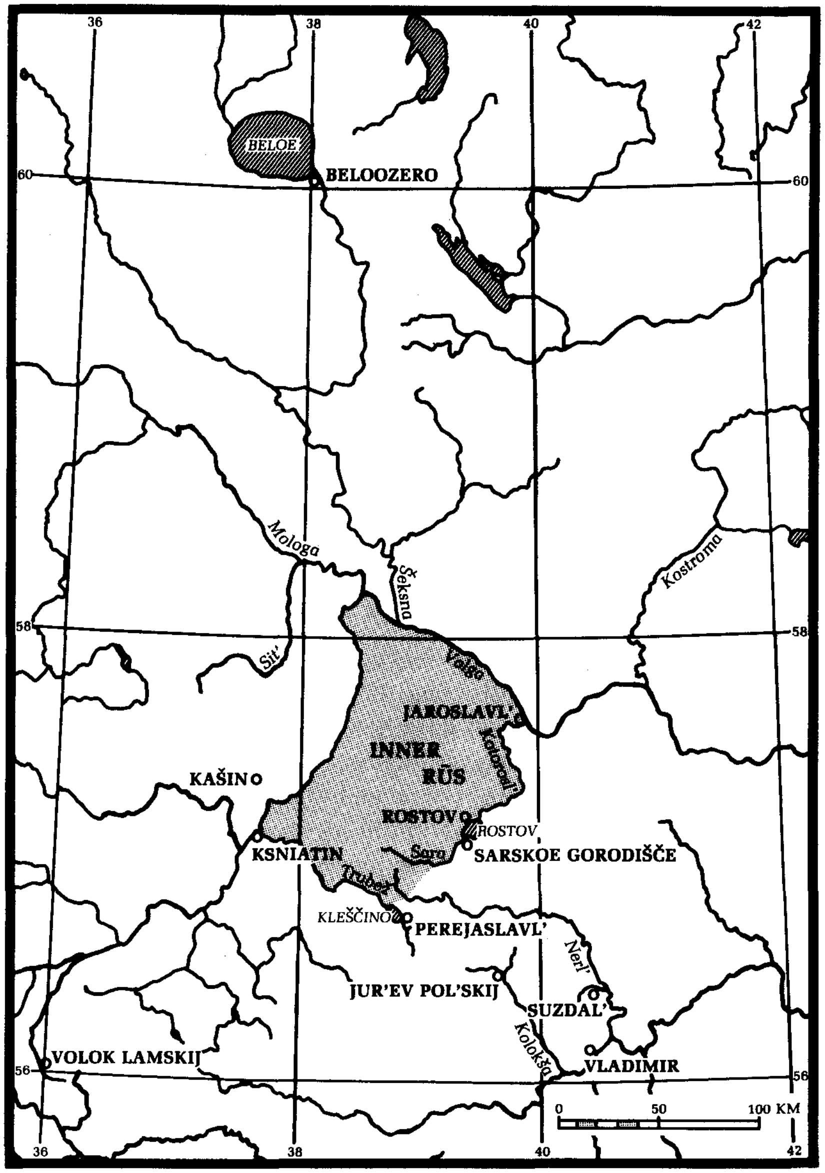
We can now answer the question put forward in the title of this essay. In keeping with the general structure of the steppe empires, the kaganate of Rus' consisted of two territories, an Outer and an Inner Rus'. In the 940s Outer Rus' was the Dnieper trade route. At that time Inner Rus' was the (Great-) Rostov land, home of the original Volga Rūs Kaganate of the ninth to tenth century and later the patrimony of the dynasty, passed on to the "youngest son" of the clan's senior member.[50]

Since foreign affairs were conducted by the peoples of Outer Rus' along the *limes* of the respective sedentary state, not only the whereabouts, but also the existence of Inner Rus' remained unknown to both Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his contemporaries, the Arabic geographers, apart from the name itself.

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pp. 283-85 (on the activity of Vasil'ko Konstantinovič) and pp. 282-85 (on Marija Mixajlovna's part in editing the chronicle).

[50] It is very regrettable that Russian scholars, strongly affected by Kiev's real and illusory past glory, spend much time and energy in a vain effort to appropriate Kiev's history for Russian history while neglecting the medieval history of actual Russian lands. The territories of the former Rūs Kaganate and of Inner Rus' deserve much more attention than these scholars have been willing to give them.


BELOE
BELOOZERO
Mologa
Šeksna
Kostroma
Sit'
Volga
JAROSLAVL'
INNER
RŪS
Kotorosl'
KAŠINO
ROSTOV
ROSTOV
KSNIATIN
Sara
SARSKOE GORODIŠČE
Trubež
KLEŠČINO
PEREJASLAVL'
Nerl'
JUR'EV POL'SKIJ
SUZDAL'
Koloksa
VOLOK LAMSKIJ
VLADIMIR
0 50 100 KM

"Inner Rūs"

The *Life* of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the *Life* of St. Andreas Salos

LENNART RYDÉN

It has long been common opinion that the *Life* of Andreas Salos,[1] a fictitious saint supposed to have lived in Constantinople during the reign of Leo I (457-474), was written in the ninth or tenth century. Within the limits of these two centuries various dates of composition have been suggested. In a recent paper[2] I argued for the sixth decade of the tenth century. However, my arguments failed to convince two leading Byzantinists whose agreement I covet. One of them is Professor Cyril Mango, in whose opinion the *Vita* was written in the late seventh century.[3] This theory, which in my view creates more problems than it solves, will not be discussed here.

The other is Professor Ihor Ševčenko, to whom this article is dedicated. Professor Ševčenko, suspecting the *Vita* to be earlier,[4] has been skeptical about most of what I have had to say in support of a tenth-century date. He admits, however, that my references to the *Life* of St. Basil the Younger[5] carry some weight and regrets that I have not made more of them. The present *Festschrift* in his honor would thus seem to offer an appropriate opportunity for thanking Professor Ševčenko for

[1] F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1957; hereafter *BHG*³), nos. 115z-117k; idem, *Auctarium* (Brussels, 1969; hereafter *BHG*ᵃ), nos. 116-117p.

[2] L. Rydén, "The Date of the *Life of Andreas Salos*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 32 (1978): 127-55.

[3] C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1 (1981) [= XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten I/1]: 337-53, especially 341, fn. 26. Professor Mango's paper "The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered" is to appear in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982) [Miscellanea A. Pertusi, vol. 2].

[4] I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Literature," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1 (as in fn. 3): 289-312, especially 305, fn. 55: " I suspect a seventh-eighth century date."

[5] *BGH*³, nos. 263-264f; *BHG*ᵃ, nos. 263-264g; see now also Christina G. Angelidi, Ὁ Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Νέου (doctoral dissertation, Ioannina, 1980), especially pp. 22-51.

his incisive remarks on various occasions, and I shall do so by examining at somewhat greater length the relationship between the two *Lives*.

The textual basis for this examination is, on the one hand, the critical text of the *Life* of Andreas Salos (hereafter *VA*), which I have prepared for publication, and, on the other, the long version of the *Life* of Basil the Younger (hereafter *VBiun*) contained in the Greek MS no. 249 of the Synodal Library in Moscow. The former corresponds to *BHG*³, no. 115z, which I regard as the original version of *VA*. Consequently, my references are to this version, although I use the columns and letters of Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 111, cols. 628ff., to locate them. In the case of *VBiun* the MS is late[6] and the printed text full of minor errors, but the version it represents seems to be genuine, at least with regard to contents. Unfortunately, the printed text is a mosaic of four different pieces, each with its own pagination.[7] In order not to confuse the reader, I quote the folios of the manuscript as they have been indicated by the editors.

It should be noted that Germaine da Costa-Louillet[8] and Evelyne Patlagean,[9] believing the Moscow manuscript (hereafter M) to contain an expanded version of *VBiun*, regard the short version printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*[10] as original. In their view Gregory's two great visions, one of Theodora's death, her spiritual journey through the air and inspection of heaven and hell, the other of the Resurrection and Last Judgment, both of which appear in M but are missing in the *ActaSS*, are later additions, although not much later. Yet in fact, this entire visionary material also appears in the manuscript from which the Bollandist edition derives, namely, the Parisinus gr. 1547 (13th century; hereafter P). The reason for the omission is, as Christina Angelidi has pointed out,[11] simply that F. Combefis, who copied P, only copied fols. 1-34ᵛ

6 16th century; see Christina G. Angelidi (as in fn. 5), p. 10.

7 The text has been edited by S. G. Vilinskij in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo novorossijskogo universiteta* (Odessa, 1911), pp. 283-326 (fols. 2-66); ibid., 326-346 (fols. 351-378); by A. N. Veselovskij in *Sbornik Otdela russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, 46 (St. Petersburg, 1889), 6, suppl.: 10-76 (fols. 66-147); ibid., 53 (1891) 6, suppl.: 3-174 (fols. 147ᵛ-351). According to Christina Angelidi (as in fn. 5), p. 20, fols. 270-350 have not yet been published, but this statement is obviously erroneous.

8 Germaine da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIᵉ, IXᵉ et Xᵉ siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1954): 179-263, 453-511, especially 492-494.

9 Evelyne Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde. Observations sur quelques récits," *Faire Croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIᵉ au XVᵉ siècle. Table ronde, Rome, 22-23 juin 1979. Collection de l'École française de Rome* 51 (1981): 201-221, especially 204.

10 *Acta Sanctorum* (hereafter *ActaSS*), March III (1668), 24*-39*.

11 Angelidi (as in fn. 5), p. 18.

and 124v-126, thus leaving a lacuna of about 90 fols. between paragraphs 52 and 53 in the *ActaSS*.

Moreover, it is clear that P's text itself represents an abridged version of *VBiun*. On fol. 126v, corresponding to *ActaSS*, §55, a certain John, a eunuch, prevents Basil's mortal remains from being transferred from the city to Constantine Barbaros's suburban house. This is the same John, the author says, "whom we mentioned long ago in the selected wonders of our Holy Father: how he—St. Basil—had cured him of a fit of demoniac madness, from which he had been suffering through the magic operations of his own servant." The story of how John came under magic influence appears in M, fols. 138vff., but is missing in P. In fact, the whole section corresponding to fols. 132-146v of M has been omitted, as well as much of that which precedes and follows. This provides good reason for suspecting that other episodes that appear in M but are lacking in P have also been deliberately left out. The fact that the *VA* version contained in P, fols. 158-249v, is an obvious abridgement of what I regard as the original *VA* text, points in the same direction.

Not only the size but also the form of P differs from that of M. The latter is more wordy and differs also with regard to order, phraseology, and vocabulary. At least one of the two versions, therefore, is the result of a reworking. Considering the deliberate omission in P mentioned above we may assume that the man responsible for this version not only left out passages in his model that were of little interest to him, but also rewrote what he kept in his own style. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that the original has undergone stylistic changes in M as well. For instance, the autograph may have been a little less wordy. It should be noted, however, that neither version is the work of a consistent classicist. In both versions literary words like πυλωρός, ἄρτος, κορυφή occur side-by-side with low style or ordinary ones like ὀστιάριος, ψωμός, κεφαλή. It seems to me that although M and P express many things differently, they do not do so because one of them is trying to achieve a different stylistic level.

A third version, contained in cod. Iviron 478 (13th century) and published by Vilinskij,[12] reproduces the visions but omits most of the rest, especially the political material.

The M version of *VBiun* is 301 pages in the printed version. Of these, 38 concern the author's account of his vision of Theodora's death[13] and

[12] Vilinskij (as in fn. 7), pp. 5-142.
[13] Fols. 66v-114.

162 his account of his vision of the Resurrection and Last Judgment.[14] Basil himself plays a minimal role in these accounts. Thus only one-third of the total text is devoted to a *Vita* in the traditional sense. And even within these 100 pages Basil is often not very prominent. The author, who calls himself Gregory, is evidently less concerned with the *Life* of St. Basil as such than with using him as a pretext for recounting numerous other matters of interest to him.

A consideration of the internal chronology of the *Vita* results in the same impression. From a chronological point of view *VBiun* appears to be divided into three different parts, between which there are vast gaps. The first part begins like a *passio*. Basil, who has been living as a grass-eating hermit[15] in Asia Minor, is arrested as a spy, brought to Constantinople, interrogated and tortured, even thrown before a lion, by the *parakoimômenos* Samonas. Basil, who does not even reveal his name, is ultimately cast into the sea, but dolphins take him on their backs and land him safely at Hebdomon. From there he returns to the city, now of his own free will. He meets a poor but pious couple, John and Helen, who gladly give him shelter in their home. These events occur in the first 13 fols. of the manuscript. Gregory dates them to the tenth year of the reign of Leo VI and his brother Alexander, i.e., to 896, although Samonas did not become *parakoimômenos* until some ten years later. As Patricia Karlin-Hayter has observed, the spy story is similar to the story of the arrest of a certain Paphlagonian, Nicetas by name, in the *Vita Euthymii*, ch. XVI. This story can be dated to 907 or 908, when Samonas was in office.[16]

Then there is a lacuna of about 17 years in Basil's biography: the next episode is the rebellion of Constantine Ducas in 913, which Basil is supposed to have predicted. Gregory gives a rather detailed description of this revolt with its preliminaries and consequences, although he admits that it does not contribute much to the delineation of the saint himself. Apparently he could not resist the temptation to include the romantic

[14] Fols. 147ᵛ-351.

[15] Fol. 7ᵛ τὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐρήμοις διαιτώμενος βοτάνας καὶ μόνον ἤσθιεν. I understand this as a reference to the proto-Byzantine βοσκοί 'grazers', cf. the *Life* of St. Symeon Salos *BHG*[a], no. 1677, ed. Rydén 133,3.

[16] See *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP*, ed. by Patricia Karlin-Hayter (Brussels, 1970), pp. 105-109, with the editor's note, p. 220. For the date of this episode and an identification of Nicetas (he is Nicetas-David Paphlago, the author of the *Vita Ignatii*), see R. J. H. Jenkins, "A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the *Vita Ignatii*," *DOP* 19 (1965): 241-47, especially 241.

figure of Constantine Ducas in his work[17] and to demonstrate his dislike for the patriarch Nicholas Mysticus. This is told on fols. 14-21.

After this episode, in which Basil hardly appears at all, there is another chronological gap of about 20 years, for in the next episode we are suddenly in the reign of Romanos I Lecapenos (920-944) — more precisely, at a moment when there were seven emperors in the palace (fol. 22). To judge from fol. 32, these were Constantine VII with his wife Helen and Romanos I with his two younger sons, Stephen and Constantine, and their wives. Romanos's eldest son Christopher is said to be dead, thus indicating 931 as a certain *terminus post quem* for this part of the *Vita*. Stephen's wife Anna Gabalas (crowned in 933) and Constantine's successive wives Helen (whom he may not have married until 939) and Theophano (whom he married after Helen's death the following year)[18] would advance the *terminus post* still further. However, Romanos's younger daughters-in-law are not mentioned by name, only referred to as τὰς λοιπὰς αὐγούστας (fol. 32^v). Therefore, we are probably not supposed to rely too much on this indication. More important is Basil's prediction that Helen, the wife of Constantine VII, would give birth first to another girl and then, at last, to a boy who would be called Romanos (fols. 31^v-32). As Romanos II was born in 938,[19] this prediction would have been made in the middle of the 930s. The final clearly dated episode in this section is the Rus' attack in the year 941, which Basil is said to have predicted four months in advance (fol. 34) and which is then described. The saint is supposed to have died on March 26 in the middle of Lent, which, as H. Grégoire and P. Orgels have pointed out, could mean either 944 or 952.[20] The former year seems more probable, since Gregory nowhere indicates that Basil lived on into the reign of Constantine VII.

Gregory thus builds the chronology of the *Vita* on four well-known political events: the rise of Samonas, the revolt of Constantine Ducas, the death of Christopher Lecapenos, and the fall of Romanos I.

[17] As Gregory seems to have had a predilection for Paphlagonians (see further below), the appearance of the Ducas episode in *VBiun* may have something to do with the fact that Ducas's widow had an estate in Paphlagonia, to which she was forced to withdraw (Georgios Continuatus, Bonn ed., 877, 9-11).

[18] On Stephen's and Constantine's marriages, see S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 78.

[19] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* (hereafter *DAI*), vol. 2: *Commentary* (London, 1962), p. 5 (Jenkins).

[20] H. Grégoire and P. Orgels, "L'invasion hongroise dans la 'Vie de Saint Basile le Jeune,'" *Byzantion* 24 (1954): 147-154, especially 147.

Nevertheless, almost all the episodes of this long *Vita* are supposed to have taken place within the short period 931-944. This is in line with Gregory's assertion that Basil was already an old man when he made his acquaintance (fol. 117ᵛ). Apparently he wants to give a convincing impression by posing as an eye-witness. He nevertheless alludes to many circumstances that in fact are outside the indicated time span. For instance, in the first episode of this main part he says that the magister[21] Saronites, a son-in-law of Romanos I, was planning a coup d'état. Knowing this from divine foresight, Basil tried to make him change his mind. Saronites, like another Samonas, reacted violently, treating Basil in a most cruel way. But before he could carry out his plans he fell ill and died, leaving two sons as his heirs (fols. 21ᵛ-26). According to Theophanes Continuatus, however, the magister Romanos Saronites, son-in-law of Romanos I, was still alive in 945.[22] In the same year the deposed metropolitan of Nicaea, Alexander, wrote a letter to the patriarch Theophylaktos and Romanos Saronites.[23] If we are to believe Skylitzes, Saronites entered a monastery during the reign of Romanos II (959-963), dividing his property between his sons and the poor.[24] The reason for his withdrawal was a rebellion, although Saronites himself is not supposed to have taken part in it. According to Skylitzes he was still alive during the reigns of the successors of this emperor. However that may be, it is clear that Saronites outlived the reign of Romanos I.

When Basil's hosts John and Helen were dead, a certain *primikêrios* Constantine, generally called Barbaros, persuaded Basil to move to his house in the Arcadianae quarter.[25] Here Basil lived for the rest of his life except for a week which he spent in the Great Palace[26] and unspecified periods spent in the house of the brothers Gongylios, who lived near the Eleutherios harbor[27] (fol. 125). The Gongylioi were eunuchs. They were held in high esteem by those who reigned at that time (ibid.), and they had a friend or relative who was "*tourmachês* of the land of the

[21] P calls him *patrikios*; see *ActaSS*, §16.
[22] Bonn ed., 441 and 443.
[23] *Epistoliers byzantins du Xᵉ siècle*, ed. Jean Darrouzès (Paris, 1960), p. 84.
[24] Ed. Thurn, 251, 79-86.
[25] Fol. 28. P omits the title *primikêrios*, see *ActaSS*, §20. The Arcadianae quarter was situated east of St. Sophia not far from the Great Palace; see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), p. 21.
[26] Fols. 30ᵛ-33ᵛ. During his stay in the Great Palace Basil also met Romanos I, whom he reproved for his greediness and lechery. The emperor did not mind. This is in line with Romanos's general friendliness toward monks; cf. Georgios Continuatus, Bonn ed., 910.
[27] Southwest of the Hippodrome, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 60f.

Paphlagonians" (fols. 125^v, 126). All this points to the well-known Paphlagonian eunuchs Constantine and Anastasios Gongylios, who were influential during the reign of Empress Zoe and her circle (914-919).[28] We are further told that the *primikêrios* Constantine was unmarried (fol. 29) and that he was a relative of the Gongylioi (fol. 125). This indicates that his historical model was the eunuch Constantine who succeeded Samonas as *parakoimômenos* toward the end of the reign of Leo VI. He was a favorite of Empress Zoe and disappears from history after the unsuccessful revolt of his brother-in-law Leo Fokas in 919; in the chronicles he is often mentioned together with the Gongylioi.[29] It is true that the fact that Constantine is said to have been a relative of the Gongylioi does not harmonize with his nickname Barbaros.[30] Yet the nickname is supported by *DAI*, 43/67, where the Prince of Taron is given an οἶκος εἰς κατοικίαν, ὁ τοῦ Βαρβάρου λεγόμενος, ὁ νῦν Βασιλείου τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου οἶκος. That it is a *parakoimômenos* who lives there seems to be significant.

Gregory not only states that Constantine Barbaros was related to the Gongylioi,[31] but also indicates that he had an estate with a Theotokos church in Asia Minor opposite the capital, for after Basil's death he and his friends planned to transfer the holy man's mortal remains εἰς τὸ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἄντικρυ < τῆς > βασιλευούσης πόλεως διακείμενον προάστειον, ἐν ᾧ ναὸς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου περιφανέστατος ᾠκοδόμητο ... (fol. 370-370^v). This obviously corresponds to what is said in a legend reproduced by Pseudo-Symeon, Bonn ed. 713-715, namely, that Constantine's old father had "quite a small suburban estate by the sea" at Nosiae near the capital. Once a soldier had forgotten a bag containing three pounds of gold at this place. Constantine's father found it and returned it to him untouched when he came back after two years. His honesty was rewarded, for on the same day his son became *parakoimômenos*, and his house soon was turned into a monastery by the emperor Leo.[32] Thus Gregory uses pre-Romanos material for telling episodes that he dates to the second half of this emperor's reign.

[28] Cf. R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, II (Berlin, 1967), p. 185f.

[29] Cf. *DAI, Commentary*, p. 164 (Jenkins), and R. Guilland, "Contribution à la prosopographie de l'empire byzantin. Les patrices sous les règnes de Basile I^{er} (877-886) et de Léon VI (886-912)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 63 (1970): 300-317, especially 305-307.

[30] Fol. 28 Κωνσταντῖνος δέ τις τοὔνομα, ὃν βάρβαρον οἱ πάντες ὠνόμαζον διὰ τὸ ἐθνικὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. P omits the words διὰ ... εἶναι, see *ActaSS*, §20.

[31] His brother-in-law Leo Fokas is not mentioned.

[32] Guilland, *Recherches* (fn. 28 above), p. 307, seems to believe in this story, assuming that Constantine's father was a poor man living in a small house at Nosiae, although this

The story of Kosmas fols. 49^v-51^v is a similar case. Kosmas had foolish ambitions to become emperor, but with Gregory's help Basil managed to divert his interest from the earthly kingdom to the heavenly one. Instead of becoming emperor, Kosmas became a monk, settling as a hermit on an inaccessible mountain near Nicomedeia. Every second year he came to the city to receive Basil's prayers, whereupon he returned to his mountain. This Kosmas, it seems to me, reflects another, better known Kosmas, namely, the emperor Alexander's (912-913) chamberlain, who retired from the world and became the abbot of a monastery by the river Sangarios, which at one point is not very far from Nicomedeia. In the thirteenth year of the reign of Romanos I, i.e., in 933, he had a vision that was to become famous.[33] Gregory does not mention this vision in connection with Kosmas, but he certainly was acquainted with it, since there are obvious reflections of it in his vision of Theodora's death.[34] According to the Synaxarium, Kosmas lived thirty years after the vision, which, consequently, was not written down in this form until after 963.

It is interesting to note that not only Kosmas but also the *parakoimômenos* Constantine appear in the notes to the Synaxarium, namely, in the "edifying story of a peasant called Metrios," reproduced in the notes to cols. 721-724. Metrios lived in Paphlagonia, where the peasants used to emasculate their sons, teach them some reading and writing, and send them to Constantinople to make a career. Unfortunately, Metrios had no son, so he prayed to God that he might be granted one. One day as he was resting at a well on his way home from the fair, he found a bag containing 1500 nomismata. He took it home in his wagon but did not open it, nor tell anybody about it. Next time when he went to the fair he brought the bag. On his way home he rested at the same place as the year before. So did the man who lost the bag. Metrios soon realized that he had met the rightful owner of the bag and returned it to him. The following night an angel appeared to Metrios and said, "Since you have

contradicts what we are told of Constantine's Paphlagonian origin and his relationship with Leo Fokas. However, Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn ed., p. 376) and Georgios Continuatus (ibid., p. 870) are more convincing, limiting themselves to saying that Leo VI built a monastery in Nosiae for his new *parakoimômenos*. None of the chroniclers specifies the situation of Nosiae.

[33] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris (Brussels, 1902), under cols. 107-114. For a summary and short commentary of the vision, see C. Mango, *Byzantium : The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), pp. 151-53.

[34] Cf. Christina Angelidi (fn. 5 above), p. 107f. Strangely enough she does not mention that Kosmas himself appears in *VBiun*.

done this, behold, God has granted you a male child. You will do with him as you like. When he has been weaned and brought to the Queen of cities he will be magnified on earth, and his family will be given everything that is good in full." Before long, a son was born to Metrios. The angel appeared again and said, "Constantine shall be the name of the boy." When Constantine had learned to read and write, he was sent to Constantinople and there he was eventually made *patrikios* and *parakoimômenos* by Emperor Leo, son of Basil. Obviously, this is a variant of the story told by Pseudo-Symeon in connection with the elevation of Constantine to the rank of *parakoimômenos*. That the *parakoimômenos* Constantine appears in such stories should make us suspicious of what Gregory tells us about Basil's connections with Constantine Barbaros, especially as Basil's dead body was *not* brought to Constantine's estate but is said to have remained in the city.

To sum up this brief analysis of *VBiun*: Basil does not appear as a distinct historical person. He has no family background. There is no development in his life. The chronology is inconsistent and has serious gaps. He moves in circles that are semi-historical or outright legendary. Often Gregory places Basil in the shadow of other characters. In large sections of the work Basil is used as a mere pretext for writing apocalyptic fiction.[35] If Basil was a real person, certainly very little of him remains in this *Vita*. But there is good reason to doubt that he ever existed. The date of composition is usually assumed to lie between the death of the patriarch Theophylaktos in 956 and the death of Constantine VII in November 959, for the reasons that Gregory does not hesitate to criticize Theophylaktos and has Basil predict the joint reign of Constantine VII and his son Romanos (945-959), but is silent on the latter's sole reign (959-963).[36] To this it may be remarked that the *terminus post* is supported by other indications, while the *terminus ante* is weak since it rests on an argument *e silentio*. The prophecy is the one on fols. 31^{v}-32 mentioned above. Basil is speaking to the empress Helen, who has given birth to several girls but no son. He says that she will produce one more daughter and then at last a son. The son "will grow up, and when all your relatives who are now reigning have been removed together with your father (Romanos I), he will reign alone with his own father (Constantine VII)." The stress seems to be on the fall of the

[35] Evelyne Patlagean, "Byzance" (fn. 9 above), p. 207, speaks pertinently of "justifications narratives des représentations de l'autre monde."

[36] Grégoire and Orgels, "L'invasion hongroise" (fn. 19 above), p. 154.

Lecapenoi rather than on Romanos II. If so, it was unnecessary to refer to the sole reign of the latter. One should also take into account that Helen lived until 961 and that Gregory is unlikely to have written the legend of Basil's week-long stay in the Great Palace and of his conversation with the empress while she was still alive. A further indication of a late date may be Gregory's unwillingness to tell exactly in which year Basil died. As he is posing as an eye-witness, this reluctance is easy to understand if he wrote long after Basil is supposed to have died. If it is true that Gregory relies on the vision of Kosmas in the version of the Synaxarium for his description of the heavenly rewards of the blessed, he wrote after 963. This in turn would make it easier to explain the way in which he speaks of the death of Saronites.

Let us turn to *VA*. This *Vita* does not immediately strike the reader as similar to *VBiun*. Although it is a rather long text it is only half the size of *VBiun*. It is both more compact and more "learned." Unlike *VBiun* it contains *erotapokriseis* on cosmological and scriptural topics (801A-832C) and a pseudo-philosophical discussion of the Trinity (684A-685A). Once a homily of Basil the Great is read aloud (873B5) and another time we listen to a story from the church historians of the fifth century (877A). Merely through its chronological setting *VA* makes a more learned impression, as it is supposed to be a document of the late fifth or early sixth century. The author presents himself as Nicephorus, a priest at St. Sophia in Constantinople. This places him in another category than Gregory, who poses as Basil's young pupil. Basil, as we have seen, lives in the house of the powerful and even spends a week in the Great Palace. Andreas, on the other hand, is a holy fool and as such puts himself outside society. Unlike Andreas, Basil is said to have taken the vows (fol. 3), and in accordance with this there is much more monastic terminology in *VBiun* than in *VA*.[37] Finally, the relationship between Nicephorus and Andreas is much more vague than that between Gregory and Basil.

On closer inspection, however, the two *Lives* appear to have much in common. Like Basil, Andreas is a shadowy figure. Like him, he has no family background. He is said to have been a Scythian slave acquired by a Byzantine aristocrat called Theognostos, but after having become a free man by pretending to be mad his life ceases to have a chronology. In

[37] In *VBiun* one finds, e.g., ἀπάθεια, ἀπαθής, ἀποτάξασθαι τῷ κόσμῳ, ἄσκησις, εἰς μέτρον πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας ἐληλακέναι, εὐλογία, οἰκοδομέω, ποιεῖν μετάνοιαν, all of which are missing in *VA* except when used in a secular sense.

large portions of the *Vita* he is merely a vehicle for the author's own apocalyptic teaching. Neither Andreas nor Basil is connected with a monastery. Basil, though leading a settled life in the houses of the rich, now and then behaves like a holy fool.[38] After his overwhelming vision of the Resurrection and Last Judgment even Gregory himself appears as a holy fool.[39] On the other hand Andreas, like Basil, has a pupil, an aristocratic young man called Epiphanios, who cares for him secretly, once inviting him to spend a whole week in his house. And just as Gregory often tells stories in which he himself is the principal character, keeping Basil in the background, so Nicephorus often focuses his story on Epiphanios, keeping Andreas in the background. Another significant detail is that Basil wants Gregory to become a monk[40] and Andreas predicts that Epiphanios will become a monk and, eventually, patriarch of Constantinople (884C/D). Thus it is Epiphanios rather than Nicephorus that corresponds to Gregory; but since Epiphanios is supposed to be the future patriarch of Constantinople (520-535), Nicephorus could not reasonably put the story in his mouth. It appears that there are considerable structural similarities between the two texts.

Gregory and Nicephorus appear to have had two dominating interests in common, apocalypse and the heroic age of Byzantine asceticism. With regard to the former, *VA* and *VBiun* overlap surprisingly little. Whereas Gregory concentrates on the fate of the soul after death and during the intermediate state that lasts until Resurrection, as well as on the Resurrection and the Last Judgment, Nicephorus describes Creation, Paradise, the three heavens, the aeons of this world and the eschatological drama that ends with the Resurrection. Thus, roughly speaking, Gregory starts at the point where Nicephorus stops. This is quite natural, since Gregory often expresses the opinion that he is living at the end of time,[41] whereas Nicephorus, antedating himself about 400 years, cannot say that the end is imminent. As far as I can see, there is no overt contradiction.

[38] Fols. 45 and 117; nothing equivalent in P, who may have cancelled this feature because it is not well integrated into Basil's portrait.

[39] Fol. 351 ἐλθόντος μου οὖν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς φρικτῆς ἐκείνης ... θεωρίας ... ἐδόκουν τοῖς καθορῶσι με παρατετραμμένος, παραπλήξ τε καὶ φρενόληπτος γεγονέναι.

[40] Fol. 359 σπεῦσον γενέσθαι μοναχός.

[41] Fol. 44ᵛ ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ταύταις ἡμέραις, fol. 52ᵛ (the man praised God) ὅτι τοιούτους Αὐτοῦ θεράποντας ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἀνέδειξεν, fol. 344ᵛ (Christ says) αἱ ἡμέραι ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς δευτέρας ἐλεύσεως; see also *ActaSS*, §§32 and 39. It must be added, however, that Gregory is inconsistent on this point, for on fol. 355ᵛ he has Basil predict that he will write Basil's *Life* and tell what he has seen and heard in his visions for the benefit of future generations (ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς).

The heroic age of asceticism is here taken to mean the proto-Byzantine period. Nicephorus's interest in this period is evident, as he dates both Andreas and himself to the reign of Leo I (457-474) and chooses the sixth-century Symeon Salos as a model for his hero. A further witness to this interest is the first part of the apocalyptic section, for which Byzantine history from Constantine I to Jovian has provided the basic pattern.[42] At the beginning of the *Vita* he says that Andreas "loved to read ... the *passions* of the martyrs and the *Lives* of the God-bearing Fathers" (632C). Surely, Nicephorus here bears witness to his own interests. But Gregory, too, demonstrates his interest in the proto-Byzantine period. Speaking of his first meeting with Basil, he says that he never before had met a διορατικὸς ἀνήρ, except in the *Lives* of the ancient saints (fol. 37^v). That *VBiun* begins like a *passio* has already been mentioned. It has also been mentioned that, on occasion, Gregory has Basil behave like a holy fool. This may be explained as a manifestation of his romantic admiration for the old *saloi*, especially as in the Resurrection scene he says that the *saloi*—their number is small—will be received in heaven with great honor.[43] In two successive stories in fols. 46-49 we read about a public bath and a tavern, two establishments that are typical of the proto-Byzantine rather than the Middle Byzantine period.[44] The tavern story may have been inspired by an episode in the *Life* of St. Symeon Salos by Leontios of Neapolis.[45] Gregory also seems to have had some knowledge of the same author's *Life* of St. John the Merciful. Thus the beautiful princess identified as Mercy, the first daughter of the Great King, who appears in the vision of the Resurrection (fols. 268-270), corresponds to the beautiful girl who appeared to St. John the Merciful and introduced herself as the first among the daughters of the king and whom John identified as Mercy.[46] When Basil was dead, people took hair from his precious αἰγομάλλων (*sic*; fol. 370). This rare word, meaning a goat-skin with hair or possibly a coarse garment made of goat's hair, seems to derive from the *Life* of St. John the Merciful, especially as it appears in the same chapter as the personification of Mercy. A third probable reminiscence is the inscription on the τίτλος (signboard) above the entrance to Basil's heavenly abode: αἰωνία μονὴ καὶ κατάπαυσις τοῦ γνησίου μου θερά-

[42] L. Rydén, "Zum Aufbau der Andreas Salos-Apokalypse," *Eranos* 66 (1968): 101-117.

[43] Fols. 230^v-232. This passage, though abridged, also appears in P, fol. 80^v.

[44] Cf. Mango, "Daily Life" (fn. 3 above), especially pp. 339-341 (baths).

[45] Ed. Rydén, p. 147.

[46] Ed. A. J. Festugière (Paris, 1974), ch. 6, lines 50-75.

ποντος Βασιλείου τοῦ Νέου (fol. 373ᵛ), which corresponds to a τίτλος with the inscription Μονὴ αἰωνία καὶ ἀνάπαυσις Τρωΐλου ἐπισκόπου in the *Life* of St. John the Merciful.[47] In *VA*, the personification of Mercy does not appear, although the αἰγιόμαλλον and the τίτλος do, the former in 632D, the latter in 772B/C in the characteristically negative form Μονὴ αἰωνία καὶ τιμωρία βίαιος Ἰωάννου υἱοῦ Κελευστίονος. It may also be noted that in the description of the Last Judgment in *VBiun*, proto-Byzantine heretics play a prominent part. The most hated of them all is Arius. He is thrown εἰς τὸ κατώτατον χάος τῆς ἀβύσσου, to be punished there eternally together with Satan and Judas (fol. 273ᵛ). Arius appears in *VA* as well, where his teaching is refuted in the *erotapokriseis*, 824Bff. The above-mentioned discussion of the Trinity seems to be concerned with monotheletism, a heresy that also attracts the attention of Gregory.[48]

Obviously, Gregory and Nicephorus have the same kind of education, or lack of education. Neither of them demonstrates any familiarity with Classical Antiquity. In the apocalyptic section Nicephorus alludes to the first four Byzantine emperors. With the help of some names,[49] words, and expressions[50] he tries to create a proto-Byzantine atmosphere. Yet time and again Nicephorus reveals his Middle Byzantine outlook, so that the historical atmosphere remains thin. References to Antiquity before Constantine I are limited to Alexander the Great in legendary guise and the world of the Bible. Nicephorus does not even seem to know where to locate Alexander's gates (868C). He mixes up Antiochus with Titus and Vespasian (812C). As for Gregory, he could have mentioned famous men of Antiquity in his description of the Last Judgment, in which many different people appear — but he was no Dante. Diocletian is the only one he mentions, i.e., an emperor that had become part of Christian history. Nor were Nicephorus and Gregory classicists in the linguistic sense. When they use classicistic words — like τέμενος 'church' — they obviously do so because such expressions had become common in Christian literature.

[47] Ed. Festugière, ch. 27, lines 72f.

[48] See fols. 281ᵛ and 284ᵛ-285ᵛ.

[49] Leo I (628D, 640A, 744A), Daniel Stylites (744A); the patriarch Epiphanios (657B).

[50] E.g., ἀντίφορος (656B), θέρμια (656C, 708C), φουσκάριον (648C, D, a revealing case, since Nicephorus does not seem to know that a φουσκάριον was a place where φοῦσκα was consumed), σάσσειν καὶ τρέχειν (792A, similarly 748C), τῇ Σύρᾳ διαλέκτῳ (705B, similarly 701A). Parts of this antiquarian vocabulary (here ἀντίφορος, σάσσειν) also appear in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *Book of Ceremonies*; cf. Rydén, "Date" (fn. 2 above), p. 136, fn. 49.

The following observations, listed in the order found in *VA*, followed by a selection of expressions in common, may help to demonstrate the close relationship between the two *Lives*:

The Church of St. Anastasia. When Andreas began to behave like a fool he was sent to the church of St. Anastasia and put in chains in the hope that the martyr might appear to him and cure him from his supposed madness (640A). The same church also appears as a kind of mental hospital in two different episodes in *VBiun*, fols. 137ᵛ and 140, as well as in the *Vita Irenes in Chrysobalanto*, another *Life* written in Constantinople in the tenth century, most probably in its latter half.[51]

St. John the Apostle and Theologian. While he was a prisoner-patient in St. Anastasia's church Andreas had a series of visions, the aim of which was to prepare him for his new way of life. In one of them he is attacked by the Devil and his demons. They are unable to hurt him, however, for St. John the Apostle and Theologian comes to his rescue (641A-644B). In *VBiun*, fols. 44ᵛ and 117, we learn that people thought Basil was no lesser a person than τὸν ἐν θεολογίαις ἀκρότατον Ἰωάννην τὸν ἠγαπημένον καὶ ἐπιστήθιον. Gregory mentions this in the same two passages in which he describes Basil as a holy fool. As mentioned above, P omits both.

The monkey on the shoulder. Andreas is staring at a man who is about to enter a tavern: he sees the demon of stinginess on the man's shoulder. He says, "The demon of stinginess is sitting on your shoulder in the shape of a small monkey — give me an obol!" The man answers, "I have no money." Andreas says, "I know you have, you spiritual paralytic! You bought vegetables for one obol, beans for another, and the remaining five you carry in your pocket..." (656B/C). This is very like *VBiun*, fol. 42ᵛ, "for I see Satan sitting on your shoulders like a small monkey," and fol. 52, where Basil tells a thrifty priest, "Ten obols did you pay for the vegetables."

The transfer of spiritual power. Once Andreas gives a share of his spiritual power to one of Epiphanios's servants so that for a moment he is able to speak Syriac, a language otherwise unknown to him (700D-701B, 704B/C). This is comparable to *VBiun*, fol. 50, where Basil for a moment transfers his spiritual power to Gregory, making him say things that he does not know.

[51] *BHG*³, no. 952; *ActaSS*, July VI (1794), pp. 602-634, esp. §§49-50. A new edition of this *Vita* is being prepared by Jan Olof Rosenqvist.

The church of Myrelaion. A young man anoints himself with oil furnished by God in the church of Myrelaion[52] (721A). This does not fit the fifth-century setting, as the church and monastery of Myrelaion are associated with Romanos I and his family. In *VBiun* Gregory says that near the Eleutherios harbor "above the gate of St. Stephen there is a large house, which some say belonged to the emperor Romanos; two of his daughters were left there when he became emperor" (fol. 142). He mentions neither church nor monastery, but we may assume that the two daughters are nuns in the family convent established by Romanos soon after he moved to the Great Palace. As is well known, there are many examples in the tenth and eleventh centuries of private houses being turned into monasteries.[53] In the case of Myrelaion neither the church nor the name appear in sources that are older than the tenth century. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the Myrelaion did not exist before Romanos and that Nicephorus simply invented the story of the young man and the oil on the basis of the name that Romanos had given to, or usurped for, his new establishment.

The story of the grave robber. As the Bollandist C. Van de Vorst observed at the beginning of this century,[54] the story that Nicephorus tells 744Cff. is based on two different but similar stories in the *Pratum spirituale*,[55] written in the early seventh century. In these the grave of the robber's victim is situated in a tomb (μνημεῖον) outside the city (which is not Constantinople), whereas in *VA* it is in a chapel in a κτῆμα πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως, i.e., in a προάστειον or, to be precise, in the vineyard of a *proasteion*. This is a significant difference. In the *Pratum*, the dead body is buried according to antique custom. As it is told in *VA*, on the other hand, the story reflects Middle Byzantine circumstances, as they appear in *VBiun* and other texts of the period. As we have already seen, Constantine Barbaros had a *proasteion* across the water with a Theotokos church, to which he wanted to transfer Basil's dead body. Gregory also tells us that he had a *proasteion* himself. It was situated at Raidestos and had a chapel in the vineyard.[56]

[52] Cf. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* (fn. 25 above), pp. 240-42.
[53] Cf. G. Dagron, "Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine," *DOP* 31 (1977): 1-25, especially 8.
[54] *Analecta Bollandiana* 32 (1913): 80, in a review of Sara Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas, the Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig, 1910). See also J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Les thèmes d'édification dans la Vie d'André Salos," *Travaux et mémoires* 4 (1970): 277-328, especially 319 and fn. 173.
[55] *Patrologia graeca*, 87/3, cols. 2932B/C, 2933C-2936B, respectively.
[56] Fols. 55 and 59 (end).

The naval officer from Amastris. On two occasions Andreas rebukes great men with a frankness that is reminiscent of the way Basil rebukes Saronites. At 800C an *archon* on his way to the Great Palace is rebuked because he has had intercourse with his wife on a Sunday. At 849B/C Andreas reproves a *chartoularios ploimôn* for fornication as the latter is passing by on horseback. This second case is of particular interest in the present context. As the title shows, the man is an administrative naval officer. Furthermore he is said to hail from Amastris, which was a naval base on the Black Sea coast. Why all this irrelevant information? The answer is, I presume, that Amastris is in Paphlagonia. As we have seen, there is a link between *VBiun* and Paphlagonia through the brothers Gongylios and Constantine Barbaros.[57] Moreover, Constantine VII made Constantine Gongylios *droungarios ploimôn* in 945.[58] Through the *chartoularios ploimôn* from Amastris *VA* follows this pattern. Of course I do not mean that the man from Amastris should be identified with Constantine Gongylios. The former is an evil man, whereas *VBiun* presents the latter as good. There is also a difference in rank; in fact, it is somewhat surprising that a *chartoularios* is classed as εἴς τῶν μεγάλων. Yet here, too, there is a parallel in *VBiun*, fols. 125^{v}ff. Gregory tells a story of how Basil cured a man possessed by an evil spirit. This man was "a powerful, very rich person, who, people said, was *tourmachês* of the land of the Paphlagonians."[59] As a *thema* was governed by a *stratêgos*, who normally had three *tourmarchai* under him,[60] it is inappropriate to speak of a "*tourmachês* of the land of the Paphlagonians." Thus neither Gregory nor Nicephorus seems to have had a clear idea of military ranking, or else they did not want to express themselves in terms that were too close to reality.

The apocalypse. The apocalyptic section *VA* 853A-873A has the form of a conversation between Andreas and Epiphanios, who has invited Andreas to spend a week in his house. In *VBiun*, Basil predicts the birth of Romanos II and the fall of the Lecapenoi during a week-long stay in the imperial palace (fol. 31^{v}f.).

Andreas begins his prophecy by saying that Constantinople will remain as long as the world remains, for the city "has been given to the

[57] And probably otherwise as well; cf. above on the arrest of Basil and the Ducas episode.
[58] Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., p. 436; see also Leo Diaconus, Bonn ed., p. 7.
[59] τις ἀνὴρ δυνάστης πλούσιος σφόδρα ..., ὃν ἔφασκον εἶναι τουρμάχην (sic) τῆς χώρας τῶν Παφλαγόνων (fol. 125^{v}).
[60] N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 341.

Mother of God and no one will snatch it out of her hands."[61] As I have pointed out before,[62] this passage has a parallel in *VBiun*, in which Basil reassures Gregory that the Mother of God will not allow the city to fall into the hands of her enemies, for "it has been given to her by God as her lot and she will protect it."[63]

As we have seen, Samonas has a principal role in the first scenes of *VBiun*. During a period in the second half of the reign of Leo VI, Samonas was a very powerful man, just as Stylianos Zaoutzes had been influential during the first half of Leo's reign. As Gregory says, he was an Arab. In a Jewish apocalypse, probably written toward the end of the reign of Constantine VII (959), he appears as an Arab ruler succeeding an Ethiopian representing Zaoutzes.[64] This pattern has left its imprint on the *VA*-apocalypse as well; here, it is predicted that an emperor from Arabia will follow upon an emperor from Ethiopia (860C). Strictly speaking, the attribute "from Arabia" does not fit into the main pattern of the *VA*-apocalypse, according to which this emperor corresponds to Jovian. Yet it makes sense if we assume that the latter has been combined with Samonas.

The fate of the Jews at the end of time is an important issue in the *VA*-apocalypse.[65] This, too, is reminiscent of *VBiun*, for Gregory's whole vision of the Resurrection and Last Judgment is supposed to answer his doubts about the justification of the hostile Christian attitude toward the Jews (fol. 152^{v}ff.). Basil finds Gregory much too understanding in this matter. In his arguments against a friendly attitude toward the Jews as well as in the speech of the Jews before the Lord at the Last Judgment (fol. 295ff.) there is much that is similar to Andreas's corresponding arguments in *VA*. What they have to say may be commonplace in orthodox anti-Jewish polemic. Nevertheless, the very fact that both Nicephorus and Gregory put such emphasis on the Jewish problem in an apocalyptic context is, I think, significant.

[61] περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν γίνωσκε· μέχρι συντελείας τὸ οἱονοῦν ἔθνος οὐ μὴ αὐτὴν παγιδεύσει ἢ παραλήψεται, μὴ γένοιτο· κεχάρισται γὰρ αὕτη τῇ Θεοτόκῳ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἁρπάσει αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῆς (853B).

[62] L. Rydén, "The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text, Translation and Commentary," *DOP* 28 (1974): 197-261, especially 228f.

[63] Κύριέ μου, κύριε, καὶ μήποτε μέλλει παραλήψεσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν; Ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἐάσει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν παραληφθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν αὐτῆς, εἰς γὰρ κλῆρον αὐτῆς δέδοται αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἱκανῶς αὐτῆς ὑπερασπίζεται (fol. 134-134^{v}).

[64] See R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the years A.D. 867-913," *DOP* 19 (1965): 89-112, especially 106f.

[65] See 865B-868A.

Expressions in common. Ἀστραπόμορφος (not in the dictionaries) *VA* 737C, 756A; *VBiun*, fols. 107, 305ᵛ, 325ᵛ.—Ἀφοῦρα (not in the dictionaries; meaning uncertain) *VA* 724B; *VBiun*, fol. 83.—Ἄχυρα καὶ κονιορτός *VA* 749A, of jewelry on sale; *VBiun*, fol. 345, of stored riches; cf. Job 21,18 ὥσπερ ἄχυρα πρὸ ἀνέμου ἢ ὥσπερ κονιορτὸς, of ungodly people. — Ἀψύχου οὔσης καὶ ἀναισθήτου *VA* 837A, of an icon; *VBiun*, fol. 287ᵛ ἄψυχον εἰκόνα καὶ νεκρὰν μήτε ὁμιλοῦσαν μηδὲ αἰσθανομένην. — Ἐνέφυσα σταυροειδῶς ἐκ τρίτου *VA* 657D; *VBiun*, fol. 122 τρὶς σταυροειδῶς ἐπιπνεύσας.[66] — Οἷον νοῦς ἀνθρώπου ἀπεικάσαι οὐ δύναται *VA* 644D, 880C, similarly 633C; *VBiun*, fol. 60, similarly 240ᵛf., 251ᵛ. — Πόρνος καὶ μοιχὸς καὶ ἀρσενοκοίτης *VA* 725B, 769B; *VBiun*, fol. 135 πορνείαις καὶ μοιχείαις καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτίαις (because of which God will send Rhos and Og and Mog against Constantinople). — Σηπώδης ('rotten', not in the dictionaries) *VA* 653B (σ., βορβορώδης καὶ κοπρώδης); *VBiun*, fol. 176ᵛ (σ., ἀφρώδεις καὶ αἱματώδεις).

It was pointed out at the beginning that there are certain differences between *VA* and *VBiun*. To those that were mentioned there another difference may now be added: the emperor from Arabia in *VA* (the attribute "from Arabia" being derived from Samonas) is good, whereas the Samonas of *VBiun* is evil. But even if this is taken into account, I still do not think that the differences are decisive, for the simple reason that neither Nicephorus nor Gregory is writing history. They use historical material for writing hagiographic fiction, freely combining elements from different sources, for which they take no responsibility.[67] I hope, therefore, that these observations suffice to show that *VA* and *VBiun* are closely related to each other.

In fact, the relationship is so close that one may ask if Nicephorus and Gregory were not one and the same person, Nicephorus being a pseudonym invented for the purpose of the historical fiction of *VA*. I

[66] There is a small but significant difference between the *Life* of Symeon Salos, ed. Rydén, 150,11 ῥίπτει λίθον μικρὸν πάνυ ποιήσας εἰς αὐτὸν σταυρόν, and *VA* 681A ποιήσας αὐτὸν (τὸν πηλὸν) ὡς λίθον προσέρριψε ..., ἐμφυσήσας τε αὐτὴν σταυροειδῶς: in the former case the traditional sign of the cross, in the latter a magic act.

[67] The social background of this attitude is indicated in *VBiun*. Gregory says that he has a *proasteion* with a μίσθιος (fol. 55ff.), but he does not seem to have had a house of his own in Constantinople, as he speaks of τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ οἴκου (fol. 55ᵛ; cf. *ActaSS*, §42 ἔνδον οὐ ἐνοικικῶς κατέμενον οἴκου. Πένης 'poor' is the word he uses to locate himself on the social scale. He is therefore unlikely to have had any personal contact with the aristocratic milieu in which he places Basil. The same apparently applies to Nicephorus, although he connects both Andreas and himself with the aristocrat Epiphanios.

think this possibility has to be considered, although a convincing answer may be difficult to find, at least until a critical text of *VBiun* has been established. For the moment, suffice it to say that the close relationship between *VA* and *VBiun* indicates that Nicephorus and Gregory were contemporaries.[68]

It remains to decide whether *VA* should be dated later than *VBiun* or vice versa. I am inclined to think that the latter case is true, since it is difficult to believe that Andreas does not belong to the small but prominent group of holy fools that enter Paradise in Gregory's vision of the Last Judgment — note that that stylites are not mentioned. Thus, although I have no strict proof, I think there is reason to insist on dating *VA* after ca. 950, and that it is not unreasonable to retain the year 959 as a plausible *terminus ante quem*. *VBiun* may have been written a few years later.

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[68] After this paper was sent to the editors, Professor Evelyne Patlagean pointed out to me that the adjective νικηφόρος does not seem to have been used as a personal name in the proto-Byzantine period. Thus if Nicephorus is a pseudonym, the author did not choose it with particular regard to the fictitious date of his work.

A Tendency in Language Development: A Remark on the Erosion of the Feminine *i*-stem Substantives in the Ukrainian Language

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Abbreviations used:

Bg — Bulgarian
Bld — Bilodid
Br — Belorussian
C — consonant
ChSl — Church Slavonic
Cil — Cilujko
CS — Common Slavic
Cz — Czech
f, fem — feminine
Hr — Hrinčenko
Hum — Humec'ka
Jefr — Jefremov
Kr — Kryms'kyj
LSo — Lower Sorbian
m, masc — masculine
M — Macedonian
OCS — Old Church Slavonic
P — Polish
R — Russian
SC — Serbo-Croatian
Sk — Slovak
Sl — Slavic
Sn — Slovene
Srezn — Sreznevskij
subst — substantive
Tymč — Tymčenko
U — Ukrainian
USo — Upper Sorbian
Žel — Želexovs'kyj

In 1964, I tried to summarize periods of time in the phonological development of the CS language from its formation to its dissolution into individual Sl languages (dialects) according to peculiar tendencies prevalent at certain epochs. In so doing I arrived at the following tentative definition of the notion of a tendency in a language's evolution: "On the linguistic level, a tendency is understood ... merely as a sequence of developments resulting in a particular effect (without fully achieving it from the point of view of the language as a whole), i.e., the term is used without any teleological implications" (Shevelov 627).

In morphology, this definition seems to apply ideally to the treatment of feminine *i*-stems in Ukrainian. It is generally known that neuter *i*-stems as a declensional type were eliminated in CS, being transferred to fem (*kostь*; cf. Meillet 262) or, by adding suffixes, to other declensional types while preserving the neuter gender (*sьrdь-ce*, cf. Greek neuter κῆρ,

German *das Herz*, etc.) unless we count some remnants of neuter *i*-stems in dual (*oči, pleči, uši*). The masc *i*-stems were subject, in individual Sl languages, to merger with *jo*-stems and do not any longer exist as a separate declensional type. It is less known that *i*-stems in some Sl languages were also subject to erosion and inclusion into other declensional types. This has been a post-CS development and U is one of the most advanced Sl languages in this respect. In the existing studies on gender in U, by Tymčenko, 1926 and by Ohijenko, 1927 (the latter repeating verbatim his *Ukrajins'kyj stylistyčnyj slovnyk*, 1924), this problem was not singled out from a general survey of shifts in gender, let alone presented systematically or exhaustively. (Some data on this may be drawn from Tymčenko 1926, 126f. and from Ohijenko 1927, 186f.).

At the earliest historical time fem *i*-stems in all the budding Sl languages were still quite strong and were able to absorb the fem subst which had belonged to the decomposing consonantal stems, namely, fem *r*-stems and *ū*-stems: OCS *mati, dъšti, crьky*, etc., were joining the *i*-stems, except for the ending of the nom sg and even in that case there was a trend to replace the form of the nom sg by that of the acc sg since the two were identical in the *i*-stems: *crьky*: *crьkъvь* > *crьkъvь*: *crьkъvь* on the pattern *noštь*: *noštь*.

But that was the last substantial manifestation of vigor in the fem *i*-stems. Their further history essentially has been the history of losses and retreats. A comparison of the situations in old U and in Modern U clearly shows what has been lost and what were the means of sapping the fem *i*-stems.

1. To a superficial eye the simplest device was the transference of a word from fem to masc without any changes in its phonetic structure. One may quote:

bil' (m also in Br, P and Cz, but R, SC of the 16th c. and Sn as well as M derivation *bolka* point to the original f. In U m is attested in the 17th c. — Tymč 121);

drib (m also in Br, P, Cz, Sn, SC and Bg but R *drob'* and derivations of the type of LSo *drobjeńca* point to the original f. In U m is attested from the 18th c. on — Tymč 828);

hlyb (m also in P, but R, Br, Sk, and Sn point to f);

(z)har, including several river names *Zhar* (Hum 1, 392, Cil 211) (m also in Br, SC, but R points to f);

kir (m also in P dialects but R points to f);

kradiž, with vacillations in gender: Žel f, Hr m, Kr m and f (m also in Br, Sn and M, but f in P, Sk and Cz as well as U derivative *kradižka* point to original f);

krutiž (U only; in Žel 1, 385 f); cf. also river names *Ljubiž*, *Trubiž*, *Terebiž* (Trubačev 187f) all m, but the forms *Terebeža*, *Terebieža* (Cil 558) point to possible connections with f; originally rather a *jo*-stem (Sławski 70);

kupil' (in Bld m and f) (m also in Sk, but OCS, R, Br, P, Cz, Sn and SC point to the original f);

rozpač (Žel, Bld; f - Hr) (Br, P and Sk point to the original f; such a form is also found in U of the 15th c. — Hum 2, 303);

Sož, river name, also m in Br; f in R; numerous f derivatives (*Soža*, *Sožanka*, *Soženka*, *Sožina* — Vasmer 4, 323) point to the original f;

Sybir as borrowed from R *Sibir'* f; f in Br;

zjab vs. R *zjab'* f;

žal' (also m in Br, P, Sk, Cz; in U since the 16th c. — Tymč 905; but f in OCS, Sn and Bg points to the original f);

žovč now f, but in the 17th-18th c. m also was used (Tymč 940).

A more complicated case is *prodaž* m. Through the 15th c. it appears, in Old and Middle U, as a f *a*-form (Srezn 2, 1520, Hum 2, 257). Such forms (with variations in suffixes) appear in R, Sn, SC, Bg and M. In Br, Sk and Cz, like Modern U, one finds a m -C-form. The missing link, a f C-form, is actually found in P *sprzedaż*.

Finally, the river name *Čeremoš* m was originally f (Karpenko 93, Cil 604); another river name, *Styr* m, may also come into consideration, but more data than has Cil 530 are needed. It is likely that more examples can be found among river names ending in *-r*, *-š*, *-al'* and *-el'*, *-ar'*, *-yn'*, *-on'*, *-un'*, *-s'* and *-t'*. Such names are listed in Trubačev 213, 226, 229, 232f and 237, but for our purpose his materials are useless because he pays no attention to the gender of the names; Cil supplies this information, but one has the impression that in that dictionary gender is often assigned arbitrarily.

If one limits oneself to the above material one cannot but notice that the substantives in question mostly end in consonants which, in Ukrainian, lost the ability to be palatalized (*b*, *r*, *ž*, *č*) or else in *l'*. The dispalatalization of labials, *r* and postdentals may have been a favorable factor in the transference of fem *i*-stems into masc (and by the same token for their blending with the original *jo*-stems). In other cases such a transference could have involved the ad hoc dispalatalization of the final consonant. But if the above cases, of so-to-speak non-dispalatalizational transference (to include the phonetically conditioned dispalatalizations) are only few — some 14 cases (though this list does not claim exhaustiveness) — the cases of gender transference with dispalatalization

morphologically conditioned are even fewer. In fact, in my material I have at best three or four pertinent cases:

nežyt' 'cold in the head' with a variant *nežyt*, both m, corresponding to (probably borrowed from) P *nieżyt* with a secondary *nieżyć*, both m. The only parallel is Cz *nežit* 'furuncle' m. If the form in *-t'* is the original one, it could have been fem. But I am not aware of any record, either U or P, which would have had it in fem.

The second case is clearer. It involves substantives derived from the verb *pysaty: pidpys, napys, perepys, litopys*, etc. This standard, i.e., masc in hard *-s*, is however of a recent date. Žel, 1886, vaccillated: *pidpys* m and *pidpys'* f, *napys* — *napys'*, *zapys* — *zapys'* but only *perepys'* f, *litopys'* f, *časopys'* f. Hr, 1908, had masc ending in *-s* everywhere, except *litopys* m and *litopys'* f. Kr/Jefr, 1924-1933, has m with final *-s* everywhere, including *litopys*, but to *napys* gives a variant *napys'* f, with the remark "rarely." The switch from f to m in these words did not require the substitution of *-s* for *-s'*. U has masculines in *-s'*, e.g., *losos'*, *didus'*. Clearly, the switch to masc was not the cause of the change but its consequence, its side effect. The essence of the change was a transition from a less common word-formation device (verbs in *-aty* → deverbal subst fem in a palatalized consonant) to a more productive procedure: verbs in *-aty* → masc by mere truncation, which yields subst masc in a non-palatalized consonant as in *zapytaty* → *zapyt*, *prylitaty* → *prylit*, gen. *pryletu*, etc. A contributing factor could have been the influence of P, Sk and Cz, which all have (aboriginally) subst masc as derived from the verb *-pisati* (in the case of Old Cz also occasionally subst in *-a: opisa*).

The next case concerns the word *pyl* 'dust' (m also in Br and P) vs. R *pyl'* f and Sk *pel'* (dial. *pyl'*) 'pollen' m. Thus, only R has fem here, which may be an innovation due to the collective meaning of the word, which in R is often represented by f -C-substantives. The interrelation of *-l* and *-l'* within masc remains obscure. We do not know which form is older.

There is no certainty either as to the original gender and the character of *-n* in *polyn*. Since it is fem only in R and Cz, it is more likely that the palatalization of *-n* and the transference into fem is secondary. The other assumption, of a fem suffix *-yn'i* as in some plant names, as ChSl *smokyni* (Sławski 140) is tempting, but is contradicted by the fact that such plant names are not derived from verbs while *polyn* probably was (*polěti*). With the second view the R and Cz forms would be more archaic.

U switch from the place name *Xotěn'* to Modern U *Xotyn* (cf. Samijlenko 114) was an adaptation to a widespread toponymic suffix.

But it joined, in its effect, that somewhat wider current of f -C-forms becoming m, with the dispalatalization of the final C.

In spite of their specific motivations the changes of the type *dopys'* f > *dopys* m and possibly *pyl'*, *polyn'* f > *pyl*, *polyn* m against the background of the general trend, leading to an expansion of masc at the expense of fem in a consonant, may have been grasped as some more manifestations of that general "tendency," in the same vein as the switches in gender of the type represented by *drib*, *rozpač*, etc., discussed above.

In general, however, all such cases were few and played but a secondary role in the general development of the nominal declension. Even when the nom-acc sg were identical in masc and fem, what was involved was the replacement of the whole paradigm, and this could have occurred more or less smoothly only in words with a relatively low frequency of usage.

Several cases in which U has masc while some other Sl languages have fem do not manifest a switch from fem to masc. Rather they preserve the aboriginal masc (and more often than not they belonged to *jo*-stems). U here preserves the CS situation contrary to some other Sl languages which swung to fem. The general preference for masc in substantives ending in a consonant manifested itself here in adherence to tradition, not in innovation. The following cases belong here:

kužil' m and f (Hr, Bld) (m in U of the 16th c[Kernyc'kyj 14]), Br, Sk, Cz, Sn, SC and Bg; f in R is secondary; the word originally was a *jo*-stem, as shown by the palatalness of *l* in Sn *koželj*, SC *kuželj*;

mil' m and (collective) f (Kr 2, 565); f (Hr, Bld); m in OCS, P, Sk, Cz and Sn. SC *moljac* and Bg *molec* point to masc as well; f in R and Br must be secondary. As shown by the palatalization of *l* in Sn and SC the word must have been originally a *jo*-stem;

ovoč m; m in ChSl, R and P; originally a *jo*-stem; but SC *voćka*, Bg *ovoška* 'fruit tree' may point to a parallel (secondary?) f form. F alongside m also occurs in 16th-century U (Kernyc'kyj 10, Ohijenko 310);

sažen' (and *sjažen'* — Žel). Contrary to f in R, other languages — ChSl, Br, P, Sn, and SC — preserve the original masc (and *jo*-stem);

step m vs. R *step'* f (Br *stėp*, P *step* m, etc., borrowed from U). If the word goes back to the Old U period the lack of change of *e* into *i* in the root would point to original *stepъ*, not *stepь* (which would yield **stip*) and, hence, to the secondary character of f in R;

stupin' m, m also in P (with the root vocalism *o*), Sk, Cz, Sn and SC; f in R and Br secondary; an original *jo*-stem is shown by the palatalness of *-n* in Sn and SC.

2. The tendency to eliminate fem ending in a consonant could have operated without change of gender, limiting its action to the switch to another declensional type within the fem gender. The gaining declensional type was that going back to *ja-*, in some cases *a*-stems. That change was easier than the preceding case discussed above. The most radical change in case (2) affected the nom-acc sg and the adaptation in the oblique cases was more moderate, while in case (1) nearly the entire paradigm was to undergo alterations, except the form of the nom-acc sg. E.g., in *bolь* the older and the newer types were

bolь	*bolь*
boli	*bolja* (*-u*)
boli	*bolju* (*-evi*)
bolьjǫ	*bolьmь*
boli	*boli.*

Change (2) was especially facilitated in words often used in pl, although it was not limited to these.

The following cases come into consideration:

dolonja vs. *-n'* or suffixed forms in all other Sl languages. In U the *-a*-form was possibly used from the 16th c, certainly in the 18th (Tymč 773);

jablunja, also in R and Br, in Sn parallel forms *jablan* and *jablana*; in SC *-n*, m; suffixation in USo, M and Bg; the f -C-form is preserved in ChSl, P, Sk, Cz, and LSo;

jiža vs. OCS *jadь*, LSo *jěź*, USo *jědź*, Sn *jed*; the same formation as in U, in Br (*eža*), Sk (*jedza*) and *SC* (*jeđa*);

kartoplja. Of the two P forms *kartofel* m and (dial) *kartopla*, U gave preference to the second one. Cf. R *kartofel'* m;

lža, also Old U since the 11th c. (Srezn 2, 60), OCS *lьža*, Br *ilža*, LSo *ldža*, USo *lža*, Bg *ləža* vs. R *lož'* and corresponding forms in P, Sk, Cz, Sn and SC;

mozolja (in Kr also *mozil'* f, in Bld also *mozol'* m), in all other Sl languages masc ending in *l* or *l'*, possibly an original *jo*-stem;

(*po*)*msta* (since the 15th c. — Hum 2, 191), also Br, P, Cz vs. OCS, R, LSo and Bg forms in *-t*(*ь*); Sk has both forms;

myša vs. *-š* forms in all other Sl languages (in SC m; in Bg suffixation; in M lost. Cf. Bernštejn 257f.);

odeža, also OCS, R, Br, Sn, SC, and Bg vs. P *odzież* and U *odiž* (less frequent), perhaps a borrowing from P, though not in SSP (5, 520);

pisnja, 16th. c. and on, also R (the -C-form in R is ChSl) and Br; most Sl languages preserve -ь (-C)-forms: OCS, P, LSo, Sk, Cz, Sn (with *n* > *m*) and Bg; SC and M have -*a*-forms with a non-palatalized consonant (SC *pesma*, M *pesna*); USo applied suffixation (*pesnička*);

postelja alongside *postil'*, both since the 11th c. (Srezn 2, 1261), both in modern dictionaries — Žel, Hr, Jefr and Bld; the -*a*-form also in OCS, LSo, SC, M and Bg; that ending in *l*(') in P, Sk and Cz; both forms in R, Br and Sn (-*l*-form archaic);

pustelja appears in other Sl languages with additional suffixes: Br *pustėlnja*, P *pustelnia* 'hermitage', M *pustelija* and *pustelina*. There is a slight possibility that a form in -ь existed in CS because, typically, the suffix -*el*- (e.g., in Lithuanian) appears in *i*-stems (e.g., *karvėlis*), cf. Otrębski 113ff. In U cf. such formations as (*za*)*metil'*, *žužil'*, possibly *kysil'* (m). This is, however, uncertain;

Samara, river name, is likely to go back to *Samar'* (mostly f in U) ~ *Samar* (mostly m in R) (Kernyc'kyj 13, Cil 485). Otin 74 explains the appearance of the -*a*-form by the tendency to have river names in fem. This fully applies to R *Samara*, confluent of the Volga; but U *Samar'* was fem (cf. Modern U *Jordan'* f — as early as the 16th c. — Kernyc'kyj 10). Thus the expansion of the -*a* ending is to be explained otherwise;

tyša, also Br and P vs. R *tiš'* and Sk *tiš*;

voša, U only. Except M and Bg, which applied suffixation (*voška*, *vəška*), all Sl languages preserve the -C-form. In U the -ь-form is the only one attested through the 18th c. according to Tymč 317;

zemlja based on (in R) *zem'* is represented in all Sl languages and was a CS innovation. The form *zem'* as a subst is preserved in Cz only, in some fixed prepositional phrases in R.

There are peculiar instances which show a certain degree of irrelevance in the selection of a masc form and a fem -*a*-form. Such is the treatment of the loan word *parasol'* m (French *le parasol*), e.g., "dašok hucul's'koho parasolja" (Kocjubyns'kyj 1911, 326); reliable dictionaries of the U language do not list a fem form *parasolja*; nevertheless there is the suffixed fem form *parasol'ka* (e.g., in Bld) which could be derived only from a *parasolja* f. (The same two forms appear in P!)

3. A group apart are former *ū*-stems, fem. In U nearly all of them joined not *i*-stems, but *a*-stems or, to be more precise, they went to *a*-stem declension via that of *i*-stems. As a rule they preserve *v* before their new ending -*a*. The following substantives belong here:

brova, also Cz and SC vs. -ь (-C)-forms in R, P, Sk and Sn, with unique Br *bryvó* neuter; in U, according to Tymč 142, the -C-forms are the only ones attested until the 18th c.;

brukva, also R vs. -ь (-C)-forms in P and Cz;

brytva, also OCS, R, Br, P, Sk, Cz, Sn, and Bg while the -C-form appears only in LSo and USo. In U, the *-a*-form is the only one attested at least from the 15th c. on (Tymč 141);

bukva, also R, M, and Bg (SC *bukva* 'beech tree'); the -C-form is not preserved in any language. In U the *-a*-form appears since the Hypatian Chronicle (under 898). U *azbuka* has no *v* because its second component goes back to the name of the letter *buky*, a petrified form of the *ū*-stem nom sg (cf. Bevzenko 52; according to the data of historical dictionaries — Tymč 12, Šanskij 53, Barxudarov 24 the word was attested in R sooner than in U. The possibility of U borrowing from R [RChSl] is not to be ruled out.);

cerkva, also in Br, SC, M, and Bg vs -C-form in P, LSo, Sk, Cz and Sn (Cf. Vaillant 266);

dratva, also in R, Br, P and Sk vs. a -C-form in Cz (*dratev*). In U, Tymč 824 cites the *-va*-form as the only one since the 16th c.;

Ikva, river name, may belong here but as long as no -C-forms are known (see Cil 221) this remains but a possibility (cf. also Trubačev 66, who also lists other river names in *-va* (62), equally uncertain);

kitva, also in Sk, Cz, Sn, SC, M and Bg vs. a -C-form in P;

korohva, also in Br, Sk, Sn dial, SC, and Bg vs. a -C-form in R, P, LSo, USo, and Cz. In U the *-v*-form still prevailed in the 15th c. (Hum 2, 513);

krokva, also in Br and Sk vs. a -C-form in P and Cz;

lyžva entered this group of words secondarily. The underlying form is *lyža*. The form in *-va* occurs, besides U, in P (with the meaning 'skate'); the -C-form is not attested anywhere;

mokva, also in R and Sk dialectally; the -C-form seems not to be attested;

morkva, also in Br, Sk and SC vs. -C-forms in R, P, LSo, USo, Cz, M, and Bg; Sn has both forms;

paxva, *pixvy*, also in Br, R, P, Sk (*pošva*) and Cz; the -C-form seems not to be attested;

pidošva, in which *v* belongs to the root, joined the substantives in question secondarily. This resulted in the appearance, alongside the *-a*-forms in Br, P and Sk, of the -C-form in Cz;

Poltva, river name, vs. P *Peltew* (Cil 436); less certain is whether *Hovtva*, river name, also belonged to *ū*-stems or followed this pattern (Cil 144, Trubačev 72f);

plotva (in Žel) ~ *plitva* (Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, Bld) ~ *plotycja* ~ *plitka* may have originated in *ū*-stems, cf. also R *plotva* (as Vasmer 2, 374 assumed); but this is not supported by the evidence of other Slavic languages, such as Br *plotka*, P *płocica*, LSo *płośica*, USo *płócka*, Sk and Cz *plotica*, unless one assumes the spontaneous loss of *v* in all these languages, which is not motivated;

smokva, as shown by the preservation of *o* in the root without changing it into *i*, a ChSl borrowing in U; *-a*-forms also in R, Br, P (from Eastern Sl?), Sn, SC, Bg (Gerov), M vs Sn dial *smokev* ~ *smokov*;

tykva, also in R, P, Sn, SC, M and Bg vs. a -C-form in Cz (*tykev*);

verstva has *v*-less forms in OCS, R, Br, USo, Sn, SC, M and Bg (Gerov) vs. the *v*-form in P, Sk and Cz, a group of geographically adjacent languages. The geographical distribution as well as the absence of -C-forms show the secondary adaptation of the word to *-va* substantives. No *v* is found in related Indo-European languages either (cf. Vasmer 1, 189);

žorna has lost its *v* and was grasped as plural; but -C-forms in *-v* are well represented. They appear in OCS, R, Sk, Sn, SC (with metathesis) as well as in 17th-century U, perhaps as an archaicism (Tymč 941). But since all these forms, except Sn, are masc, the original belonging to *ū*-stems is dubious. Vasmer speaks here of "wohl Erweiterung eines kurzen *u*-Stammes" (1, 421). For our purpose it is advisable to keep this word apart.

4. By far the most widespread type of shift in eliminating the *i*-stem declension has been suffixation, namely, adding suffixes which, in fem, involve a switch to the former *a*-stems.

The most frequently used suffix has been *-k-* (where in the following list of *-k-* derivatives the -C-form is not cited in first place, this means that it virtually is no longer current): *čast'* - *častka* (probably after the 17th c., cf. Syn 168); *čvert'* - *čvertka*; *dočka* (in Hum 1, since 1401) ~ *don'ka*; *drib* - *dribka*; *hilka* (cf. *hol'* in U of the 16th-18th c. - Tymč 559, cf. Bernštejn 257); *holin'* - *holinka* (cf. personal name *Holenka* ca 1500 - Hum 1, 248); *haluz'* - *haluzka* (the *-k*-form since 1627 - Tymč 504); *horst'* (cf. Syn 108) - *horstka* (not until the 19th c.); *huska* (cf. *hus'* f in U of the 13th to 18th c. - Tymč 633; cf. Vaillant 159, Bernštejn 257); *jatrivka*; *kad'* (Hum 1, 459, Kernyc'kyj 95, Syn. 120 - the 15th-17th c.) - *kadka*; *kinva* - *konovka*; *kist'* - *kistka* (in the 15th c. *kostk*[*y*] in the meaning of 'dice'); *klit'* - *klitka*; *kradiž* - *kradižka*; *nytka* (OU *nitь* - Srezn 2, 454. Cf. R *nit'*); *nyzka*; *pamjat'* - *pamjatka* (cf. Syn 139); *pečatka* (only *pečat*[*ь*] in the 14th-15th c. - Hum 2, 143f; Ohijenko 2, 87); *pečinka* (cf. R

pečen'); *pič* - *pička*; *sit'* - *sitka* (at least from the 17th c. - Syn 160); *sopilka* (cf. OU *sopělь* - 14th c. - Miklosich 870); *vist'* - *vistka* (the latter unattested through the 18th c. - Tymč 459); *vitka* (cf. *větь* - 15th c. - Hum 1, 232); *žerdka* (cf. OCS *žrьdь*. In U the *-k*-form since the 17th c. - Tymč 918, 920); *red'ka* (see above, section 3) belongs here, too, from a synchronic point of view; but historically its *-k-* is not identical with the suffix *-k*(*a*), — it was part of the Middle Low German *redik* as borrowed into Sl (Vasmer 2, 504); hence *-k-* is there even in a -C-form, cf. OR, 14th c. *redkovь* - Srezn 3, 216.

Less often other suffixes are used:

-yn(*a*): *častyna*, *dal'* - *dalyna* (in Tymč 662 since the 18th c.), *danyna* (since no later than 1444 - Hum 1, 279), *dyčyna* (in Tymč 721, since mid-18th c.), *hlyb* - *hlybyna*, *ozymyna* (since 1440 - Hum 2, 78), *skatert'* - *skatertyna*, *žerdyna*;

-yc'(*a*): *konvycja* (in Middle U of the mid-15th c. - Hum 1, 493), *zovycja* (cf. Vaillant 275);

-ot(*a*): *skorbota*;

-ux(*a*): *svekruxa* (cf. Syn 155).

A unique case is that of encircling affixation with transference to masc: *oseledec'* — cf. R *sel'd'* (and *seledka*), P *śledź*.

The elimination of *i*-stems by suffixation is, of course, not to be regarded teleologically. The suffix has been added for reasons of semantic differentiation, affectivity, emphasis, diminutivity, etc., and not to drop the fem *i*-stem declension. But when the new form arose the competition of the two forms began; the two may have coexisted for a long time, but the final outcome was, as a rule, predictable. The shorter "*i*-stem" form died out and its function was overtaken by the new, longer, "*a*-stem" form, unless an important semantic differentiation had set in, as in the case of *častka* 'particle' vs. *čast'* 'part' (the latter, however, was to retreat before the spreading *častyna*), *dribka* 'grain' (of, say, salt) - *drib* 'fraction', *haluzka* 'twig' - *haluz'* 'branch (= field)', *pamjatka* 'historical written monument', 'souvenir' - *pamjat'* 'memory'. Or the -C-form may acquire a specific nuance of archaicity (*kist'*, *nyt'*, *sit'*), mostly a step toward disappearance. Usually, however, whatever the reason for the suffixation, the result has been a continuing erosion of the fem -C-declension.

The suffixation with *-k*(*a*) should have begun before the loss of distinction of (CS) palatalized *l'* and *n'* from the non-palatalized *l* and *n* before front vowels (*kon'ь* vs. *těnь*). The loss of this distinction in OU presumably took place in or about the late 12th c. (Shevelov 1979, 181).

The original distribution is seen from the fact that in *-ka* substantives derived from fem *i*-stems the root-final consonant as a rule is not palatalized: *hilka, pečinka*, etc., contrary to the *-ka* substantives derived from *ja*-stems: *zemlja - zemel'ka, hreblja - hrebel'ka, žmenja - žmen'ka, brexnja - brexen'ka*. The non-palatalization principle also applied to the root-final *t* and *d*, *s* and *z*: *kad' - kadka, ploščad' - ploščadka, nyt' - nytka, pamjat' - pamjatka, haluz' - haluzka*, etc. In the centuries which followed these relationships became fairly much obscured, probably not without some influence on the part of the doublets of the type *postil' - postelja*. Nowadays U has *postil'ka, pisen'ka, jablun'ka* as if based on the secondary *-ja*-forms. (But the non-palatalized dentals in *svynka, Natalka* are historically correct. They are based not on the contemporary *svynja, Natalja*, but on the older *svinija, Natalija*). With all the later deviations, however, the original rule of palatalization vs. non-palatalization of dentals before the *-k(a)*-suffix still looms and, by the same token, sheds light on the prehistorical beginning of that derivational device as applied to fem *i*-stems.

Another process which led to the same effect is pluralization of the subst with the loss of the singular. In such cases the paradigm of the word in question, after generalization of the endings *-am, -amy, -ax* in the dative, instrumental and locative plural is no longer discernible from that of *a*- and *ja*-stems, except in the gen pl with its ending *-ej*; but since this ending appears in some *ja*-stems as well (*svynja - svynej*, historically a zero-ending; also *myša - myšej, voša - vošej*, historically *i*-stems which were transferred to the *a*-stem paradigm), it no longer marks a special declensional type: *dveri, siny, hrudy* a.o. (cf. R *dver', grud'*, OU *sěnь* - Hypatian Chronicle under 1195 - Srezn 3, 897). It is characteristic in this respect that several words which moved in the singular into *(j)a*-declension still preserve their old plural form: *visti, husy* vs. *vistka* (less often *vist'*), *huska*.

5. In spite of their long erosion, fem -C-forms as a declensional type are still far from extinct. Today they can be roughly classified into two groups (not mutually exclusive):

(a) Substantives with high frequency of usage, as: *čvert', koryst', ljut', mid', nič, osin', podorož, pomič, povid', rič, sil', smert', tin'* (cf. Vaillant 150), *vis'*. Here also belong the two sole survivors of *ŭ*-stems as transferred into *i*-stems: *krov, ljubov*.

(b) Bookish substantives untypical of the vernacular and used in poetry and similar genres. Often they bear association with the "lofty" style and/or with church and religion. These are such as *čest', hran'*,

mic', *mysl'*, *napast'*, *obytel'*, *pečat'*, *pryjazn'*, *put'* (transferred from masc), *rozkiš*, *skorb*, *(pry)strast'*, *sut'*, *zahybel'*, *zapovid'*; marginally also archaic: *bort'*, *čeljad'*, *rin'* a.o.

Characteristically, the word *cerkva* which belonged to group (a) in regard to frequency but also to group (b) in regard to stylistic characteristics, long resisted transfer into the *a*-declension, at least in writing. Hum 2, 525, Ohijenko 2, 141 have cited no -*a*-form for this word; in vain would we search for such a form in L. Zizanij, 1596 (87), P. Berynda, 1627 (155), Marian z Jaślisk, 1641 (52), Je. Slavynec'kyj, ca. 1646, Slavynec'kyj and A. Korec'kyj-Satanovs'kyj, ca 1650 (Horbatsch 285, Nimčuk 535), etc. Even such early 19th-century dictionaries as O. Pavlovs'kyj, I. Vojcexovyč and P. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko avoid citing the form *cerkva*, while — in 1886! — Žel 2, 1052 includes both the -*a*- and the -C-forms.

However what particularly keeps the fem C-declension alive are the forms ending in the suffix -*ist'*, such as *nižnist'*. As is well known, fem C-substantives have no productive suffixes but this one. This suffix, however, has virtually unlimited productivity in deriving subst from adjectives. The type is so open and so regular in present-day derivation that, in fact, it could be included in adjectival paradigms with almost the same degree of justification as participles and gerunds are traditionally included in verbal paradigms.

It follows from the above facts that the f C-declension, in spite of the strong erosion it was submitted to, cannot be regarded as moribund, at least not in the near future. And yet removal of f substantives which originally belonged to *i*- or C-(mostly *ū*)-stems to other declensional types is represented in U stronger than in any other Sl language. The contrast is especially striking—even with incomplete data, as presented in this article—if U is compared with the two languages which were most conservative in preservation of the fem C-declension, R and Cz, characteristically, both peripheral in the Sl area. They both retain the f C-subst well and even display a tendency to move some masc into those fem. E.g., R is the only Sl language which made *psaltir'* fem, and several other instances were cited above, in sections 2 and 3.

One Sl language, also peripheral, is in one respect quite apart in its treatment of f C-subst: Bg. Without going into detail, the following three phenomena are particularly characteristic of the Bg treatment of the original *ū*- and *i*-stems: (1) the old *ū*-stems with the sole exception of *krəv* are transferred into the "*a*-declension": *čerkva*, *kotva*, *svekərva*, *tikva*, *xorugva*, *zəlva*; occasionally this change was expanded to some

other subst: *dəšterja*, *gərda*, also *postelja*; (2) in some old *i*-stems that transfer was performed by means of the suffix *-k(a)*: *gəska*, *jabəlka*, *miška*, *niška* 'thread', *ovoška*, *vəška*. While these changes are shared with many other Sl languages, the third one marks Bg especially: (3) not only fairly broad application of transfers of fem into masc but — and more often — from masc into fem, depending on more or less accidental semantic associations. Thus the original fem *niz*, *pečat*, *ploštad*, *šinel* became m while the original masc *kal*, *pepel*, *pot*, *var*, *večer*, *zob*, substandardly *prax*, a.o., are now fem (Cf. Mladenov 217, Andrejčin and Stojanov 115; Vaillant 145 and, in his wake, Bernštejn 257 were struck by the instances of the transformations of m into f, but did not pay sufficient attention to the opposite switches). Such developments also partially characterize SC and M. The reason for such gender mobility is that in Standard Bg word-final consonants are not susceptible to palatalization; and that the oblique cases in declension are lost. These developments undercut morphological foundation for gender distinction m vs. f as well as, in the case of substantives ending in a C, the phonetic one. In these subst the gender distinction is based on tradition alone and that paves the way to semantic associations and, in the long run, to instability and perhaps generalization of just one gender, be it m or f. While in other Sl languages, including U, the treatment of the original *i*-stems was a morphologically conditioned process, in Bg the primary factor became semantic.

6. Coming back to facts of U, a word concerning recent borrowings from other languages is appropriate. If it is to be in harmony with the tendencies of the language, adaptation of new loan words ending in a C to the existing slots of genders should be twofold: either placing such subst into masc without changing their endings, or preserving their fem gender, if this was the case, while adding the desinence *-a*. In the language normalization of 1928-1929 both methods were applied, but inconsistently. In fact, the official edition of *Ukrajins'kyj pravopys*, 1929, 70, only indicated the possibility of assigning loan words to both m and f genders, but referred to a "good dictionary" for decision in each particular case. The closest to such a dictionary was the semiofficial seventh edition of Holoskevyč. There the gender switches were adapted in such cases as *fal'š*, *kartel'*, *model'* (m alongside f), *šrapnel'*, *trel'* a.o. assigned to m (in R all f); the modification of the ending was accepted for *kefalja*, *magistralja*, *medalja*, *pastoralja*, *rolja* a.o. But in some cases the guiding principle was not the tendency of the U language, but rather loyalty to the gender of the borrowing from the French or German

language. Therefore, say, *verf*, *tuš* a.o. or even (P) *stal'* (cf. even in the 17th century its partial adaptation to the *-ja*-declension - Samijlenko 115) were left fem (as they are in R). Hence also, under many entries in Holoskevyč one finds references to a word's gender in foreign languages, which should be irrelevant (e.g., under *parasol'*, *fal'š*, *reduta*, *etyketa* a.o.) contrary to the official spelling's indication (ib.) that the gender in the source-language is irrelevant.

The spelling of 1960 (p. 122) provides no rule for the gender attribution of foreign words. Instead, it offers a random list of some forty-eight words. Among these there is not a single word which may or may not belong to f, ending in a consonant. The leading principle is, however, to use these as often as possible in the same gender as in R. Reintroduced forms like *model'* f and *rol'* f clearly contradict the centuries-long tendency of U delineated here to curtail the number of fem C-forms. Specifically, in the case of *rolja* ~ *rol'* it also contradicts a usage well established in the 19th- and 20th-century (e.g., "Moja taka rolja" - P. Myrnyj, 1905, p. 433). Historically, the U form *rolja* originated from German *die Rolle* and/or P *rola* whereas R *rol'* goes back to French *le*(!) *rôle* or, if R has this word through 17th-century U mediation, is a modification of U *rolja* according to the "live" status of the fem -C-declension in R, possibly preserving the "U" fem gender while influenced by French in the choice of ending and, consequently, of declensional type. Characteristically, Puškin had both *-a* and -C-forms and, especially in his earlier writings, often used the former one, e.g., in "Ruslan i Ljudmila" (1817-1820): "Bledneet, rolju zabyvaet" (Puškin 55). In sum, the replacement of *rolja* by *rol'* and alike in Modern U is not a result of any "natural" process conditioned by the internal language's development, but an artificially established standard which imposes R norm on the U language. It contradicts the well-rooted tendency of the U language.

7. Once more the word "tendency" has been used in the preceding line as well as in some preceding passages of this article. It is appropriate, then, to clarify once more that term in addition to the definition given at the outset of this study. Can one place under the same heading of "a tendency" facts like *zemь* ~ *zemlja* which are of pre-U, in fact of CS, date with such recent ones as the treatment of, relatively speaking, today's loan words of the type *model'* or *rolja* ~ *rol'*?

In terms of the speakers' language awareness, one certainly cannot. Today's speaker of U knows nothing about developments of the type *zemь* ~ *zemlja* and even *dolon'* → *dolonja* or **bry* → *brъvь* → *brova* or about the original distribution of palatalization of dentals before *-ka* as

outlined above. Yet in his treatment of fem -C-words eligible to switch either to masc or to final -(')*a* he acts just like his ancestor did several centuries ago. If one does not recur to mystic, undefinable factors — and this is not the intention of this study — then the only possible explanation is that the pressure of the declensional system (and to some extent, in what concerns palatalization of consonants, of the phonological system) remained basically the same throughout those many centuries. This could be the basis of another definition of what language tendency is, as a variation on the initial definition. Were the trend brought to completion, that is, had U no longer fem C-substantives, one would speak of a historical language law. One does have to speak about a tendency because it was not brought to completion. Hence the following definition of language tendency can be attempted: a language tendency is a law which has been operating in a language through a substantially long time without coming to logically thinkable limits in its materialization.

Looked at from another angle: contrary to their Neogrammarian definition linguistic development laws, including phonetic laws, are not necessarily one-time developments. They can last a long time and gradually expand from one to another category or from one to another word. In fact, this statement does not contradict the classical Neogrammarian definition of language — (or, even more narrowly, phonetic) — law. Paul 68 wrote: "Das Lautgesetz ... konstatiert nur die Gleichmässigkeit innerhalb einer Gruppe bestimmter historischer Erscheinungen." This admits understanding of a language law as the completion of a language tendency. But the notion of a language tendency as an incomplete (possibly never to be completed) language law certainly brings a very desirable flexibility into the otherwise rather rigid notion of a language law.

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P.S. *The objective of this article is to raise a problem or two, not to solve them entirely. Within the limits of a short article it was impossible to use dialectal material, and historical facts could be used only very selectively, sometimes even haphazardly, without any effort at comprehensiveness.*

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Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium

ALICE-MARY M. TALBOT

It is well recognized that during the Palaiologan renaissance male monasteries in Byzantium were centers of literary activity. Ihor Ševčenko has focused attention, for example, on the monastery of Chora, in whose library worked such scholars as Maximos Planoudes, Theodore Metochites, and Nikephoros Gregoras.[1] Planoudes, who was also associated with the monastery of the Akataleptos, was particularly interested in classical authors, notably Plutarch, and commissioned the copying of numerous manuscripts.[2] The monastery of the Hodegoi in Constantinople contained another active scriptorium which specialized in liturgical manuscripts. Outside of the capital, the monastery of the Theotokos on Mt. Galesios was celebrated for its library and scriptorium.[3] Many

[1] Most useful is his essay, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in P. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4 (Princeton, N.J., 1975), pp. 19-91. On Gregoras, Planoudes, and the Chora library, see especially pp. 34-37, 41-42.

[2] On Planoudes, see C. Wendel, "Planudes als Bücherfreund," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 58 (1941) : 77-87; idem, "Planudea," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (hereafter *BZ*), 40 (1940): 406-410. For the script style of the Planoudean scriptorium, termed "Fettaugenstil" by H. Hunger, see his "Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen," *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Zurich, 1961), pp. 101 ff., 103, fig. 22.

[3] The scriptorium of the Hodegoi monastery was identified and analyzed by L. Politis in "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν," *BZ* 51 (1958): 17-36, 261-87. On Galesios, see F. Halkin, "Manuscrits galésiotes," *Scriptorium* 15 (1961): 221-27, and R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), pp. 241-50. Cf. also L. Politis, "Quelques centres de copie monastiques du XIV^e^ siècle," in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), pp. 291-295, for other scriptoria and further bibliography.

Even a brief perusal of the indices of Vogel-Gardthausen's *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), or of the first volume of the *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600* (Vienna, 1981), reminds us of how many Byzantine scribes were monks. Anthony Cutler has recently published some interesting statistics on this subject; cf. his "The Social Status of Byzantine Scribes, 800-1500. A Statistical Analysis Based on Vogel-Gardthausen," *BZ* 74 (1981) : 328-334. He concludes that in the fourteenth century 25 percent of scribes were of monastic background.

hymnographers and hagiographers of late Byzantium were of monastic background,[4] as were composers such as John Koukouzeles.[5] The emperor John Kantakouzenos wrote his memoirs after his retirement to a monastery as the monk Ioasaph, and the protagonists in the hesychast controversy were mostly monks.[6]

By contrast, there is only scanty evidence about the intellectual life of the convents of late Byzantium. Few manuscripts survive that can be attributed to the hand of a nun or associated with a specific nunnery, and literary sources are not very informative. The *typika* for convents devote little space, if any, to encouragement of scholarship,[7] implying that the primary function of the convent was praise of God through hymns and psalmody, and prayer for the salvation of the nuns and their fellow Christians. Careful reading of the *typika* and other sources does, however, permit us to reach some conclusions about the level and nature of the intellectual pursuits of Byzantine nuns, especially of the abbesses, who were usually fairly well educated and of aristocratic background.

A woman who continued to pursue her intellectual interests in the convent was Theodora Raoulaina, a wealthy widow who founded the monastery of St. Andrew in Krisei ca. 1284.[8] Theodora was a *rara avis*

[4] I am thinking, for example, of the hymnographers Theoktistos the Stoudite, Ignatios of Vatopedi, Manuel (Maximos) Holobolos, Thomas (Theodoulos) Magistros, and Maximos Planoudes; cf. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (hereafter *KTL*) (Munich, 1977), pp. 704, 705, 798; J. Szövérffy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography*, vol. 2 (Brookline, Mass., 1979), p. 70. Theoktistos the Stoudite also composed a *Vita* of St. Athanasios, as did Joseph Kalothetos. Other monk-hagiographers of the Palaiologan period include Gregory (*Vita S. Romyli*), Niphon the Athonite and Theophanes of Vatopedi (*Vitae* of St. Maximos Kausokalybites), and Daniel of Dionysiou (*Vita* of St. Philotheos of Athos); cf. Beck, *KTL*, pp. 700, 732, 793, 794, and B. Papoulia, "Die Vita des Heiligen Philotheos vom Athos," *Südost Forschungen* 22 (1963): 259-80.

[5] Edward V. Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1968), p. vii.

[6] Gregory Palamas, Barlaam, Akindynos and Joseph Kalothetos, to name only a few.

[7] An exception is the precept to the abbess found in cp. 24 of the *typikon* of the convent of the Theotokos of Bebaia Elpis (hereafter *BE*), where she is urged to instruct her nuns in τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν φιλοσοφίας διδάγματα; cf. H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), p. 32 (hereafter cited as Delehaye).

[8] There is ample bibliography on this learned bibliophile. Most useful are D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460* (Washington, D.C., 1968), no. 14, pp. 16ff.; S. Kougeas, "Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydides-Hs. Augustanus F," *BZ* 16 (1907): 588-609. It should be noted that Theodora did not take the monastic name Kyriake, as stated by Nicol (p. 17) and others. This error derived from a misreading of Theodora's death notice in *Monac. gr.* 430 by Hardt (*Catalogus codd. Manuscriptorum bibl. Reg. Bavaricae. Codices graeci.* Tom. IV, 334), and Lampros (Περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 18 [1924]: 275) as ἐκοιμήθη ἡ ἁγία Κυριάκη (or

among women in Byzantium; she was not only a scholar, book collector, and patron of the arts, but also a scribe and hagiographer. An introductory poem in *Vat. gr.* 1899, which contains the *Orations* of Aelius Aristeides, identifies her as the scribe of this manuscript, copied ca. 1280 before she took the veil. The verses suggest that she copied other codices as well.[9] At about this same time she composed a lengthy biography of the ninth-century iconodule confessors, the brothers Ss. Theodore and Theophanes.[10]

Theodora's learning was praised by other scholars of the Palaiologan era. Planoudes referred to her as "wise among all women," and Gregoras called her a "lover of learning." She exchanged books and letters with Nikephoros Choumnos, who addressed her "most wise and discriminating soul."[11] She also carried on an extensive correspondence with Gregory of Cyprus, a close friend. After Gregory resigned from the patriarchate in 1289, she built near her own convent the *monydrion* of Aristine to shelter him and his library.[12]

The most celebrated *ktetorissa* of the Palaiologan period was Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina, who at sixteen founded the convent *tou Philanthropou Soteros* shortly after the untimely death of her husband, the Despot John Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II, in 1307.[13] Eirene-Eulogia had been educated by her father, Nikephoros Choumnos, and

Κυριόκη-Lampros) ἡ μοναχὴ κυρὰ Θεοδώρα, instead of the correct reading by Kougeas, 590, ἐκοιμήθη ἡ ἁγία κυρία μου ἡ μονάχὴ ...

[9] A. Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City, 1964), pp. 63-65. For the lengthy bibliography on this manuscript, see P. Canart, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* [= *Studi e Testi*, 261] (Vatican City, 1970), p. 656. I know of only two other late Byzantine nuns who were scribes, the thirteenth-century Anna, who copied *Scorialens. gr.* 530 (G. de Andres, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vol. 3 [Madrid, 1967], 168), and Maria, the copyist of Moscow, Historical Museum, SS 268 (*343*/CCCXXX) (cited in Vogel-Gardthausen, p. 288). On female scribes in Byzantium, see Sp. Lampros, Ἑλληνίδες βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κυρίαι κωδίκων, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου (1902-1903), pp. 229-264 (unfortunately unavailable to me).

[10] Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1897), pp. 185-223, and 5 (Jerusalem, 1898), pp. 397-399 [= F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*³, no. 1793].

[11] Planoudes: *PG* 134, 1145A; Gregoras, *Hist.*, I, 178; Choumnos: F. Boissonade, *Anecdota nova* (Paris, 1844; Hildesheim, 1962), 91-92.

[12] Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, 133; Gregoras, *Hist.*, I, 178-179; Kougeas, 595-600.

[13] On Eirene, see the two articles by V. Laurent, "Une princesse byzantine au cloître. Irène Eulogie Choumnos Paléologine, fondatrice du couvent de femmes τοῦ Φιλανθρώπου Σωτῆρος," *Echos d'Orient* (hereafter *EO*), 29 (1930): 29-60, and "La direction spirituelle à Byzance. La correspondance d'Irène-Eulogie Choumaina Paléologine avec son second directeur," *Revue des études byzantines* (hereafter *REB*), 14 (1956): 49-86. Our understanding of Eirene's relations with her second director has now been greatly increased by Dr. Angela Hero's edition of their correspondence from *Scoraliens.* Φ-II-11 (now in

was praised by Gregoras for her intelligence and theological knowledge.[14] As Angela Hero has recently shown, however, her writing does not bear out her reputation, inasmuch as it contains many errors in spelling and grammar and no classical allusions.[15] This may have been due to the termination of her schooling when she married at age 12. Still, she seems to have had a lively intellectual curiosity, and a true penchant for theological debate. She engaged in extensive correspondence with her two spiritual directors, commissioned the copying of manuscripts, and exchanged books with her second director.

Another learned nun was the holy Thomaïs, an abbess in Constantinople in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. An orphan, she was raised by the mother of Nicolas Cabasilas and received her early education from this pious woman in the capital. Subsequently the two women moved to the convent of St. Theodora in Thessalonica, where Thomaïs studied with the hymnographer Palaiologina and was trained "in virtue and literature."[16] Sphrantzes recounts that when Thomaïs returned to the capital, word of her knowledge of the Holy Scriptures reached both the emperor and the patriarch.[17] Thomaïs's teacher, Palaiologina, is the only nun of the late Byzantine period who is known to have composed religious poetry. Sphrantzes tells us that she wrote canons to St. Demetrius, St. Theodora, and other saints at her convent in Thessalonica.[18] It is not recorded, however, whether she set these verses to music, as did her illustrious ninth-century predecessor Kassia.[19]

press), and her article "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," to appear soon in *Byzantinische Forschungen*. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Hero for sharing her work with me while it was still in typescript.

[14] Nikephoros Choumnos, *Sermo consolatorius ad filiam* (*PG* 140, 1437); Gregoras, *Hist.*, III, 239: ὡς βαθεῖαν τε ἐκέκτητο σύνεσιν ἡ γυνή ... τόν γε μὴν τῆς ἀργίας καιρὸν βίβλων ἱερῶν παρεῖχεν ἀεὶ ἀναγνώσεσι, καὶ πεῖραν ἐντεῦθεν ὑψηλῆς θεωρίας συνῆγε μακρὰν καὶ ποικίλην, ὁπόση τοῖς θείοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμασι καιροῦ καλοῦντος, ἐγένετο οἱ σύμμαχος κράτιστος.

[15] See fn. 48 of her forthcoming article in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, where Dr. Hero also remarks on Eirene's poor handwriting.

[16] Sphrantzes, *Chronicon*, XVIII, 1-2 (ed. Grecu, 32).

[17] Sphrantzes, XVIII, 5 (ed. Grecu, 34): διαδοθεῖσα δὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτῆς δὴ τῆς ὁσίας καὶ ἡ εἰς τὴν θείαν γραφὴν ἐμπειρία εἴς τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην καὶ πάντας τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ...

[18] Sphrantzes, *Chronicon*, XVIII, 2 (ed. Grecu, 32): εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδώρας ᾤκησαν μετὰ Παλαιολογίνας, γυναικὸς ἐναρέτου καὶ λογίας ... καὶ πολλοὺς κανόνας εἴς τε τὸν ἅγιον Δημήτριον καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοδώραν καὶ ἄλλους ἁγίους ἀνέγνωσα ἐκείνης ποιήματα. Apparently none of her writings has survived; the secondary literature cites only the passage from Sphrantzes. Cf. Beck, *KTL*, p. 797; Szövérffy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography*, 2:75; C. Emereau, "Hymnographi byzantini," *EO* 24 (1925): 166.

[19] On Kassia, see Ilse Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der*

Literacy and Education in the Convent

The abbesses of Byzantine convents who drafted foundation charters and engaged in literary and theological discussions had received at least a minimum education, as must have the convent officials who handled accounts, records and business affairs. Indeed, it seems that literacy was a necessary prerequisite for the choir sisters, or *ekklesiastikai*, whose primary responsibility was chanting the daily office.[20] The other class of nuns, the *domestikai*, were assigned household duties and were not expected to attend all church services: their work had precedence, but they should go to church when they had finished their duties. Those who could read were expected to participate in the chanting of the office, "to sing with ... heart and mouth"; but if they were completely ignorant of their letters, they were to say brief prayers.[21] In her *typikon* for the convent of the Virgin of Sure Hope, Theodora Synadene also urged literate nuns to spend their spare time reading in their cells, and those unable to read to pray or recite the psalms.[22] Illiterate nuns learned psalms by heart from hearing them chanted in church; they were also edified by spiritual works read aloud in the refectory during meals.[23] At the convent of *Bebaia Elpis*, the *typikon* was read aloud at the beginning of each month; at Lips, it was read only three times a year.[24]

Neilos Damilas, a scribe and bibliophile who founded a convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary near Baionia in Crete ca. 1400, was particularly insistent about the importance of reading the Scriptures and patristic literature. He urged the educated nuns to teach their illiterate sisters how to read, and placed great emphasis on reading aloud every night, citing St. Isaac, who gave precedence to reading over psalmody. Damilas especially recommended to the nuns the works of Maximos the Confessor, specifically the *Logos Asketikos* and the *Kephalaia peri agapes*, as well as the oration which St. Zosimas made on his deathbed.[25]

Dichterin Kassia (Berlin, 1967), and the abstract of a paper given at the 7th Byzantine Studies Conference by Diane Touliatos-Banker, "Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant," *Abstracts of Papers* (1981), pp. 22-23. Another ninth-century nun hymnographer was Thekla; cf. Beck, *KTL*, p. 603, and Szövérffy, *Guide*, 2:44.

20 *BE* §56 (Delehaye, 49-50).

21 *BE* §60-62 (Delehaye, 51-53).

22 *BE* §66 (Delehaye, 55-56).

23 *BE* §85 (Delehaye, 67).

24 *BE* §120, *typikon* of Lips §8 (Delehaye, 83, 111).

25 S. Petrides, "Le typikon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baeonia en

Education was not an important function of the Byzantine convent; on occasion lay children were admitted for schooling, but in general the founders of convents discouraged this practice, for fear that the girls would have a pernicious influence on the nuns. Young girls who intended to become nuns, however, were readily admitted to the convent and received sufficient schooling to become choir sisters.[26] According to the *typikon* of *Bebaia Elpis*, the *ekklesiarchissa*, who served as choir leader and choir mistress, taught the novices to read and to chant the psalms.[27]

Convent Libraries

Little is known about the size or content of Palaiologan convent libraries, most of which were destroyed or severely damaged after the Turkish conquest of 1453.[28] By drawing on direct and indirect evidence, however, one can reach some conclusions about the type of books found on convent shelves. A few codices preserve notes of ownership or dedication which associate them with specific nunneries. Among the most interesting, perhaps, is *Pantokrator* 6, a parchment volume of 319 folios containing homilies, encomia and saints' lives appropriate for reading on feastdays throughout the liturgical year. The book was donated to the nunnery *tou Christou Soteros* in the fourteenth-century by its founder, Anna Comnena Raoulaina Strategopoulina, the *protostratorissa*, who took the monastic name of Antonia. Included among the authors in the volume are John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Andrew of Crete, and John of Damascus, as well as late Byzantine writers such as Nikephoros Blemmydes, Gregory of Cyprus, and Nikephoros Choumnos. Particularly suitable for reading by nuns were Gregory the Cypriot's *Logos on St. Marina* and the *Vita* of St. Eirene, the ninth-century abbess of Chrysobalanton. A scribal note on fol. 3^{v} informs the reader that Anna-Antonia contributed other books and sacred vessels to the convent, and begs the nuns to treat the *plousiōtatē* and *thaumasia biblos* with reverence and care. They should make sure their hands are clean before touching

Crète," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe à CP.*, XV (1911) (hereafter *Typikon* of Damilas), pp. 109, 107. The recommended works of Maximos the Confessor are found in *PG* 90, 912-956 and 961-1080, the oration of St. Zosimas in *PG* 78, 1680-1701.

[26] *BE* §53, 148 (Delehaye, 47, 97-98); *Typikon* of Damilas, 100.

[27] *BE* §53 (Delehaye, 47): ὑποκείσονται ταύτῃ [τῇ ἐκκλησιαρχίσσῃ] καὶ ὑπακούειν ταύτῃ ταχθήσονται καὶ ὁπόσαι τῶν νεανίδων εἰς μόνον τὸ ψάλλειν καὶ ὥστε τὰ γράμματα ἐκπαιδεύεσθαι μόνα τὴν ἅπασαν ἄγουσι σχολὴν καὶ τὸ σπούδασμα.

[28] They are not mentioned, for example, in Otto Volk's *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Munich, 1955).

the book, and take care not to let the pages be spattered with oil or wax. The scribes further note that the book was expensive, and that they had gone to a great deal of trouble to assemble all the material in the volume.[29]

From marginal notes in another fourteenth-century manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 604, we learn that the convent of the *megalē doukaina* in Constantinople possessed a "very old" panegyrical volume, containing Proclus's sermon on the Transfiguration,[30] as well as an "old book" with John Chrysostom's sermon on the same theme.[31] A note on the Athanasian creed in the fourteenth-century *Vat. gr.* 677 tells us that it was copied from a psalter in the convent of Christ the Savior *tou Krataiou.*[32] Another Vatican manuscript (*Vat. gr.* 1787), an eleventh-century parchment codex containing the works of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, apparently belonged either to the convent of Lips or *Bebaia Elpis.*[33] Yet another codex, the 11th c. *Vat. gr.* 752, containing psalms and catenae, belonged to a monastery of the Pantanassa, perhaps at Mistra or Baionia in Crete, or the Theotokos *tēs Pantanassēs* in the capital.[34]

[29] Sp. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1895), no. 1040, pp. 92-94. Similar gifts of "precious books" were made by George Kounales to the convent of the Euouraniotissa which he restored in 1400 (Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi* [hereafter MM], 2: 411), and by Maria Palaiologina to the convent of the Panagiotissa (MM 1 : 313): πολλ᾽ ἄττα ἱερὰ κειμήλια χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα καὶ λοιπὰ πολύτιμα σκεύη καὶ βιβλία προσαφιέρωσεν.

[30] R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, vol. 3 (Vatican City, 1950), p. 4: τοῦτο τὸ προγραφὲν ῥητὸν τοῦ Πρόκλου τινὲς τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου φασίν, ἐγὼ δὲ εὗρον Πρόκλου ὃν ἐν παλαιοτάτῳ βιβλίῳ πανηγυρικῷ κατὰ τὴν μονὴν|τῆς μεγάλης Δουκαίνης μητρὸς τῆς Συργιανίνης; see also G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone* [= *Studi e Testi*, 56] (Vatican City, 1931), p. 261 and fn. 4.

[31] Devreesse, *Codices*, p. 5: οὗτος ὁ λόγος εὕρηται ἐν παλαιῷ βιβλίῳ κατὰ τὴν μονὴν τῆς μεγάλης Δουκαίνης, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων οὐ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἀλλὰ Πρόκλου πατριάρχου.

[32] Devreesse, *Codices*, p. 132. For the convent *tou Krataiou*, see Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: 3 (Paris, 1969), pp. 510-511.

[33] P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani graeci, codices 1745-1962* (Vatican City, 1970), p. 135. Verses added to fol. 4^{v}, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, indicate that the author of the *typikon*, who had written it at the command of the pious empress Theodora, donated this book to the convent. Canart suggests that this foundress is to be identified either with Theodora, the widow of Michael VIII, who restored the nunnery of Lips, or with Theodora Synadene, the niece of Michael VIII, who founded the convent of *Bebaia Elpis*. This poem is the only evidence that one of these Theodoras did not compose her own *typikon*, but had it "ghost-written."

[34] Devreesse, *Codices*, p. 268. For the Constantinopolitan convent of Pantanassa, see Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, p. 215ff.

A Palaiologan manuscript from Florence, *Camaldoli* 1214, does not bear an inscription linking it with a specific nunnery, but was certainly designed for convent use. Not only are its contents devoted entirely to the lives of female saints, but on fol. 12ᵛ is found the formula of benediction, *eulogēson mēter*, in place of the usual *eulogēson pater*.[35]

We may be sure that the bibliophile Theodora Raoulaina brought her personal library with her to the convent of St. Andrew in Krisei. Three surviving manuscripts can definitely be associated with this abbess. Two were works of classical authors: the *Orations* of Aelius Aristeides, which she had copied with her own hand, and the famous volume of Thucydides, which is now in Munich (*Monac. gr.* 430).[36] Until the time of her death Theodora owned a twelfth-century parchment manuscript of the commentaries of Theophylact of Bulgaria on the Four Gospels; she donated the codex (now *Coislin. gr.* 128) to the monastery of the Lavra on Athos in 1300.[37]

From a letter addressed to Theodora by Gregory of Cyprus we learn that she owned a volume of Demosthenes which she loaned to the patriarch so a copy could be made.[38] Theodora probably also retained a copy of the biography of Ss. Theodore and Theophanes which she had composed. The *Vita* contains an extraordinary number of classical allusions, which may also provide clues to the contents of her library. She quotes or refers to the *Iliad* at least ten times, and also cites such ancient Greek authors as Hesiod, Aeschylus and Euripides, Herodotus, Plato, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[39] The *Vita* abounds with proverbial expressions, many from the collection of her friend Gregory of Cyprus. She quotes frequently from the Scriptures, showing particular predilection for the prophetic books of the Old Testament, but does not cite any patristic works.

Finally there is the group of fifteen deluxe liturgical codices which Buchthal and Belting have assigned to the "atelier of the Palaiologina." If they are correct in their hypothesis that it was Theodora Raoulaina who commissioned these manuscripts,[40] at least some of the books

[35] H. Delehaye, "Vita Sanctae Olympiadis et Narratio Sergiae de eiusdem Translatione," *Analecta Bollandiana* (hereafter *AnalBoll*), 15 (1896): 406-408.

[36] Kougeas (see fn. 8, above), pp. 594, 608.

[37] R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, II. Le fonds Coislin*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits (Paris, 1945), p. 122. The dedicatory notices were published by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana* (Paris, 1715), p. 201.

[38] Kougeas, p. 598.

[39] *Vita Ss. Theophanis et Theodori*, passim; cf. Kougeas, 594, fn. 1.

[40] H. Buchthal–H. Belting, *Patronage in 13th c. Constantinople. An Atelier of Late*

must have been for Theodora's personal collection or for the convent library. Since the group of codices includes seven Gospel Books, three Lectionaries, and three Psalters, in addition to a New Testament and Praxapostolos, it seems likely that the patron did not need all these liturgical books for her own use, but ordered them as gifts for friends or monasteries.

An illustrated manuscript that was definitely made for an abbess is Theodora Synadene's *typikon* for the Convent of Sure Hope (the Lincoln College *typikon*), with its handsome series of portraits of members of the donor's family and of the nuns of the convent.[41] An early Palaiologan psalter on Sinai (*Sinait. gr.* 61) was commissioned by the nun Theotime, whose donor portrait appears on fol. 256^{v}.[42] Other books associated with nuns were *Athos Stavronikita* 56, a Tetravangelion with evangelist portraits, which belonged to the thirteenth-century nun Euphrosyne Pegene,[43] and a panegyrical volume, *cod. Chalk. Panag.* 1, commissioned by the nun Eirenarchia in 1360 "for the repose of her son the monk Theodoulos."[44]

The correspondence of Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina with her second spiritual director (recently edited by Dr. Angela Hero)[45] provides evidence about the library of another bluestocking nun. There are no surprises among the works she cites in her letters: two orations of Gregory of Nazianzus and the *Apophthegmata* of Arsenios, in addition to Scriptural citations.[46] Of greater interest is the exchange of books

Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy (Washington, D.C., 1978), pp. 100-121. See also the review of G. Vikan in *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 325ff.

[41] The miniatures of this *typikon* have been studied most recently by A. Cutler and P. Magdalino, "Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon," *Cahiers archéologiques* 27 (1978): 179-98 and I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 190-206.

[42] Spatharakis, pp. 48-49 and fig. 17, and H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), p. 37, fn. 120, and p. 50, where she is erroneously called Theopempte.

[43] Cf. Vogel-Gardthausen, p. 123; Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos*, I, no. 921, p. 79; II, 580; O. Demus, "Studien zur byzantinischen Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* (hereafter *JÖBG*), 9 (1960): 78-79 and pl. 3.

[44] Vogel-Gardthausen, p. 156; Athenagoras, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν Χάλκῃ Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας, ΕΕΒΣ 10 (1933): 243; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἡ ἐν τῷ νησίῳ Σωζοπόλεως μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου, *Vizantijskij vremennik* 7 (1900): 670.

[45] See fn. 13, above.

[46] One might remark perhaps on the absence of classical allusions, especially since Eirene's library is said to have included ancient authors. See fn. 47 below.

between the director and abbess, whose large library included both secular and religious works.[47] In one letter, for example, her spiritual mentor asked for a list of the books in her collection so that he might know what he could borrow; for the time being, he requested a loan of the Pentateuch and four Books of Kings.[48] In other letters he asked for writings of Theoleptos of Philadelphia, especially his discourse on *hesychia*, and the works of her father, Nikephoros Choumnos.[49] In return, Eirene asked her director for copies of his writings, specifically his works on the patriarch Athanasios, his discourses in defense of learning, iambic and heroic verses, and an *Alphabetos*.[50]

A comparative listing of the works cited in the *typika* of Palaiologan nunneries also suggests the type of books which might have been available to the founders of these convents, either in their personal libraries or the collection of the convent. In addition to the Pentateuch, Psalter and New Testament, popular works were the *typikon* of St. Sabas, the ascetical treatises of St. Basil, and the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus.[51]

It is not surprising to find the most citations in the *typikon* of Damilas,[52] who possessed a large library of forty-one volumes, seven he himself had copied. In addition to standard liturgical books and patristical works, Damilas owned a volume containing the writings of Boethius, Cato, and Manasses.[53] We do not know whether Damilas bequeathed his library to the convent of the Theotokos at Baionia, or to his own nearby monastery. His special concern for the convent library suggests that it may have received his bequest. Thus Damilas forbade the nuns to lend library books outside the convent; for if they were damaged,

[47] *Letter* 10 (ed. Hero), addressed to Eirene: βιβλίων οἶμαι σωρὸν παρὰ σοὶ κεῖσθαι πολύν, ἔκ τε τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς σοφίας, ἔκ τε τῆς σῆς φιλομαθίας ἀποτεθέντων, ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ θείων.

[48] *Letter* 10.

[49] *Letters* 7, 8, 12.

[50] *Letters* 1-4, 12. It is logical to assume that the two manuscripts which contain Eirene's correspondence with her spiritual directors, *Scorialens. gr.* Φ-II-11 and *Ottobon. gr.* 405, originally belonged to her convent.

[51] The *typikon* of St. Sabas is cited in the *typika* of *Bebaia Elpis* and Lips. The *Scala Paradisi* is quoted twice in the *typikon* of *Bebaia Elpis* and once in those of Lips and Damilas. Quotations from the ascetical writings of Basil also appear in the above three *typika*. Eirene Choumnaina quotes from the orations of Gregory of Nazianzos in her correspondence, as does Theodora Synadene in the *typikon* of *Bebaia Elpis*.

[52] Damilas quotes a number of canons and novels, the seventh *Logos* of John Climacus, St. Isaac, and St. Mark the Ascetic, in addition to the works mentioned in fn. 51 above.

[53] The very interesting catalogue of Damilas's library was published by Sp. Lampros in "Das Testament des Neilos Damilas," *BZ* 4 (1895): 585-87.

the convent had no one to repair them. He also urged the nuns not to bequeath their personal books to friends or relatives, but to leave them to the convent.[54] The nunnery of Baionia must have possessed copies of the works of St. Maximos the Confessor and St. Zosimas, since Damilas particularly recommended to the nuns the writings of these authors.[55]

To sum up the evidence, Palaiologan convents did possess small libraries, primarily of liturgical books and patristical works. Some of the manuscripts were two to three hundred years old, others were of contemporary manufacture, commissioned especially by the founders or other donors. Books by ancient authors were only rarely found in convents, usually as the bequest of a founder with antiquarian interests.

Nuns and Religious Controversy

The convent walls did not prevent a number of women who had chosen a monastic vocation from becoming involved in the religious controversies of their day. The rebellious iconodule wives and daughters of the iconoclast emperors provide an earlier example of the phenomenon of women clinging fervently to their personal religious beliefs, even when this meant opposing their own male relatives and official government policy.[56]

In much the same way the emperor Michael VIII was greatly distressed to find many of his female relatives, especially his sisters and nieces, opposing his policies on the Arsenites and Union of Churches. Thus his sister Maria, who took the monastic name of Martha and founded the celebrated Constantinopolitan convent of Kyra Martha, fervently supported the Arsenite cause. She took the Arsenite monk Hyakinthos under her protection at the time of Arsenios's second exile (1265); Pachymeres suggests that she hid him and provided him with food.[57] Her daughter, Theodora-Theodosia Balanidiota, and her step-daughter, Nostongonissa Tarchaneiotissa, both nuns, were also well known as partisans of Hyakinthos and the exiled patriarch.[58] Almost forty years later, when Nostongonissa was quite elderly, Andronikos chose the

[54] *Typikon* of Damilas, p. 109.
[55] See fn. 25 above.
[56] Examples are Anthousa, the daughter of Constantine V; Irene, wife of Leo IV; Euphrosyne, wife of Michael II; and Theodora, wife of Theophilus.
[57] Pachymeres, *Hist.*, I, 295. Maria-Martha was the widow of Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes; cf. V. Laurent, "Kyra Martha. Essai de topographie et de prosopographie byzantine," *EO* 38 (1939): 296-320.
[58] Pachymeres, *Hist.*, I, 292, 294, 296.

aged nun, who still favored the Arsenite cause, to undertake a mission to try to reconcile the Arsenites.[59]

Another of Michael's sisters, Eirene, a widow who became the nun Eulogia, was one of the most stubborn opponents of his policy of uniting the churches. After the Union of Lyons, he was forced to banish Eulogia and her daughter, none other than Theodora Raoulaina, to the castle of St. Gregory. He apparently also confiscated their estates.[60]

The anti-Unionist views of Theodora, who, in the words of Planoudes, "suffered many woes for the sake of the Orthodox faith,"[61] are clearly expressed in the *Vita* of Ss. Theodore and Theophanes which she wrote in prison at her mother's urging.[62] She speaks, for example, of "the well-known confusion which afflicts the church now on account of the agreement between the emperor and the bishop of Rome," and attacks "those who now disregard holy doctrines; for they boldly hasten to destroy not only their own souls, but to make everyone else share in spiritual death."[63] Theodora Raoulaina may have gone as far back as the iconoclastic period for the subject matter of her *Vita*, because she empathized with the situation of her saintly namesake, the Blessed Theodora, who opposed her own husband's iconoclastic policies and restored image worship soon after the death of Theophilos. In a similar fashion, Raoulaina's mother, Eulogia, urged her nephew, Andronikos II, to repudiate the Union of Lyons as soon as he ascended the throne.[64] Theodora may also have seen a parallel to the persecution of the iconodule brothers, the Graptoi, in the suffering of her brothers-in-law, Manuel and Isaac Raoul, both of whom were blinded and imprisoned by Michael VIII for their opposition to union.[65]

59 Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, 353-54.

60 Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, 15: ἡ μὲν [sc. Εὐλογία] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου φρούριον συνάμα παιδὶ τῇ τοῦ Ῥαοὺλ γυναικὶ ἐξωρίζετο. See R.-J. Loenertz, "Mémoire d'Ogier, protonotaire, pour Marco et Marchetto nonces de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du pape Nicholas III, 1278, printemps-été," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965): 392; D. M. Nicol, "The Greeks and the Union of the Churches," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 63, C, no. 1 (1962): 13-15.

61 Sp. Lampros, Ἐπιγράμματα Μαξίμου Πλανούδη, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 13, no. 1 (1916): 416; cf. nos. 2 and 3, pp. 416-18.

62 *Vita Ss. Theophanis et Theodori*, p. 186: Theodora writes that she would not have undertaken this endeavour, εἰ μή τοι γε ἡ ἐμὴ δεσπότις καὶ μήτηρ ἡ τῷ θεῷ εὐλογημένη [sc. Εὐλογία], ἡ τὴν κλῆσιν τῇ πράξει κατάλληλον ἐσχηκυῖα, ὥσπερ τις δικαστὴς ἀπαρέγκλιτος σφοδρῶς μοι τῇ προτέρᾳ καθείρξει τοῦτο προσέταττε· ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῇ νῦν ὑπερορίᾳ τε καὶ φρουρᾷ τὰ ἴσα διακελεύεται. Cf. also pp. 187 and 223.

63 *Vita Ss. Theophanis et Theodori*, pp. 187, 197.

64 Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, 14-15.

65 Cf. Nicol, "Greeks and the Union," pp. 12, 14.

Theodora also shared the fervent pro-Arsenite sentiments of her aunt, Maria-Martha, and her cousins. Such was her veneration for the deposed patriarch that she asked Andronikos to permit his relics to be transferred from St. Sophia to her own convent of St. Andrew. The emperor agreed, as part of his program to try to heal the Arsenite schism, and the translation of relics was accomplished with a solemn and lavish celebration. The emperor himself participated in a procession of the senate, clergy, monks, and people to St. Andrew's.[66]

A number of nuns in Constantinople and Thessalonica are known to have been deeply involved in the Palamite controversy. One was the nun Maroulina, who had undertaken the direction and administration of the convent of the Theotokos Varangiotissa in the 1350s. She promised to use her own resources to maintain and improve the convent and to bequeath workshops to it.[67] A few years later, in 1360, Maroulina was excommunicated because she was an adherent of Barlaam and Akindynos, and was therefore dangerous to the souls of the nuns of the Theotokos Varangiotissa. The patriarch also removed her from the direction of the convent.[68]

As suggested above, Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina exerted most of her intellectual energies in the area of theological debate. She was a devoted supporter of Gregory Akindynos, and her convent of the *Philanthropos Soter* became a focal point of resistance to Palamas. In 1342, together with her relatives and entourage, she helped to organize an anti-Palamite synod.[69] She also took part in theological discussions with the followers of Palamas,[70] and to those who could not attend these debates she wrote lengthy letters attacking Palamas.[71]

Palamas's *Seventh Antirrhetic* against Akindynos contains an entire chapter of invective against Choumnaina, whom he compares with other patronesses of heretics.[72] In another passage he refers to her as Jezebel,[73]

[66] Gregoras, *Hist.*, I, 167; Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, 85-86: καὶ ἐπεὶ σπουδὴν εἶχεν ἐκείνη πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν καὶ ζῶντα καὶ τελευτήσαντα ...

[67] MM I, 423-424; J. Darrouzès, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de CP. I, Les actes des patriarches, fasc. V, Les regestes de 1310 à 1376* (Paris, 1977), no. 2386; Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, I: 3, 158.

[68] MM I, 347; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, V, no. 2419.

[69] Palamas, Πρὸς Φιλόθεον, ed. N. A. Matsoukas, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα, vol. 2 (Thessaloniki, 1966), p. 535.

[70] Palamas, Ἀντιρρητικός 7, 5, 9-10, ed. B. D. Phanourgakes, Συγγράμματα, vol. 3 (Thessaloniki, 1970), pp. 467-68.

[71] Palamas, *op. cit.*, p. 469; cf. D. G. Tsames, Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα (Thessaloniki, 1980), p. 69 and fn. 5.

[72] Palamas, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-470.

[73] Palamas, Πρὸς Ἀρσένιον, ed. Matsoukas, Συγγράμματα, 2: 323.

as does the Palamite monk Joseph Kalothetos in his *Logos* against Kalekas.[74] Kalothetos also accused Akindynos of persuading the Byzantines to follow his heresy by tempting them with succulent food and drink provided by Eirene.[75]

Akindynos, of course, has only praise for the piety and learning of his patroness, and writes that "she is second to none ... in her understanding of the holy doctrines of the church."[76] Gregoras, another of her admirers, tells us that Eirene-Eulogia was persecuted even in old age for her opposition to Palamas. Although miracles took place at her tomb after her death ca. 1356,[77] she was not canonized by the church, despite her outstanding record as philanthropist, theologian, foundress, and abbess of the largest convent in Constantinople. She had supported a losing cause; the victory of the Palamite party in the Orthodox church made any such official recognition of her impossible.

Finally, the case of the nun "Porine" should be considered. In a letter written ca. 1345, Akindynos attacked her as the leader of a group of monks with ties to Messalianism and Bogomilism. He described the nun as "a goddess, the instigator of all their base conduct and loathsome behavior. Isidore was her disciple, more than anyone, and looked to her as to a divine standard, whatever she said and did ... he praised her as a prophetess together with the clever Palamas."[78] "Porine" was evidently Akindynos's contemptuous name for the heretic Eirene, known from other sources as a Thessalonian nun who pretended to be orthodox, but was actually leading monks astray into Bogomolism and spreading the heresy as far as the Holy Mountain.[79]

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[74] Kalothetos, *Logos* 8, ed. Tsames, p. 293.

[75] Kalothetos, *Logos* 3, ed. Tsames, p. 143.

[76] Akindynos, *Letter to Lapithes*, ed. Karpozilos, "Seventeen Letters of Gregory Akindynos (Cod. Monac. gr. 223)," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 204 (1977): 84-85.

[77] Gregoras, *Hist.*, III, 238.

[78] R.-J. Loenertz, "Gregorii Acindyni Epistulae Selectae IX," 27 (1957): 91.

[79] Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959), p. 55, fn. 63. Cf. *Life of St. Theodosius of Trnovo* (in Slavonic), ed. V. N. Zlatarski, "Žitie i žizn' Prepodobnago otca našego Feodosija," *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina* (Sofia), 20 (1904): 19-20. It was Günter Weiss who suggested that Porine is meant to be a conflation of Εἰρήνη and πορνεία (cf. his *Joannes Kantakouzenos - Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch - in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 154 and fn. 1004. Another supporter of Palamas was the nun Xene, to whom he wrote a treatise on the rewards of the spiritual life (*PG* 150, 1044-1088).

Space does not permit more thorough discussion of the role of Byzantine nuns in patronage of the arts.[80] Suffice it to say that the nuns and abbesses who commissioned deluxe manuscripts[81] and textiles,[82] restored old buildings, or founded new monastic complexes[83] made a major contribution to the splendid achievements of Palaiologan art and architecture, and helped to beautify a capital severely damaged by the Latin conquest. The nuns themselves, however, do not seem to have been involved in artistic production; no female miniaturists or embroiderers from the Palaiologan period can be definitely identified, in marked contrast with their artistic sisters in Western medieval convents.[84]

One may conclude that the convents of late Byzantium did not foster scholarly and artistic activity, and did not produce a Herrad of Landsberg or Hroswitha of Gandersheim. Rather they emphasized a life of prayer and praise of God, and provided a refuge for pious maidens or widows who wished to retire from the world. Yet, although they were members of a religious community, aristocratic Byzantine nuns retained their individuality. If they were so inclined, it was possible for them to pursue in the convent interests they had developed in earlier years, whether their tastes lay in study of the Scriptures, theological debate, religious poetry, architectural patronage, or the collection for their libraries of manuscripts of classical authors and illuminated liturgical codices.[85]

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[80] An excellent introduction to the role of Byzantine nuns in the patronage and production of art is found in an article by A. Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian," scheduled to appear in *Byzantinische Forschungen*. I am grateful to Dr. Carr for permitting me to read in typescript her survey, which covers the entire Byzantine period.

[81] See pp. 611-612 above.

[82] For example, the empress Euphemia of Serbia, a nun; cf. P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition of Church Embroidery* (London, 1967), pp. 59, 111-112, 120.

[83] The convents of the Panagiotissa, St. Andrew, Kyra Martha, Lips, Bebaia Elpis, and Philanthropos Soter were all restored or built by women who took the veil. Nor should one forget that the chapel of the Pammakaristos, with its fine mosaics, was commissioned by the nun Maria-Martha Glabaina as a memorial to her dead husband; cf. H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978), especially pp. 11-22.

[84] Cf. Carr, "Women and Monasticism," and her article, "Women Artists in the Middle Ages," *Feminist Art Journal* 5 (1976): 5-9, 26.

[85] This paper has benefited from discussions with Robert Nelson, who is currently pursuing questions of patronage and book production in late Byzantium.

The Military Lands and the Imperial Estates in the Middle Byzantine Empire

WARREN T. TREADGOLD

This essay treats two subjects, of which one has received a great deal of attention from many Byzantinists and the other has received little attention from anyone but Ihor Ševčenko. As he once dedicated an article on the middle Byzantine imperial estates to the memory of his teacher, Henri Grégoire, so I am pleased to dedicate a study touching on the same topic to him as my own teacher.[1]

Today the traditional view of Theodore Uspensky, Ernest Stein, and George Ostrogorsky that the Byzantine system of themes dated from the reign of Heraclius (610-41) is under attack. No one doubts that the armies of the later Anatolic, Armeniac, Thracesian, and Opsician themes existed under Heraclius, because it is agreed that they were the old mobile armies of Oriens, Armenia, and Thrace and the armies in the emperor's presence, transferred from their original stations and given Greek forms of their Latin names. The dispute is over the features that the traditional view attributed to Heraclius's "new system" of the themes. In Ostrogorsky's words, "They were not merely administrative areas, but represented the districts settled by the troops. Inalienable grants of land (called in later sources στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα) were made to the soldiers on condition of hereditary military service."[2] Several

[1] Ihor Ševčenko, "Inscription Commemorating Sisinnios, 'Curator' of Tzurulon (A.D. 813)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 567-74. The present article has grown out of my book on *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*, East European Monographs: Byzantine Series II (New York, 1982).

[2] George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), pp. 95-98, especially p. 97 and fn. 1, with references to other works that agree and disagree with this thesis. For other surveys of the problem, see Walter E. Kaegi, "Some Reconsiderations on the Themes (Seventh-Ninth Centuries)," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 16 (1967): 39-53, who is inclined to question the traditional view, and A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century, I: 602-634* (Amsterdam, 1968), pp. 265-82, who is inclined to adopt it.

scholars have denied that the themes replaced the older, smaller provinces for administrative purposes as early as Heraclius's reign; others have brought forward evidence suggesting that in most respects such was the case.[3] The idea that military land grants were assigned to the troops under Heraclius has been criticized more and defended less.[4]

The critics of the traditional view of the military lands have pointed out that no explicit and indisputable attestation of them appears before a novel of Constantine VII datable to between 945 and 959. The main part of this novel begins:

> We therefore decree the following, which unwritten custom provided previously: that soldiers not be allowed to sell the lands on which their obligations to serve (στρατεῖαι) depend, but that immovable property of four pounds [of gold] in value be retained for each obligation to serve of the cavalrymen (among whom we declare should also be numbered those marines enrolled in the army of the Aegean Sea, Samos, and the Cibyrrhaeots, because they too provide their own equipment, and by rowing themselves they perform onerous services). For those marines serving for pay in the Imperial Fleet and for other marines up to now it was provided by custom that immovable property of two pounds [of gold in value] should be retained for each obligation to serve, which also seems to us to be sufficient.[5]

The novel further provides that a soldier could give or bequeath such lands to others, but then the obligation to serve passed to the new owner or, if the property was divided, was shared proportionately by the new

[3] The critics include A. Pertusi, "La formation des thèmes byzantines," *Berichte zum XI. International Byzantinisten-Kongress*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1958), and J. Karayannopoulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (Munich, 1959). The recent defenders are M. Hendy, "On the Administrative Basis of the Byzantine Coinage, c. 400-c. 900, and the Reforms of Heraclius," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1970): 125-54, and N. Oikonomidès, "Les premières mentions des thèmes dans la chronique de Théophane," *Zbornik Radova Vizantinološkog Instituta* 16 (1975): 1-8.

[4] Here the critics include P. Lemerle, "Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance: Les sources et les problèmes," I in *Revue historique* 219 (1958): 32-74, II in 219: 254-84, and III in 220 (1958): 43-94, Karayannopoulos (cited fn. 3), and J. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army, c. 550-950: A Study on the Origins of the Stratiotika Ktemata* (Vienna, 1979). After Ostrogorsky himself, the most recent defender of an early date for the military lands has been R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Munich, 1976), pp. 311-14.

[5] Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἡ συνήθεια ἀγράφως πρῴην ἐκύρωσε, μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ ἐξ ὧν αἱ στρατεῖαι ὑπηρετοῦνται κτήματα διαπωλεῖν, συντηρεῖθαι δὲ εἰς ἑκάστην στρατείαν, ἱππέων μὲν ἀκίνητον κτῆσιν δ΄ λιτρῶν ὕπαρξιν· οἷς ἀριθμεῖσθαι κελεύομεν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν στόλον ἀποτεταγμένους πλωΐμους τοῦ τε Αἰγαίου πελάγους καὶ τῆς Σάμου καὶ τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν· αὐτόστολοι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ αὐτερέται βαρείας μετιᾶσι τὰς ὑπηρεσίας. Τοῖς δὲ τὰ βασιλικὰ πλώϊμα ἐπὶ ῥόγαις ὑπηρετουμένοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πλωΐμοις ἤδη νῦν ἐκράτησεν ἐκ συνηθείας δύο λιτρῶν εἰς ἑκάστην στρατείαν ἀκίνητον διασώζεσθαι κτῆσιν, ὃ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀρκούντως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. J. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. I (Athens, 1931), pp. 222-23.

owners. If the soldier had property that exceeded the minimum value, whether he could sell it depended on how much of it was officially registered as military land. If all of it was registered, he could not sell any of it. If only part of it was registered, he could sell the unregistered land as long as he retained the minimum amount. If none of it was registered, the minimum amount was to be registered at once and the remainder could be sold. If a man had only a fractional obligation to serve or to provide a soldier, the minimum property he could not sell was proportionately less. Further provisions established that men held military land on condition of military service — or alternatively on condition of supplying or joining in supplying a fully equipped soldier to take their place.[6]

As far as it goes, this novel is clear enough. The traditional view is that the novel describes a system introduced under Heraclius as a matter of custom, but made a matter of detailed legal provisions only in the mid-tenth century, when the growing power of the aristocracy led some soldiers to sell off their military lands to aristocrats who would not provide soldiers.[7] The novel is compatible with that view, but does not prove it. By contrast, Paul Lemerle and others have questioned whether this system of military lands even as a matter of custom went back further than the ninth century, and whether even in the tenth century all soldiers had such lands.[8] The military lands do not seem to be explicitly attested earlier, though incidental references in saints' lives apparently presuppose something like them as early as the late eighth century, and the sources for the seventh and early eighth centuries are so scanty that an argument from silence carries little weight.[9] As for whether all soldiers had lands in the tenth century, the novel's repeated words "for each obligation to serve" (εἰς ἑκάστην στρατείαν) seem to imply that each of the sorts of soldiers specified did have military lands, but the infantry, certainly a sizable number, are not among those specified. The omission could mean that the infantry had no such lands, but in that case what means of support the infantry did have would be a question.

Although the best way to resolve the controversy would be to discover clear evidence of how the army was supported in the seventh and eighth centuries, no one has yet discovered evidence of this sort or given reason

[6] Zepos (cited fn. 5), I: 223-26. More detailed treatment of this novel will be found in Lemerle (cited fn. 4), II: 44-50, and Haldon (cited fn. 4), pp. 41-43.

[7] See Ostrogorsky (cited fn. 2), pp. 272-76.

[8] Lemerle (cited fn. 4), III: 43-70.

[9] For earlier evidence for a similar system, see Haldon (cited fn. 4), pp. 41-65.

to believe that any will be discovered in the future. As with many problems concerning the seventh and eighth centuries, the problem of the military lands can now only be usefully approached by determining what the situation was before and after those centuries, and using our meager knowledge of events in the interim to conjecture what happened in between.

In the sixth century, ordinary imperial soldiers received ample cash allowances that had gradually replaced issues in kind of food, uniforms, arms, mounts, and fodder. A rough but reasonable estimate has put these allowances at 30 nomismata a year.[10] Since another rough but reasonable estimate has put the cost of basic sustenance for a Byzantine family at 17 nomismata a year, sixth-century soldiers were presumably well able to support their households and provide their equipment out of their cash pay.[11] Though some had private sources of income as well, except among the border troops (*limitanei*) these were if anything discouraged by the state because they tended to distract the men from their duties, and certainly were not under state protection.[12] By the ninth century, on the other hand, ordinary soldiers received cash pay of one nomisma for each year of service up to their twelfth year, and twelve nomismata a year thereafter, paid at intervals ranging from one to six years.[13] Some but not all of the soldiers of the themes received rations in kind while on campaign, though not at other times.[14] Since all the soldiers were still supposed to supply their own equipment and the basic cost of living seems to have remained at about the level of 17 nomismata per family a year, middle Byzantine soldiers must have had some source of support other than their pay.

How, then, did they live? That all of them did manage to keep body and soul together somehow requires no demonstration, but many did

[10] E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 155. This figure is based on the amount of the *aurum tironicum*, the gold payment required to compensate the state for maintaining a soldier, which was 25 to 30 nomismata; see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1964), p. 432.

[11] Ostrogorsky, "Löhne und Preise in Byzanz," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 32 (1932): 299, speaks of a living wage of 10-15 folles a day, or about 17-26 nomismata a year (with 180 folles to the nomisma in early Byzantine times and no work on Sundays or holidays). Cf. Jones (cited fn. 10), p. 447, who puts the cost of a soldier's rations at 4 to 5 1/2 nomismata a year (not including equipment, clothing, or lodging for him, or anything for his family).

[12] See Jones (cited fn. 10), pp. 678-79.

[13] See Treadgold (cited fn. 1), pp. 19-21, where I base my discussion on Ibn Khurdādhbih, trans. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, VI (Leyden, 1889), pp. 84-85.

[14] See Haldon (cited fn. 4), p. 45 and fn. 73.

much better than that. In his *Tactica*, Leo VI (886-912) tells a strategus intending to go on campaign, "You shall select soldiers from the entire theme under your command who are ... rich, so that they, when engaged in their own military service on an expedition (that is, in the assemblage of the army), have at their own homes others working their land (γεωργοῦντας) and able to supply completely the military equipment of a soldier ...."[15] Leo's words imply that some of the soldiers on the rolls of a theme were not this well off (since otherwise strategi would have needed no warning to choose others) but show that a number of them were. The only source of income Leo takes into account is land, which for the better-off soldiers was worked by "others" — whether relatives, tenants, hired hands, or slaves. The tenth-century Anonymous Vári warns that all the soldiers of a theme should be mustered and drilled frequently, because otherwise, "selling their military equipment and their best horses, they will buy oxen and other equipment for farming" — thus assuming that they had land on which to use oxen and farm tools.[16]

Though it has been suggested that the soldiers might have had income from some other source than land, to my knowledge no evidence of a middle Byzantine thematic soldier with another sort of income has yet been brought forward. The army was large: 120,000 men of whom all but 24,000 were in the themes, according to an apparently reliable Arab report of the mid-ninth century.[17] Since from every indication the economy of the empire was based on agriculture to an overwhelming extent, no other means is likely to have been available to provide for so many soldiers. In comparison manufacturing and trade were negligible, especially outside Constantinople, where the thematic troops were stationed. Besides, the state could scarcely have allowed a soldier to practice any occupation that made him impossible to locate on short notice for mustering, a consideration that seems to exclude herdsmen and traveling merchants. Some soldiers could conceivably have been fishermen, millers, ferrymen, blacksmiths, or innkeepers, but such

[15] Ἐκλέξῃ δὲ στρατιῶτας ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ὑπὸ σὲ θέματος, ... εὐπόρους, ὥστε αὐτούς, ἐν τῷ ἐξπεδίτῳ, ἤγουν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῦ φοσσάτου εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν στρατείαν ἀσχολουμένους, ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οἴκοις ἑτέρους τοὺς γεωργοῦντας, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀπαρτισμὸν ἐξόπλισιν τοῦ στρατιώτου χορηγεῖν δυναμένους ... Leo VI, *Tactica*, IV.1, ed. in *Patrologia Graeca* 107, 697D-700A.

[16] ... τὴν γὰρ πολεμικὴν πανοπλίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἵππους ἀπεμπολοῦντες βόας ἐξωνοῦνται καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια ... *Incerti Scriptoris Saeculi IX Liber de Re Militari*, ed. R. Vári (Leipzig, 1901), ch. 28, p. 48.

[17] See Treadgold (cited fn. 1), pp. 16-18 and 107-108. The total is given by Ibn Khurdādhbih (cited fn. 13), p. 84.

soldiers must have been exceedingly rare, and probably would have had farmland as well. Some, in the infantry at least, might have been tenants or farmhands, but only if the state could have been sure that they would not be evicted or dismissed, and thus left unable to support themselves and impossible to locate for mustering.

As has been seen, for the mid-tenth century Constantine VII specifies that every cavalryman, or marine of the three naval themes, had land valued at a minimum of four pounds of gold (288 nomismata) and other marines had land valued at a minimum of two pounds of gold (144 nomismata). At the price of three-quarters of a nomisma per modius of first-class arable that Ostrogorsky established as an average, the minimum holding for a cavalryman or thematic marine would have been equivalent to 384 modii and that for any other marine to 192 modii. Documents from Mt. Athos indicate that 30 modii could be an adequate holding for a family.[18] Therefore cavalrymen and marines, with at least six to twelve times this much land, must all have been well off enough to have others at home to do their farmwork for them — indeed, their holdings would have been too large for them to cultivate by themselves. They were, in the words of Leo VI's *Tactica*, "rich" (εὔποροι). Indeed, the *Ecloga* of Leo III assumes a legal definition of a "rich" man (εὔπορος) as one with property worth at least two pounds of gold, precisely the minimum set by Constantine VII for marines outside the naval themes.[19]

The poorer soldiers must have been among the infantry, who apparently outnumbered the cavalry by some three to one in the tenth century.[20] Even if an infantryman needed to work his own land, he could still serve in the garrison of a fort in time of invasion and go on campaigns between the times of sowing and harvesting. Such soldiers did not need the expensive equipment of a cavalryman or marine. They would have been those, evidently the majority, who received rations in kind from the government while on campaign, and did not have to supply their own. For them, the necessary minimum of land would have been only what they needed to support their families and to provide the modest arms and armor of an infantry soldier. They would therefore probably have needed somewhat more than 30 modii, perhaps about 50

[18] See Treadgold (cited fn. 1), pp. 55-57 and especially fn. 222.

[19] This definition follows from the penalty for seduction, which is one pound of gold if the seducer is "rich" and half his fortune if the seducer is poorer; Zepos (cited fn. 5), II: 57.

[20] In the ninth and late eighth century the ratio was apparently four to one; Treadgold (cited fn. 1), pp. 29-30 and 79-81.

modii, worth about half a pound of gold (36 nomismata). But if they did have such lands, why did Constantine VII's novel not mention at least this minimum for the lands of the infantry?

The answer is probably that by the time of that novel the infantry were already protected by a novel of Romanus I (920-44). Romanus's law begins with measures to protect the lands of all smallholders, which if sold in violation of certain legal requirements were to be returned without compensation to the purchaser subject to a limitation of ten years. In its last section, the novel explicitly declares that "all the military lands" (πάντα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα) that had been purchased within the last *thirty* years had to be restored without compensation, "unless, perhaps, even after the alienation an amount remains to the soldier that is sufficient for the support of the new obligation to serve of the man doing the military service."[21]

On inconclusive grounds Lemerle has questioned the dating of this last provision to 922, as the heading of the law states, while Ostrogorsky has defended the date.[22] But even if the true date is somewhat later the text does seem to be the work of Romanus I, and so no later than 944. Apparently it is concerned with preventing the "poor" soldiers among the infantry from selling the minimum amount of land that they needed to support themselves and to provide their modest equipment, thus becoming tenants or hired hands, whose income and place of residence would be uncertain. If a "rich" soldier sold off land in excess of this minimum, however, the state was not necessarily concerned. The later law of Constantine VII went further, and attempted to prevent the "rich" soldiers of the cavalry and marines from selling so much of their land that they would be forced to do their own farmwork and left unable to provide their own rations and heavy equipment. If they sold off land in excess of the minimum required to perform their duties, the state was concerned only if their land was registered as "military land." Though in the past the records of this land had evidently been incomplete, now guidelines were established for completing the registration, so that each cavalryman or thematic marine would have a minimum of four pounds' worth, and each other marine a minimum of two pounds' worth.

[21] ... εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκποίησιν τοσοῦτον τῷ στρατιώτῃ περιλιμπάνεται, ὅσον τῷ στρατευομένῳ πρὸς τὴν τῆς νέας στρατείας σύστασιν ἐξαρκεῖ. Zepos (cited fn. 5), I: 198-204 (quotation on p. 204). Note that the "soldier" may supply another to "do the service."

[22] Lemerle (cited fn. 4), 2: 265-66; Ostrogorsky (cited fn. 2), p. 273, fn. 1.

Granted this much, and that in the ninth and tenth centuries virtually all soldiers supported themselves primarily from land holdings, the exact nature of these "military lands" still remains somewhat obscure. From the time of Constantine VII's novel onwards, legislation assumed the principle that military lands were held in return for military service. If they were inherited or received as gifts, the obligation to provide a soldier went with them. If they were divided, the obligation to provide a soldier was divided proportionally among the new owners. If the lands were confiscated in a lawsuit or fell vacant, the state had a right to reassign them to someone who would also assume the obligation to provide a soldier that went with them.[23] But, as Lemerle and others have pointed out, this legislation is not by itself sufficient proof that the military lands were held in return for service earlier than the tenth century, much less from the beginning — whenever that was.

The alternative is to assume that before the tenth century soldiers had a hereditary obligation to serve combined with independent income, evidently from land. As long as a soldier's place on the muster-rolls and his land were passed on together to his heir, the question of whether the two were legally connected is not a very important one in practice, and probably raises a point too subtle for our scanty contemporary evidence to resolve. But the question becomes significant for what it implies about the origin of the military lands. If they were originally private holdings, the soldiers may be considered as private landholders saddled with an hereditary legal obligation to serve or to provide a soldier. If the military lands were originally public, the soldiers may be considered as hereditary tenants on public land, doing military service or providing a soldier in lieu of paying rent. By the tenth century, the soldiers' legal position closely approximated that of hereditary tenants on public land. Whether this was true earlier largely depends on our answer to the question of where the military lands originally came from.

Any answer to this question should take into account that the area of the military lands would have been enormous. For the mid-ninth century, by assuming a minimum of 384 modii each for the cavalry and thematic marines and 50 modii each for the infantry, I have estimated the military lands at a minimum of some twelve million modii, perhaps a tenth of the cultivated area of the empire.[24] Such an estimate is only a

[23] See the discussion in Haldon (cited fn. 4), pp. 41-65, on the situation in the tenth century (though, as will appear, I have reservations about his remarks on the earlier period).

[24] Treadgold (cited fn. 1), pp. 62-63.

guideline, but gives some idea of the amount of land involved. Obtaining this much land would not have been an easy task.

As for the time at which lands would have been needed to support the army, Heraclius is known to have been extremely short of cash during the Persian invasion, when he discontinued the grain dole at Constantinople (618) and borrowed an immense sum from the church (622), even melting down some of the decorations of St. Sophia.[25] During the few years between his defeat of the Persians (628) and the onset of the Arab invasion (633), Heraclius seems to have been barely able to meet his army payroll, to judge from the justification one of his agents gave for cutting off the pay of some Arab auxiliaries in 631: "The emperor can scarcely provide the soldiers with their pay—how much less these dogs?"[26] After the Arab invasion, full payment of the imperial soldiers in cash must quickly have become impossible. It must then have been replaced as a method of supporting the soldiers either by some form of the system of military lands or by some other method which, cash being lacking, would also presumably have involved land. Which land?

Having men who already had land serve as soldiers would not have been a promising option. The previous lands of soldiers, mainly those of the *limitanei* who had long been settled on the frontier, would practically all have been lost when the frontier districts fell, first to the Persians and Avars, then to the Arabs and Slavs. Conscripting landowners in the remaining territories, paying them an inadequate wage, and asking them to support themselves would seem impractical and even dangerous, because they would have been inexperienced, unfit, and unwilling soldiers, liable to desert, mutiny, and revolt. Besides, the names of Byzantine army units, some of which are attested early, show their continuity with the divisions of the army of the sixth century. Not only did the themes themselves derive from the old mobile armies, but even in the tenth century their divisions retained such ancient designations as *Theodosiaci* and *Victores*.[27] The bulk of Heraclius's army surely consisted of soldiers withdrawn from their old posts in the East, Armenia, and Thrace. Heraclius had soldiers, though they were no doubt reduced in numbers. His problem was how to support them.

[25] On the loan, see Theophanes, ed. de Boor, pp. 302-303; on the dole, see *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Bonn, p. 711.

[26] Ὁ δεσπότης μόγις τοῖς στρατιώταις δίδωσι ῥόγας, πόσῳ μᾶλλον (read μεῖον with Tafel and Anastasius Bibliothecarius) τοῖς κυσὶ τούτοις; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, pp. 335-36.

[27] See Constantine VII, *De Ceremoniis*, ed. Bonn, p. 663.

John Haldon has recently conjectured "a process by which regular soldiers were billeted more or less permanently (although this may never have been the original intention) throughout the region which they garrisoned, and by which they acquired their own properties and settled down."[28] Large-scale billeting, a well-attested practice in early Byzantine times, would have been a logical recourse for Heraclius as long as he hoped to restore the empire's former military position. But after the Arab conquest of Syria Heraclius does not appear to have entertained any illusions that the losses were temporary, and neither, probably, did most other Byzantines.[29] Permanent billeting of tens of thousands of soldiers would have amounted to a large and perhaps unsupportable tax on the unfortunate landowners chosen and would have been far from convenient for the soldiers. It would have been a desperate and unpopular measure, of the sort that a government would take only if it had no other choice. Further, it is difficult to see how, even over two or three centuries, thousands of soldiers with no land to start with and very scanty pay could have acquired holdings worth four pounds of gold each. It is also hard to understand how their holding lands of that value came to be a custom, and how a large part of these lands came to be registered as "military lands." Though such considerations do not exclude Haldon's hypothesis, especially as a partial explanation, they give good reason to look for a more satisfactory one.

Others have suggested that the government settled the soldiers on vacant land in Asia Minor, which would thus have been confiscated from its former owners, absent or not, and assigned to the soldiers as military estates.[30] Confiscation may well be part of the answer. The civil war with Phocas and the Persian invasions must have left Heraclius with a good deal of land whose owners had died, fled, or been expropriated for supporting Phocas. But Haldon rightly stresses that vacant land needs a good deal of work to bring it back into production, and, unless the former owners had left tenants behind, soldiers on active duty would have been hard put to derive any income from such grants.[31] That enough land to support every soldier who needed support could have been obtained in this way seems highly improbable. Of course, the government could have confiscated large amounts of occupied land

[28] Haldon (cited fn. 4), pp. 74-79.
[29] See A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century, II: 634-41* (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 73-74.
[30] See Lilie (cited fn. 4), pp. 312-13.
[31] Haldon (cited fn. 4), p. 74.

arbitrarily and assigned it to the soldiers. But such a measure would again have been a desperate one, of the sort that a government would adopt only if it had no better choice.

If Heraclius had decided to give his soldiers land grants, however, he would not have needed to look for vacant land or to resort to confiscation. He already possessed a substantial portion of the empire's land which was in production, manned by tenants, farmhands, or slaves, and distributed widely over the empire's provinces, including those of Asia Minor. The land was in the imperial estates. The surviving figures for their extent are very scattered, but show that the estates were large. In the fifth century, imperial estates accounted for 18.5 percent of the area of the province of Africa Proconsularis, 15 percent of that of Byzacena, and 16 percent of the city of Cyrrhus in Syria. In the sixth century, imperial estates took up over half the land of the province of Cappadocia I, which was, of course, a region that was not permanently lost to the Arabs.[32] These overall figures are preserved by chance; other attestations show that imperial estates were spread all over the empire, and Asia Minor was no exception.

To be sure, the imperial estates were leased to various entrepreneurs, sometimes for five years, sometimes heritably in perpetuity, and these renters would have been unhappy at being evicted *en masse*. But eviction from imperial estates before the lease was up was not uncommon, and was often legal if the state received a higher bid for the rent.[33] The soldiers assigned such lands could then have done their military service in lieu of rent, receiving the land rent-free under a kind of perpetual, hereditary lease instead of whatever wages they no longer received. If imperial land was not available in some places where soldiers were needed, private landholders could have been forced to accept imperial lands elsewhere in exchange for their own holdings, leaving their land to be assigned to soldiers.

Just as the state had kept records of its imperial estates, so it would have kept records of the new military lands. But in the seventh and eighth centuries the imperial bureaucracy must have functioned less efficiently than usual.[34] The muster-rolls, of course, were vital to the empire's defense, and had to be kept fairly accurately. The cadasters of taxable land were also important to assure collection of the annual land taxes.

[32] Jones (cited fn. 10), pp. 415-16.
[33] Jones (cited fn. 10), pp. 416-19.
[34] See Treadgold, "The Revival of Byzantine Learning and the Revival of the Byzantine State," *American Historical Review* 84 (1979): 1259-66.

But if the state knew from the muster-rolls who had an hereditary military obligation and from the cadasters where his land was, it could locate and punish him if he did not serve as he was ordered and bring the specified equipment, so that an exact record of how much of his land was "military land" and how much had been acquired later as private property would seldom have been necessary. If over the years the ledgers came to be incomplete, "custom" (which would virtually have meant "common law") would still have dictated that soldiers were not to sell land they needed to perform their duties. By the tenth century, however, population pressure was apparently causing soldiers to sell off their land, and up-to-date ledgers and specific legislation began to be needed. For these, Constantine VII provided in his novel in a reasonably equitable manner. Quite possibly the minimum of four pounds' worth of land for a cavalryman was approximately the amount of the original grant to a cavalryman in the seventh century.

Though the foregoing hypothesis involves considerable speculation, one fact tends to corroborate it. By the ninth century, the once sprawling imperial estates had shrunk drastically. As late as the sixth century, they are frequently mentioned in the sources and particularly in legal texts, and were supervised by a large department headed by a senior official, the *comes rei privatae*.[35] By the ninth century, on the other hand, the imperial estates are seldom mentioned in the sources and are supervised by the Great Curator, who ranked thirty-sixth among thirty-nine high officials and was concerned with palaces and hospices as well as estates, which were administered by his subordinate curators of the estates.[36] The imperial estates specifically attested between the seventh century and the mid-ninth were in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople, around the nearby city of Tzurulum, around Cromna in Paphlagonia, around Athens, and on Chios.[37]

[35] Jones (cited fn. 10), pp. 412-17. See also M. Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'église dans l'empire byzantin (Ve-VIe siècles)* (Paris, 1976).

[36] N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 318 and (for the rank) p. 304.

[37] For the estates very near Constantinople, see Ibn al-Faqīh in E. W. Brooks, "Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 21 (1901): 73; for Tzurulum and Chios, see Ševčenko (cited fn. 1), pp. 568-72 (note the later additions from the tenth century on); for Cromna and Athens (?), see G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 (Basel, 1972), nos. 2421 and 3014. Nicephorus I (802-11) confiscated some church lands, but quickly set about disposing of them by forced sale; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, pp. 486-87.

About 867 Basil I acquired from the Patriarch Ignatius the lands of the Mangana with their palaces, which were also located in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople and were used exclusively to supply food for imperial banquets. Acquisition of this private holding of one man caused such a great proportional increase in imperial land that Basil put it under an independent Curator of the Mangana, ranking just after the Great Curator and having his own subordinate curators of palaces and estates of the Mangana.[38] Even under Leo VI, the private holdings of the widow Danelis in the Peloponnesus were, according to Constantine VII, scarcely smaller than the imperial estates.[39] Though Constantine may have exaggerated somewhat, the imperial estates in the ninth century plainly had nothing like the importance of those in the sixth.

By itself, the effect of the dislocations of the seventh and eighth centuries should have been to increase the percentage of imperial land by allowing the crown to confiscate the holdings of those who died without heirs, fled, were captured, or rebelled.[40] If the proportion of imperial land instead decreased greatly, as seems to be the case, the state must have given large amounts of its land away. It certainly did not give the land away because it did not need the rents. But what it needed more than rents was an army, supported by whatever means could be found. Confiscation and billeting may have been tried, but the imperial estates are not likely to have remained untouched for long.

The conjecture that Heraclius, or perhaps one of his immediate successors, cancelled the leases of most of the imperial estates and distributed them among his troops explains both the disappearance of most of the imperial estates and the appearance of the military lands. This conjecture is compatible with the traditional view of the origins of the themes, which despite the attacks that have been leveled against it is still the only coherent reconstruction of what happened in Byzantium in the early seventh century.

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[38] J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), pp. 101-102, corrected by Oikonomidès (cited fn. 36), p. 318, who by noting that the Palace of Eleutherius was not originally under the Curator of the Mangana clears up the obscurity mentioned by Bury.

[39] Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, pp. 320-21.

[40] Cf. Jones (cited fn. 10), pp. 420-24.

Tiles of Nicomedia

PHILIPPE VERDIER

In 1956 the Walters Art Gallery had the opportunity to share with the Louvre the acquisition of a very important lot of Byzantine figural and decorative tiles, painted in glazed colors on white terracotta. The combined possessions of both museums largely outnumber the total of Byzantine tiles kept elsewhere. They equal in archaeological and aesthetic value the discoveries made over seventy years ago in Bulgaria, at Patleina and in the Palace and Round Church at Preslav. The tiles in the Louvre were published in 1957 by E. Coche de la Ferté in an exemplary article accompanied by a technical and chemical analysis.[1] I met Professor Ševčenko at Dumbarton Oaks the year I studied the material acquired by the Walters Art Gallery, but I never presented a scholarly account of the results of my research.[2] I want now to make amends by presenting some remarks on a particular foyer of manufacture of Byzantine tiles and on their specifically Mediterranean tradition, maintained against the Mesopotamian tradition followed by Islamic ceramics.

The Walters Art Gallery collection includes twenty figural tiles and some fifty lots of various sizes of decorative fragments. The figural tiles represent Christ enthroned between the archangels Michael and Gabriel (fig. 1); the Virgin Nicopoia; a type of Virgin intermediate between the Hodegetria and the Virgin of Tenderness; seven icons of apostles; fragments of an eighth apostle; St. Constantine; St. Christophorus; St. Ignatius of Antioch; St. Nicholas; St. Panteleimon; St. Proclus; and St. Parasceve. There are also the head of a saint without an inscription (fig. 2) and, on the back of a tile, the monochrome sketch of a woman's

[1] "Décors en céramique byzantine au Musée du Louvre," *Cahiers archéologiques* 9 (1957): 187-217.

[2] I gave a summary of the tiles acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in the November 1956 issue of the *Bulletin*, and in the fifth issue of *Faenza* for 1956. The Faenza Museum has on display a fine selection of Byzantine ceramics including tiles from Constantinople. Cf. G. Ballardini, "Un particolare aspetto della ceramica policroma bizantina," *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1932, pp. 551-59.

head (fig. 3). The tiles measure on average 6 3/4" square, but the Virgin Nicopoia in an "imago clipeata" and St. Ignatius of Antioch in a bust portrait circumscribed by a roundel are almost double in size.[3] Many mutilated fragments of angels, saints, inscriptions, and peacocks are mixed with architectural parts, either flat or curved, suggesting that the frames of the figural tiles had segmental shafts, capitals, and cymas. The motifs — rosettes, stars, wave patterns, acanthus, palmettes, flowery scrolls, "crazy quilts" — relate to those of tiles excavated at the Topkapı Sarayı and St. John of Studius, which were excellently discussed in 1951 by Mrs. E. S. Ettinghausen.[4]

Byzantine tiles have been found "in situ" at Patleina and Preslav, and, in Constantinople, in the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, the church of Constantine Lips, that of Saint George in the Mangana district, the martyrium of Saint Euphemia, Saint John of Studius, the Myrelaion church, the basilica in the court of Topkapı Sarayı and Saint Irene. Finds from almost all these sites are exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.[5] In this museum is shown a fragment of a Virgin Eleousa (inv. 6170), which comes from Topkapı Sarayı.[6] Like the better preserved tile of the Virgin of Tenderness in the Walters Art Gallery, it represents the early type of the Eleousa, a motherly version of the Hodegetria, in which the right arm of the Virgin still points to the Child, but with cheeks not yet in contact.[7] In the Istanbul museum a partly preserved head of a saint (inv. 6545) comes, as Nezih Fıratlı kindly informed me, from a church at Prusias ad Hypium, modern Üsbübü (Düzce), in the former province of Bithynia. From information I received some twenty years ago the tiles shared between the Louvre and the Walters Art Gallery would come from the site of Nikertai, near Apamea in Phrygia. Kilns and workshops for the preparation of clay and colored glazes have been found along with tiles in Patleina and Preslav.[8] They date from the tenth century, as

[3] St. Ignatius of Antioch is reproduced in fig. 119 of Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970).

[4] *Cahiers archéologiques* 7 (1954) : 79-88.

[5] Nezih Fıratlı, *A Short Guide to the Byzantine Works of Art* (Istanbul, 1955), pp. 51-53.

[6] *Annual of Ayasofya Museum*, no. 6 (Istanbul, 1965), pp. 105-106, fig. 8.

[7] Could the tiles in Constantinople and Baltimore represent the survival of a pre-iconoclastic type of the Eleousa, adopted in Rome during the iconoclastic controversy? Under the pontificate of Gregory III (731-741) there was "in oratorio sancto quod praesepe dicitur imaginem auream dei genitricis amplectentem salvatorem deum nostrum in gemmis diversis pens. lib. V." *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 432.

[8] P. Nikov, "Die neuesten archäologischen Funde in Patleina und ihre kulturhistorische Bedeutung," *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Sofia* 14/15 (1937): 197-202. K. Miatev,

does the production of Constantinopolitan tiles with the same technical characteristics: painting on a fine-grained white paste, designs traced in eggplant-colored enamel and vitreous glazes in brownish yellow and pale green, with accents in red.

A text of the end of the twelfth century describing the church of the Genoese traders in Constantinople mentions a decoration of "tiles of Nicomedia."[9] The text may be translated: "The holy church has a dome and one apse. Of the four columns (under the cupola), one is of variegated marble from Bithynia. The sanctuary and apse and the pastophories as well are revetted with marble slabs. The (two) pillars west (of the columns under the cupola) are covered with ceramic tiles of Nicomedia (διὰ τανστρίων Νικομηδείων) up to the impost. Above, the cupola and its eastern supporting arch are decorated with colored mosaics on gold ground, and the three (other) arches with glass."[10] G. Sotiriu had proposed to correct τανστρία into γαστρία 'pots',[11] but A. J. Butler correctly related the Greek τανστρίον to the Turkish *tencere* 'earthenware'.[12]

Should we assume that Nicomedia had become a monopolistic center of production of tiles painted in enamel, as Limoges, in the West, had monopolized the production of champlevé enamels in Plantagenet France in the last decades of the twelfth century? The tile fragment from Prusias ad Hypium in the Istanbul Museum could very well have been manufactured in Nicomedia, which was occupied in 1078 by Soliman, an ally of the rebel Nicephoros Briennius, but reconquered by Byzantium in 1085. As for Nikertai, the supposed place of origin of the tiles now in the Louvre and the Walters Art Gallery, it was integrated by the Seljuk Turks into the Sultanate of Iconium after 1084. The Turks conquered Nicomedia, the modern Izmit, only in 1326. That town is not far from Iznik, which became the center of Turkish ceramic manufacture.

L'Église ronde de Preslav (Sofia, 1932). J. Akrabova-Žandova in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique de Sofia* 20 (1955): 487-510, and summary in French: "Un atelier de céramique peinte au sud de l'église ronde de Preslav."

9 F. Miklosich and I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca* (Vienna, 1865), p. 55. The church of the Genoese is mentioned in 1192 (p. 31). A. Sanguineti and G. Bertolotto, "Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'Impero bizantino," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 28 (1896-98): 475-99, cf. p. 480.

10 On the revetment of walls with enamelled and gilt glass, see Joseph Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie* (Bologna, 1970), p. 18, pp. 55-57, figs. 26, 27.

11 A. M. Schneider, "Archäologische Funde aus der Turkei, 1934-1938," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1939, suppl., col. 180.

12 *Islamic Pottery* (London, 1926), note 3, p. 165.

In letters to me, André Grabar expressed time and again the opinion that icons in terracotta may have been applied to the templon or to pieces of liturgical furniture. There is nothing in the text on the decoration of the Genoese church in Constantinople to contradict such a supposition. We have the later evidence of the frescoed southeastern pillar in front of the iconostasis in the church of Ravanica (1375-1377). The angles of the pillar are blunted by semicircular shafts decorated with heart-shaped palmettes, alternating "tête-bèche," and with scrolls intermingled with half palmettes back to back. Between them rows of medallions are filled with figures and "imagines clipeatae."[13]

White ware with designs traced in dark outlines, and figures and decoration painted yellow and green, characterize the whole development of Byzantine ceramics under the Macedonian Dynasty (867-1057), until a red-bodied ware brushed over with a slip began to be used in Constantinople, Athens, and Corinth, and by Armenian potters in the Caucasus. A palette based on pale green and amber yellow, suggesting delicate fresco colors, fixed by fire in the kiln under a film of transparent glaze, set the Byzantine tiles apart from contemporary Islamic lustreware with its metallic sparkle.

Technically as well as iconographically our tiles belong to the legacy of Near Eastern Hellenistic art,[14] whereas the lustreware and splendid revetments of walls in Samarra technique originated in Moslem Egypt.[15] The formula of lead glazing in the fundamental colors of yellow and green was codified by Heraclius.[16] Tarsus, in the Roman Empire, was the Near Eastern center of ceramics already executed in that technique.[17] Subsequently, legend assists history and confirms the view of an evolutionary development. The Acheiropoietos image of Christ painted on the mandylion, a canvas received by King Abgar in Edessa and brought from Edessa to Constantinople in 944, had a copy no less

[13] P. P. Pokryškin, *Pravoslavnaja cerkovnaja arxitektura XII-XVIII stol. v nynešnem serbskom korolevstve* (St. Petersburg, 1906), pl. LXXVII. Ravanica, in the Morava valley, is in Yugoslavia today. The plan of the church is in: R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (The Pelican History of Art 3rd ed., 1979), figs. 394D, 397, p. 464.

[14] K. Miatev, "Dekorative Keramik in Byzanz," *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1940), pp. 265ff. D. Talbot Rice, "Byzantine Polychrome Pottery," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 61 (December, 1932); "The Pottery of Byzantium and the Islamic World," *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture* (for K. A. C. Creswell), 1965, p. 194ff.

[15] According to Butler, at Miṣa (Memphis) and Fosṭāṭ, in the Delta.

[16] *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum*, ed. A. Ilg. *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1875), Tercius Liber, 3, "Quomodo Vasa Figuli Plumbeantur," pp. 48-51.

[17] Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, 155ff.

miraculous than the original: the ἁγίον κεράμιον, which Nicephorus Phocas transferred from Emesa to Constantinople in 968.[18] A variation of the legend mentions another copy in Hierapolis, which explains why Anthony of Novgorod reported that he had seen "ceramidia duo" in a chapel of the Chrysotriklinos at the end of the twelfth century.[19] In the birthplace of the mandylion, a lamp was left burning before the Acheiropoietos of Christ in its niche inside one of the city gates of Edessa. The light was protected by a tile in the guise of an awning. Its heat fixed the face of Christ on the reverse of the tile.[20]

National Gallery of Art
Washington, D.C.

[18] E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur Christlichen Legende*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1899), p. 172ff.
[19] Antoine de Novgorod, *Le livre du Pélerin* (1200), trans. Mme de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), pp. 97-98.
[20] Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 110-11.

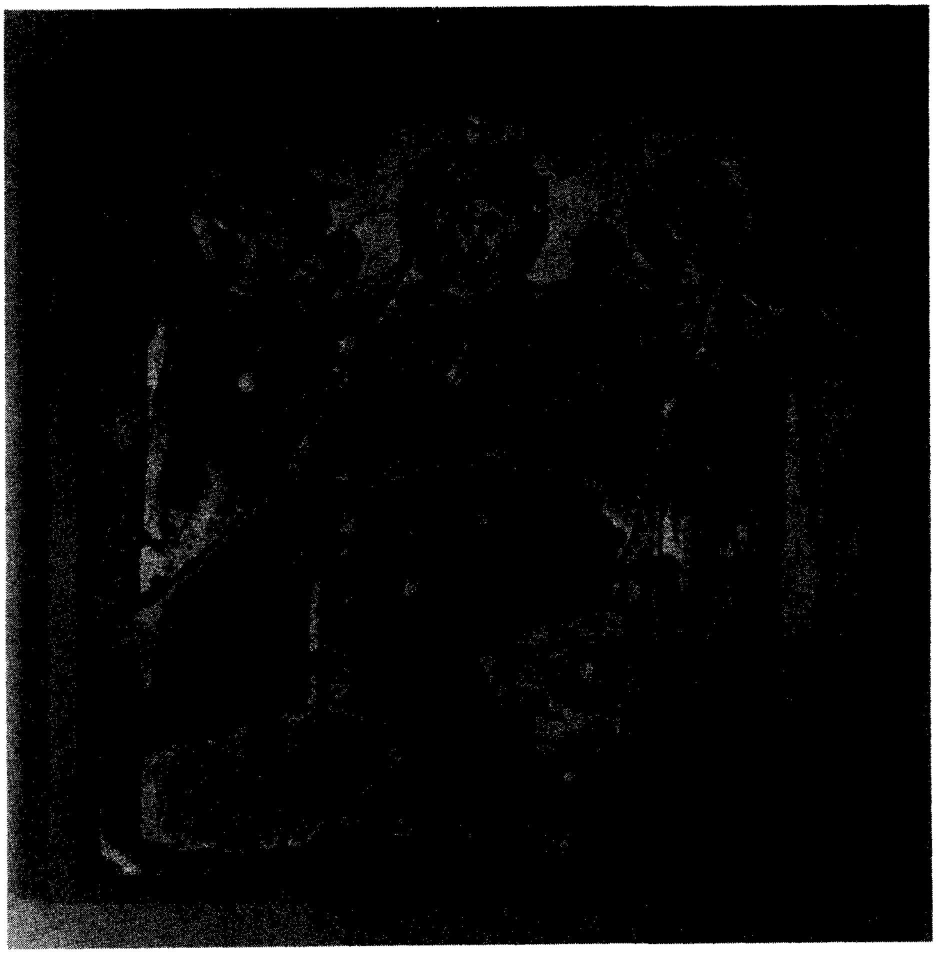


Fig. 1



Fig. 3

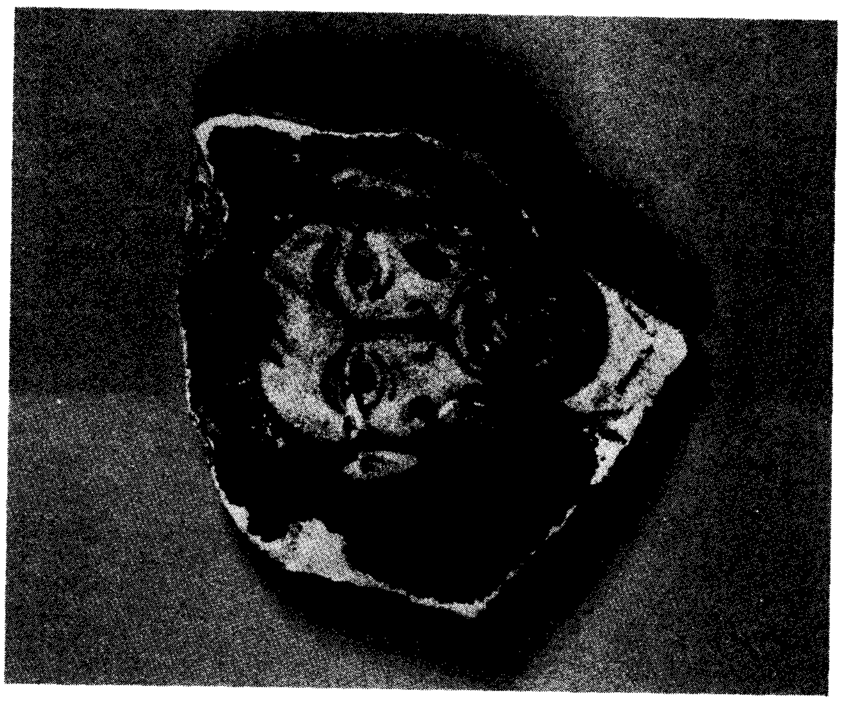


Fig. 2

The Moravian Mission in Poland Revisited

A. DE VINCENZ

For the first two centuries of Polish history, between approximately A.D. 800 and 1000, written sources are scarce and ambiguous.[1] It is small wonder, then, that historians have often overinterpreted these texts and that conflicting interpretations abound. One point on which most Polish,[2] Czech[3] and Western[4] scholars agree is that there existed in the south of Poland in the ninth to tenth century a state of *Wiślanie* (*Uuislane*),[5] which was conquered by the Moravians and converted to Christianity by Methodius. The conversion implies the existence of a Moravian (Methodian) mission in the Wiślanie state that used the Old Church Slavonic language and a (Roman) Old Church Slavonic liturgy and that had its own religious hierarchy.[6] About the duration of this hierarchy opinions differ: some scholars put its end at about 980 (the probable date of the annexation of Cracow by Mieszko I of Poland, i.e., north Poland),[7] others at about A.D. 1000 (the founding of a Latin bishopric in Cracow); still others push it off until 1034 (the pagan revolt) or even 1138 (the death of Bolesław Krzywousty).[7a]

The Moravian mission to southern Poland is also credited with that part of the Polish religious vocabulary which coincides with the Old

[1] This is an enlarged version of a paper first read at the conference on "Polish contacts with Church-Slavonic literature until the end of the XVth century" at the University of Gdańsk in October 1980. I would like to thank Professor Leszek Moszyński for his kind invitation and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for financing my trip there. The Polish version of the paper was to appear in the *Akta* of the conference.

[2] See, for instance, the article "Wiślanie" in the authoritative *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* (hereafter *SSS*), 6 (1977): 489-491 (published in 1980). Cf. the bibliography there.

[3] The most representative being Havránek (e.g., Havránek 1963: 305sqq.) and Dvorník (See Dvorník 1967: 18-19 and 1970 passim).

[4] For instance, Grivec 1960, Jakobson 1953a and 1953b, and Stender-Petersen 1964.

[5] "Vistulians," as Lanckorońska 1961: 13 and passim calls them.

[6] Not all scholars draw the last conclusion explicitly, cf. Szymański 1963: 47sqq. and Szymański 1967 (with bibliography).

[7] The *Polonia Major* of the sources (later Wielkopolska).

[7a] Cf. Lanckorońska 1961 passim.

Church Slavonic of the Moravian Mission (as far as it is possible to distinguish that from the later Old Church Slavonic of the Bulgarian-Macedonian church). Some scholars have also attributed to Old Church Slavonic, and thus to the Moravian Mission, a number of Christian (i.e., saints') names whose phonological form coincides with Old Church Slavonic and differs from Latin, such as *Kliment* vs. *Klement*.[8]

Historians have interpreted references in the sources to the expulsion of the Benedictine monks[9] from Poland or to the simultaneous existence of two archbishops[10] in eleventh-century Poland as indicating that either the monks were of "Slavonic rite"[11] or that one of the archbishops was; in the latter instance, they have gone on to speculate that he must have succeeded an (unattested) "Slavonic" archbishop ordained by Methodius or by his successor in Moravia about 880 or 895 who fled to Poland after the 907 destruction of the Moravian state.[12]

Archaeological discoveries made around 1960 have been used to strengthen the Moravian hypothesis. Particularly important have been archaeological finds in the southern Polish city of Wiślica,[13] the name of which has been linked with the "Wiślanie state" by an ingenious hypothesis presented as early as 1898 by Potkański.[14] Archaeologists have connected at least some finds to the Moravian mission.[15]

Although some critical voices have been raised,[16] it can be said that the Moravian hypothesis has for many years represented more or less the official view of Polish, Czech and Soviet historiography.[17]

[8] See Karpluk 1978 (especially the bibliography 596).

[9] Gumplowicz 1907: 153. Cf. Lanckorońska 1961: 100-104.

[10] Gallus Anonymus 1952: 30, cf. Paszkiewicz 1954: 381sqq., Lanckorońska 1961: 22sqq.

[11] Probably in analogy to Sázava (where the Slavonic liturgy is, however, attested explicitly in the sources). Some arguments and general ideas — for instance, that the Benedictine monks could have been followers of the liturgy in Old Church Slavonic or that Polish sources purposely concealed information about this — seem to be borrowed from Bohemia, where the situation was quite different, however.

[12] In this elaborate form not before Lanckorońska 1961: 28sqq., but cf. already Widajewicz 1947: 115 and Dvorník 1956: 101.

[13] See the bibliography in *SSS* 6 (1977), svv. *Wiślanie* and *Wiślica*.

[14] Widajewicz 1947: 11, 32sqq and passim. Cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 35-38.

[15] Cf. fn. 13.

[16] The most prominent were those of Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński and Stanisław Urbańczyk; cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 42-81, Urbańczyk 1979: 63-65. The former's position on the *Wiślanie* question and on the "Slavonic rite" is, however, not quite consistent, cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 38-41.

[17] Cf. for instance *Istorija Pol'ši* 1954: 36, *Historia Polski* 1958: 156, 157, 163; *Dzieje Polski* 1978: 89; also see fn. 3.

In looking back over the long record of the discussion, one cannot but note how inexplicit many of its arguments are, how much cirumstantial evidence has been accepted, and how rarely the latter has been distinguished from direct evidence. The present paper is an effort to distinguish carefully between what is explicit evidence, what is implicit or only circumstantial, and what is no evidence at all.

First, it is useful to ask what sort of criteria are appropriate for the task at hand. In the natural sciences formulating a hypothesis starts with the testimony of one's senses. In the historical sciences this plays a lesser role: an eyewitness describing the events he has seen would, at least today, be called a reporter or writer of memoirs rather than a historian. The historian, like a judge or police officer, must make use of witnesses, documents, and circumstantial evidence. He must also decide how much trust he can put in the evidence at his disposal. Here he must call upon his own experience and common sense and make logical conclusions.

The historian's sources may or may not be contemporary with the events themselves. But the later the witness, the less trustworthy is his testimony. As the French proverb puts it: "a beau mentir qui vient de loin."

The historian's witnesses are of three different kinds:

1. written sources, i.e., texts (contemporary or not);

2. linguistic sources, in our case lexical ones, preserved in texts (contemporary or not) but independent of them, insofar as they represent an immaterial linguistic system passed down orally from one generation to the next and possibly much older than the text.

3. archaeological sources (excluding texts).

History has to do, of course, with facts, and it orders its facts into an intelligible whole according to certain principles. It is a historical fact, for instance, that a Latin-rite mission came to Poland (Polonia Major, Wielkopolska) in the years 965-966. Other events at the time were also possible: for instance, an Iro-Scottish or Byzantine mission (but not a Lutheran or Mormon one) could also have ventured there. Since there is no trace of such missions in the sources, however, nothing can be said about them: *a posse ad esse non valet conclusio*. What is possible is not history; it may be literature, or, at best, conjecture.

Archaeological finds do not speak by themselves. They must be "identified," and the decisive instance for the identification is either an uninterrupted oral tradition or an actual text, for only they permit an explicit association of the find and the "name," i.e., the significant

explanation of the find in a historical framework.[18] Wherever inscriptions, i.e., texts linked indissolubly with the archaeological find, are lacking or where tradition is extinct, archaeology must resort to identification based on historical sources, i.e., texts, whose connection with the given find (building, monument, or another object) must be proved by analysis of the text.

The crucial text in our case, and one on which all hypotheses, whether historical, archaeological, or linguistic, must be based, is the famous passage from the *Vita Methodii* which is quoted here in the original:[19]

Bě že i proročьska blagodětь vъ nemь, jako sę sǫtъ sъbyvala mьnoga proricanija jego, otъ nixъže li jedino li dъvě sъkažemъ. Poganьskъ kъnęzь, silьnъ velьmi sědę vъ vislě(xъ) rǫgaaše sę xristьjanomъ i pakosti dějaaše. Posъlavъžě kъ nemu reče: *dobro ti sę krьstiti synu voljejǫ svojejǫ na svojei zemli, da ne plěnenъ* nǫdьmi krьšten bǫdeši na štuždei zemli i pomęneši mę; ježe i bystь.

"There was a prophetic gift in him [Methodius], so that many of his prophecies came true, of which we shall tell one or two. A powerful pagan prince, residing on the Vistula,[20] jeered at Christians and ill-treated [them]. [Methodius] sent [a message] to him saying: It would be good for you, [my] son, to be baptized of your own free will in your own land, so that you may not be forced to accept baptism as a prisoner in a foreign land; and you will [then] remember me. And so it came to pass."

We will now try to sort the evidence of this text, distinguishing between direct evidence, indirect evidence, and no evidence at all.

1. The text states *explicitly* that:

1.1. There was a pagan principality (i.e., a state headed by a prince) situated somewhere on the Vistula.

1.2. This principality was powerful according to contemporary (and local?) standards (even if the author might have exaggerated its status in order to extol his hero's prophetic gift: it is not difficult to predict the fall of a weak ruler).

1.3. The ruler of this state was persecuting Christians.[21]

[18] This is, as I see it, the difference between history and pre-history.

[19] *Vita Methodii* 155.34-156.6. I have normalized the spelling.

[20] Both the forms *vislě* and *vislěx* are found in the manuscripts, the latter being the *Lectio difficilior* (and therefore preferable). The reading *vъ vislě* would have to be translated *in Visla* and interpreted as referring to a town or a stronghold. This is what some scholars do (explicitly or implicitly), when they consider Wiślica in southern Poland as the capital of the "Wiślanie state," the argument being that the former name of the town was *Wisla* (cf. Potkański 1898: 145, Lanckorońska 1961 passim, and see the reservations expressed in the article "Wiślica," in *SSS* 6 [1977]: 491b).

[21] This is the usual interpretation, but it might be useful to analyze the sentence more closely: the meaning of *rǫgati sę* is given by Sadnik-Aitzetmüller 1955 s.v. as "verlachen, verspotten, spielen," i.e., *rǫgaaše sę xristьjanomъ* can be translated as "[the prince]

1.4. Methodius sent a message to him advising him to be baptized and warning about consequences if he did not.

1.5. The consequences predicted by Methodius were subsequently realized:

1.6. The ruler was taken prisoner.

1.7. He was held prisoner in a foreign land.

1.8. He was forced to accept baptism.

2. The text states *implicitly* that:

2.1. Methodius's message contained a protest against the prince's persecution of Christians.[22]

2.2. The prince ignored Methodius's warnings.[22a]

2.3. He was defeated in war (otherwise he would not have been taken prisoner).

2.4. He was defeated by Christians (otherwise he would not have been forced to accept baptism).

laughed at, derided, mocked Christians." The second phrase, however, does not have an expressed direct object. The meaning of the verbal phrase *pakosti dějati* is given by *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* 25 (1973): 6, as "ubližovati, ublížiti, trápiti; pričinjat'; pričinit' uščerb, stradanie; verletzen, plagen; βλάπτειν, ἀδικεῖν, ἐπηρεάζειν, πολεμεῖν, ἐνοχλεῖν, βιάξεσθαι, κολαφίζειν." This may be construed with an explicit or implicit indirect object. A few examples of the latter, e.g., *ne tvori pakosti*, Slepč., might indicate an absolute construction, which could perhaps be translated as "to do evil." Other examples, however, indicate that the indirect object must be supplied, and in our case it can easily be taken from the preceding phrase (*xristьjanomъ*). This is the translation all scholars prefer, and the meaning of *pakostь* (see *Slovník* ibidem) as "poškození, škoda, ukřivdění, křivda; povreždenie, vred, nespravedlivost'; Beschädigung, Schaden, Unrecht; τὸ βλάψαι" seems to speak for it. Another reason for this choice might be that there could be no point in Methodius's being indignant at the prince's evil deeds alone (such as offering to idols, sodomy), since this is what a pagan prince might be supposed to do. The usually accepted reading justifies the usual (implicit) conclusion that Methodius protested against the prince's ill treatment of Christians (see fn. 22). The other reading would strengthen the possibility that Methodius's message contained no protest, but was only an invitation to conversion. In a free paraphrase: "There was an evil-minded pagan prince committing all sorts of abominations. Methodius advised him to abandon his evil ways and to become a Christian (etc.)." This interpretation, of course, makes the presence of Christians in the prince's land less probable, since one can deride people at a distance (but not ill-treat them).

[22] The logical link between the *Posъlavъ* sentence and the preceding one (in its usual interpretation) can only be established, if we interpret the latter as the cause and the former as the effect, i.e., the prince's persecution of Christians caused Methodius to protest (and to advise him to be baptized as a means of suppressing the cause). For a different reading cf. the preceding footnote.

[22a] This results from the analysis of the last sentence as meaning that the prophecy was fulfilled. See below, p. 647.

3. The text states *neither explicitly nor implicitly* that:

3.1. The ruler was a prince of southern Poland (since the Vistula flows through central and northern Poland as well).

3.2. His nation (people, tribe) was called *Wiślanie* or *Uuislane* or anything similar.

The text of the *Vita Methodii* says only that the ruler was a prince residing *vъ Vislě* or *vъ Vislěxъ*. The latter can refer to the upper, middle, or lower Vistula.[23] The *Vita* does not contain the term *Uuislane*.[23a] It does appear in the so-called *Geographus Bavarus*,[24] but this ninth-century source does not localize the tribe while naming it between the *Ungare* and the *Sleenzane*, who may be identified with some certainty as Hungarians and Silesians (Polish *Slęzanie*). Now if we identify Silesians with Silesia and Hungarians with Hungary within their respective frontiers of 1918, then this tallies pretty well with a country situated on the upper Vistula, the Western Galicia of 1918. But at least two other tribes, who most scholars agree lived to the east of the *Sleenzane* in the ninth to tenth century, are mentioned in the *Geographus Bavarus*, albeit subsequently.[24a] This means that the author did not follow a strictly geographical pattern and his description cannot be considered to be as precise as those of modern geographers. The *Uuislane* could have been situated anywhere in the neighborhood of the *Sleenzane*, not only to the east, but also to the northeast, that is, almost anywhere on the course of the Vistula.[25]

[23] For the former, see fn. 20 above.

[23a] *Wiślanie* is a modern Polish reconstruction of *Uuislane*.

[24] "Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii"; see *SSS* 2 (1967): 93-94 (with bibliography) and cf. the photographic reproduction in *Dzieje Polski* 1978: 90.

[24a] *Opolini* and *Golensizi*. See *Dzieje Polski* 1978 : 90, and cf. Widajewicz 1947 : 37 and the map there.

[25] One other source has been invoked for the localization of the *Uuislane*: a passage from King Alfred's (871-901) Old English *Descriptio Germaniae* (cf. *SSS* 6 [1977]: 489 and Widajewicz 1947: 8), which situates its *Wislelond* to the east of the Moravians. Here, too, it would be naïve to demand too much from the Medieval traveller: putting the *Wislelond* to the east of the Moravians can reflect his journey from Moravia through Silesia to the Vistula, but it can also come from second-hand information (attributed by Widajewicz ibid. to Frankish sources) or from imprecise recollections. On the other hand, *Wislelond* is a typically Germanic form (cf. Alfred's *Wislemuða*, as well as modern German *Weichselland*, etc.). It is clearly the name given by Germanic neighbors to a region (not a nation or a tribe) and its meaning can only be "land on the Vistula." It would be imprudent to identify it with any Slavic tribe. *Państwo Wiślan* is a historians' construct (introduced by Widajewicz 1947), and there is no proof in the sources that any Polish principality in the ninth or tenth century was ever called *państwo Wiślan*, *ziemia Wiślan*, or any Old Polish equivalent. The analogy with the name of the Rhineland shows, moreover, that any region on the Vistula or even relatively distant from that river could have been called so. Cf., for instance, "*Rhineland*— in loose political sense used to designate the Prussian province of *Rheinprovinz*, parts of the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau, parts of Hesse, the Bavarian palatinate and most of Baden" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1949 s.v. *Rhineland*), i.e., practically the whole upper, middle, and lower Rhine from Switzerland to the Dutch frontier.

3.3. The text does *not* state explicitly or implicitly what sort of Christians the prince was persecuting, neither does it state that they were his subjects.[25a]

It may be argued that they were Moravian Christians, i.e., Christians belonging under Methodius's jurisdiction (whether Slavs or Germans), since this could have been the only justification for Methodius to intervene on their behalf. If we admit this, then we can conclude that they must have been either merchants or other travellers from Moravia or at most recent immigrants (Moravian Christianity itself being of recent origin). This, however, is only circumstantial evidence.

3.4. The text does *not* state explicitly that Methodius sent a mission or an embassy to the prince.

The literal translation of the relevant phrase (*Posъlavъ kъ ńemu reče*) is: "Having sent to him [i.e., to the prince] he [i.e., Methodius] said." In order to analyze this phrase closely we must consider the exact syntactic presuppositions of *posъlati*. The OCS verb *posъlati*, just like the English verb *to send*, requires a complement (direct object). The direct object can be an animate noun (person) or an inanimate noun, whether concrete (e.g., a gift or letter[26]), or abstract (e.g., a message). The person sent can be a messenger or a set of messengers ("embassy" or "mission") and this always presupposes a message, whether as a letter or by word of mouth.[26a] If we accept the *Vita Methodii* as a trustworthy source (as all contemporary scholars do, even if not always unqualifiedly)[27] and if we read *posъlavъ* as having an implicit direct object, we must admit for that object the least specific meaning possible, i.e., 'message': in other words, the text states implicitly that there was a message, but it does *not* state, explicitly or implicitly, how the message reached the prince. Of course, there *may* have been a messenger, but we are looking for what is certain and not for what is possible.[28]

[25a] See fns. 21 and 22.

[26] Cf. "i posъla kъnigy kъ njemu jako otьče čьstьnyi velьmi tebe želajǫ viděti," *Vita Methodii* 157: 3-4 (= "sent a letter").

[26a] Cf. Birnbaum 1964: 339: "Diese quasi-abhängigen *jako* [recitativum]-Sätze werden gewöhnlich von einem Verbum dicendi regiert [...]. Auch Verba, aus deren Sinn sich der Begriff des Sagens oder Mitteilens (bzw. Mitteilenlassens) ergänzen lässt, begegnen vielfach in dieser Funktion: das gilt insbesondere von *posъlati* in der Bedeutung "(Boten) senden (und sagen lassen)" [fn. 22: Asl. *posъlati* entspricht dabei genau gr. πέμπειν; vgl. F. Tómšić, *Slavistična Revija*, IX (Laibach, 1956. S. 70, 78].

[27] Cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1962 and see fn. 28.

[28] Lehr-Spławiński's supposition (1962: 184) that the warning could have been uttered during a sermon in the church seems excluded by the verbal phrase *posъlav kъ njemu* ('having sent to him'), for a sermon can hardly be considered a message in the ordinary sense of the word, and, as we have seen, sending presupposes a message as a direct object (strictly speaking, Lehr-Spławiński does not *read* the text in a different way, he only supposes that the "words about 'sending' are an embellishment, in a hagiographic style, such as are not lacking elsewhere in the *Legend*." In other words, the question is not one of interpretation, but of how trustworthy the text is).

3.5. The text informs us implicitly that the prince was taken prisoner by Christians. But it does *not* result that these Christians were necessarily Moravians.

There were other Christians in Eastern Central Europe at that time and a pagan prince helping an ally could be fighting anywhere on the frontier between Christendom and the heathen world, far from home (we know, for instance, that in the ninth to eleventh century the Czechs were allies of the Veleti, a tribe situated on the Baltic).[29] The nearest Christians were probably the Moravians, but the Czechs (some of whose princes were baptized as early as 845)[30] were not much more distant, and then there were the Germans and Byzantines. Moravian captivity is possible, of course, but it is *not* the only possibility.

3.6. Also, it does *not* result from the text that the prince ever returned to his country,

3.7. It is *not* said that he ever converted, or tried to convert, his subjects;

3.8. It is *not* said that after the ruler had been taken prisoner his country on the Vistula was conquered (by anybody, let alone the Moravians).[31]

Thus, even if we admit as sure what is only probable (but is not warranted by evidence) that the ruler was a prince of southern Poland (Małopolska) and a prince of the Wiślanie (*Uuislane*) and — what is more uncertain still — that he was taken prisoner by the Moravians, this crucial text does *not* say a word about any baptism of the *Uuislane* or of any other tribe in southern Poland.

Indeed, the implication is quite the opposite. The text informs us indirectly, but in my opinion quite clearly, that the supposed conquest and conversion of the *Uuislane* did not happen. If these two events had occurred, the author of the *Vita Methodii* could hardly have passed over them in silence: it would have been in the "interest" of his hero to mention any such happening and it would have been against the intentions of the text not to.[32] Yet, of course, this is only circumstantial evidence.

[29] Cf. Bulina 1960.

[30] For the conversion of the Czech princes in 845, cf. Graus 1969: 8, fn. 9 (Annales Fuldenses ad annum 845).

[31] This was already stated by Lehr-Spławiński 1954: 184 (he changed his opinion in Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 70sqq.).

[32] Cf. already Lehr-Spławiński 1954: 184-185. If we suppose, hypothetically and rather improbably, that Methodius predicted the defeat and conversion of the prince, but not the conquest and the conversion of his subjects (and that the latter did actually happen) and that the author of the *Vita Methodii* was too scrupulous to ascribe to his hero a prophecy that had not been made, even then it is difficult to believe that he would not

The interpretation proposed by Stanisław Milewski[33] (because the prince had been defeated, he ceased to be the prince of his land; therefore it was no longer his land, but a foreign one, ergo he was baptized in the Wiślanie land) contradicts our common sense principle and cannot, therefore, be considered.

The next point concerns the final phrase of the passage: *ježe i bystъ*. Most scholars have interpreted this as meaning that Methodius's prophecy was fulfilled, i.e., that the second part of the alternative ("be baptized of your own free will" vs. "accept baptism as a prisoner in a foreign land") came true. Of course, the alternative is expressed in such a way that the last sentence ("and so it came to pass") can formally be taken to mean "and he converted himself in order not to be forcibly baptized."[34] Such a reading[35] would, however, contradict the purport of the whole passage, since then there would be no prophecy.[36] I think we may call the usual reading explicit evidence, since it seems to be the only admissible reading within the context.

We can now sum up: the passage from the *Vita Methodii* contains explicit evidence about a pagan prince persecuting some Christians, probably Moravian ones, in a land situated on the Vistula, probably, but not certainly, in southern Poland. It also contains evidence about the baptism of that prince as a prisoner in a foreign land. It contains no

have attributed the conversion of the whole country to the saint's prayers and to his celestial intervention. Let us remember that Methodius was dead by then and therefore such an intercession was, so to speak, technically possible. Cf. "i priloži sǫ kъ otьcemъ svoimъ i patriarxomъ i prorokomъ i apostolomъ, učitelemъ, mǫčenikomъ," *Vita Methodii* 158: 20-21.

[33] Cf. Milewski 1966: 10: "Jak wynika z relacji, książę Wiślan został ochrzczony nie 'z własnej woli na swojej ziemi,' ale został 'przymusem ochrzczony w niewoli na ziemi cudzej.' Gdy Metody wysyłał swych misjonarzy, ziemią księcia był kraj Wiślan. Była to jego ziemia, ale ziemia ta przestała być jego ziemią, a stała się ziemią cudzą. Książę przestał być suwerenem nad Wisłą, a jego ziemia stała się własnością innego władcy, który równocześnie zmusił go do chrztu. [...] Proroctwo Metodego zawiera zatem aluzję do podboju kraju Wiślan przez Swiętopełka."

[34] Cf. Birnbaum 1964: 335 (who puts the phrase *da ne plěnenъ*, etc., under the heading "Heischesätze und Finalsätze").

[35] Considered seriously by Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 68, who concluded, however, that "the other alternative seems more probable."

[36] Instead there would be only the "crumbling house fallacy": according to a Hassidic tale, a tsaddik saw once a disciple entering the shop of a Christian butcher. Being a tsaddik he knew that the young man's intention was to buy pork ham and he exclaimed, full of wrath: "If you don't leave at once, the house will crumble down on your head." The frightened disciple left in a hurry and a miracle happened: the prophecy came true and the house did not collapse.

evidence, however, about the conquest of his country and the baptism of his subjects.

If this be so, then our only contemporary and trustworthy source gives no reason for admitting the presence of a Moravian mission in southern Poland or of any other Christians there, except occasional travellers or merchants.

There are two more hypotheses which, if substantiated, would force us to admit the existence of the Moravian mission in southern Poland. We might call them the Wiching and the Gorazd hypothesis, respectively. The first one[37] assumes that Wiching, a suffragan of Methodius's, was sent to the "country of the Wiślanie" before 885, i.e., before Methodius's death. There is no evidence in the sources, contemporary or later, for that,[38] whereas there is direct contemporary evidence for Wiching's

[37] Widajewicz 1947: 117sqq. and 1948. Cf. *SSS* 6 (1977): 417b, with bibliography. Cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 69-71.

[38] The text invoked by the supporters of this hypothesis is the letter of the Bavarian bishops to the pope (A.D. 900) stating that Wiching had been sent not to the Passau diocese, but "in quandam neophitam gentem, quem ipse dux [Zuentibaldus] bello domuit et ex paganis christianos esse patravit" (*Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*, ed. G. Friedrich [Prague, 1904], 1: 31, cf. Widajewicz 1947: 72). The argument is that Nitra could not be considered a "neophyte nation" in 900, since another contemporary source, the "Conversio Carantanorum et Bagoariorum" (A.D. 871, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores vol. 11 [Hannover, 1859], p. 12; cf. Widajewicz 1947: 73) mentions archbishop Adalram of Salzburg as having consecrated a church "in sua proprietate loco vocato Nitrava." The *terminus post quem non* is 836, the date of Adalram's death. However, the bishops' letter of A.D. 900 is not a very reliable source, for it contains several errors, as Widajewicz (1947: 72-73) himself points out. Unlike the Cretan liar, unreliable sources may sometimes tell the truth. The trouble with them is the same as with untrustworthy witnesses: their testimony can only be accepted if corroborated by independent evidence. In this case evidence exists and cannot be simply brushed aside: this is the Papal Bull of 880, which does *not* corroborate the bishops' letter of A.D. 900, or, at any rate, its "Vistulian" interpretation. Even if we accept that the letter does not speak (implicitly) of Nitra, it does *not* affirm that the recently baptized nation was situated in Poland or that it was identical with the "state of the Wiślanie" (its conversion and its conquest by Svętoplъkъ would first have to be proved). As far as geographic probability is concerned (and probability is not certainty), placing the prince from the *Vita Methodii* on the upper Vistula is more probable than, for instance, situating him on the lower, for the former is nearer to Moravia. From the point of view of probability, southern Poland is the least possible place for Wiching: any territory south of the Carpathians would do better. Widajewicz 1947: 73sqq. devotes several pages to arguing that no other territory except the "państwo Wiślan" can be meant, but his arguments are based chiefly on the silence of the sources. Thus for him the Czechs are out of the question, since the source mentioning the cession of the duchy of Bohemia to Svętopolъkъ in 890 does not speak of war ("Anno 890 Arnulfus rex concessit Zuendiboldo Marahensium Sclavorum regi ducatum Bohemensium [...]," *Reginonis Chronica*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores 1: 601, apud Widajewicz 1947: 74). He somehow overlooks that no source speaks of the conquest of any territory on the Vistula by

being appointed bishop of Nitra (in the southwest of present-day Slovakia) in 880[38a] and for his being an active foe of the Slavonic liturgy.[39] This means that this hypothesis is contradicted by the explicit evidence of contemporary sources, quite independently from the testimony of the *Vita Methodii*.

The second hypothesis[40] assumes that Gorazd, Methodius's disciple and designated successor, fled to the "country of the Wiślanie" after 885 or after the Hungarian invasion of Moravia in 907. There is no evidence for this in the sources, since nothing is known about Gorazd's fate after 885 except that he was imprisoned immediately after Methodius's death.[40a] No contemporary sources mention him fleeing. One slightly later source speaks of Methodius's disciples dispersing in several directions.[41] Fleeing to a Christian country seems a possible though surely not obligatory conclusion from this weak circumstantial evidence,[42] fleeing to a pagan country much less so.[42a]

Svętoplъkъ or of the baptism of the "Uuislane." I think this illustrates pretty well the dangers of accepting as facts only weakly substantiated hypotheses. Cf. also Dąbrowski *1958: 11* and fn. *21*.

[38a] The Papal Bull to Svętoplъkъ of 880; cf. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolarius Regni Bohemiae* 1904, ed. G. Friedrich, 1: 20: "Ipsum quoque presbiterum nomine Uuichinus, quem nobis direxisti, electum episcopum consecravimus sancte ecclesie Nitrensis."

[39] Cf. *SSS* 6 (1977): 417 a and b.

[40] Lanckorońska 1961: 18-20 and 28. Following Lanckorońska's arguments is made no easier by the casualness with which her hypothesis is presented. It starts with the supposition that Poland (presumably southern Poland) belonged to the "Roman-Slavonic Metropolis" which "embraced all those lands which until 907 belonged to the Great Moravia" (Lanckorońska 1961: 28). She herself observes that "it is [...] astonishing that since the death of St. Methodius in 885, nothing more is heard of Gorazd." Her conclusion is that "it is probable that Gorazd, once chosen by the Apostle himself [scil. Methodius] had now, after Wiching was removed [from Moravia to Bavaria, in 893 and not 898], succeeded to the dignity of archbishop held previously by Methodius" (pp. 18-19) and that he fled in 907 to this part of his diocese, which had not been invaded by the Hungarians.

[40a] Cf. Grivec 1960: 153: "Es wäre zu erwarten, da er [scil. Gorazd] als angesehener 'freier Mann des mährischen Landes' (*Vita Methodii* 17) sich irgendwie retten oder nach Böhmen oder Polen fliehen konnte. Doch finden wir davon keine Spuren in den altslavischen Denkmälern."

[41] The Greek Life of St. Clement: οὐκοῦν ἠναγκάσθησαν διὰ τὸ δέος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαιρεθῆναι καὶ δὴ ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ διεσπάρησαν. (*Patrologia Graeca*, 134: 1220, quoted by Lanckorońska 1961: 18). The text should not be taken too literally, for the very next sentence (Lanckorońska ibid.) states that Clement, Naum, and Angelarios remained together until they reached Bulgaria.

[42] Grivec 1960: 154 thinks that Gorazd's flight to Bulgaria "is not improbable," although not attested in any contemporary or reliable later source. His implicit reasoning here, as well as about the possibility of a flight to Bohemia or Poland (see fn. 40a above), seems to take for granted that these were Christian countries (cf. ibid. 140). I was unfortunately unable to consult A. Frinta 1968 "Kdě skončil Gorazd žak Metodějuv?," *Slovacko*, Uherské Hradište (quoted by Swoboda 1979: 415, fn. 21).

[42a] Lanckorońska 1961: 19sqq. invokes one more source, a late fourteenth-century

Both of these hypotheses[43] presuppose that the evidence of the *Vita Methodii* speaks for the conquest and conversion of the "state of the Wiślanie." Yet this is not so, which means that there is neither explicit nor implicit nor even circumstantial evidence for these hypotheses.

Finally there is another class of hypotheses, those which involve texts supposed to prove the existence of both liturgical languages, Old Church Slavonic and Latin, in Poland starting with A.D. 1025. All of them concern a period when the Old Church Slavonic liturgy could just as well have come from Bohemia. If Gallus's twelfth-century description of Chrobry's funeral (A.D. 1025)[43a] or Princess Mathilda's letter to Mieszko II (A.D. 1027)[44] suggests any possibility of the Slavonic liturgy having existed in Gniezno in about 1025, then it is more consistent and hence more appropriate to connect this situation with Bohemia, since the Czech mission to Gniezno in 965/966 is a well-attested fact, as are Poland's uninterrupted contacts with Bohemia from that time until the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the continuous existence of the

Polish-language calendar from Wiślica in southern Poland, destroyed in 1944. According to Zathey 1947, who had seen the calendar during the war and described it from memory, it noted a feast of Saint Gorazd on July 17. A source that cannot be verified can hardly be called reliable. But even if one accepts Zathey's testimony as wholly trustworthy, there is no need to attribute this evidence to a ninth-century cult of Saint Gorazd in Wiślica. July 17 is the date on which Saint Gorazd was worshipped in the Eastern church, so that the late Orthodox influence (of which there are other traces in Wiślica, as Zathey himself pointed out) seems more probable. Cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 45 for more details.

Lanckorońska 1961: 20 thinks that the "Slavonic calendar, from which the fragments discovered by Zathey have been copied, was certainly composed in Wiślica before the separation of the churches [...] that is, in the XIth century at the latest." She does not seem to realize that a Polish text could not be "copied" from the Old Church Slavonic, but had to be translated. Fourteenth-century Polish texts are rare and a fourteenth-century Polish calendar of that time could only be a recent translation from Latin or from Czech. This corresponds pretty well to Szymański's (1963: 46-47) information about a Czech notary being a canon of Wiślica between 1352 and 1368 and to the supposition of Lehr-Spławiński (1961: 45-46) that Saint Gorazd's name could be due to Croatian benedictines established in Prague in 1347. On Lanckorońska's book, consult Szymański's judicious article (Szymański 1963).

[43] Both were put forward in the larger context of looking for predecessors to two hypothetical Cracow bishops of the tenth century, Pro(c)horius and Proculphus. This is not directly relevant to our subject, since there is no evidence of Pro(c)horius's connection with the "Slavic liturgy" and only a slim possibility of his having actually been bishop of Cracow. Cf. Szymański 1970 and Poklewski 1966.

[43a] Cf. Lehr-Spławiński 1961: 59 and *SSS* 3 (1967): 449-51 (with bibliography).

[44] See Lehr-Spławiński 1954: 185. This text could be construed as containing an allusion to prayers in Old Church Slavonic ("Quis in laudem Domini totidem coadunavit linguas? Cum in propria et latina Deum digne venerari posses, in hoc tibi non satis graecam superaddere maluisti"), but it could also mean that some prayers existed there, in the vernacular, such as did in Germany or in Slavonic territories evangelized by German missions.

Slavonic liturgy in Bohemia from 890 until the end of the eleventh century is admitted by most scholars.[45]

The same reasoning can be applied to linguistic arguments. It is well known that a large part of the religious lexicon of Polish coincides with that of Old Church Slavonic.[46] However, almost all these lexical terms can also be found in Czech and in those cases in which the Polish form deviates from the Old Church Slavonic, it corresponds to the Czech, as for instance Polish *błogosławić* 'to bless', corresponding to OCS *blagosloviti*, which is of course a calque of *eulogein* (*eu* = *blago*, *logos* = *slovo* + verbal suffix), but which only in Czech and Polish — that is, beyond the influence of Greek language and civilization — has been remade by contamination with *slava* 'glory' (Czech *blahoslaviti*).[47] Not only Polish lexical terms, but also Polish names of saints whose form coincides with Old Church Slavonic occur in Czech.[48]

Czech influence on Polish goes back in part to the tenth-eleventh centuries but it can also be (and in certain cases can be proved to be) much later. In both instances the coincidence between Polish and Old Church Slavonic only proves Czech origin. In order to establish a direct OCS influence on Polish (and thus the existence of a Moravian mission in southern Poland) it would be necessary to prove the existence in Polish of Old Church Slavonic terms that do not exist in Old Czech and which *could not have existed there*.[49] Since this is impossible, linguistic arguments cannot be used to prove the Moravian hypothesis.[50] To use a metaphor, the Czech glacier has covered the ground so thoroughly that it simply cannot be proved what existed there before.

[45] How far this is justified by direct or indirect evidence is another question. Anyhow, if one does not admit the continuity (i.e., if one assumes that the Slavonic liturgy did not appear in Bohemia before the eleventh century), one cannot argue that it came from Poland, where even indirect evidence is weak and inconclusive, weaker at any rate than in Bohemia. In this case the status of the linguistic evidence is quite different and decisive: whatever the difficulties with direct evidence might be, any hypothesis trying to prove non-continuity would have to find another, and better, explanation for the correspondences between the Czech and the Old Church Slavonic religious lexicon.

[46] The best review is in Havránek 1963: 292-93, 295-96, 305sqq. and 335. Cf. also Mareš 1962: 520-21. A detailed comparison remains to be made.

[47] For another example, see Havránek 1963:335.

[48] The best review is in Karpluk 1978 (1981); cf. the list on p. 596 and the bibliography, fn. 12.

[49] Cf. Havránek 1963: 335, who quotes a few examples from the Polish religious lexicon which are not attested in Old Czech, but were certainly borrowed from it.

[50] This is not to say that linguistic arguments cannot be used as (indirect) historical evidence, for this is a special case of having to choose between two "pretendents." As a matter of fact, attributing those Polish terms to Czech is also indirect evidence, since linguistic borrowing can rarely be proved on the basis of contemporary written sources.

This is also true to a certain extent of archaeological arguments, presuming texts, i.e., inscriptions, are excluded. The enthusiastic reception of the supposed vestiges of Old Church Slavonic in Wiślica in the early 1960s[50a] has since given way to more sober appraisal.[51] Thus we are left with historical texts as the only evidence which is wholly reliable. As long as no archaeological find containing a glagolitic inscription has been made in southern Poland and no new historical source has been discovered, the verdict on the Moravian mission in Poland must be: not proven.

Of course, it cannot be proved, either, that a Moravian mission did *not* exist in Poland, just as it cannot be proved that an Iro-Scottish one did not. But since there is no evidence and no plausible traces of the mission, the problem ceases to be a historical one, at least as far as the history of the ninth century is concerned. Its only continuing interest may be as an instance of the persistence of certain Romantic concepts or of modern myths, whose content has something to do with the psychology and politics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but not with ninth- and tenth-century Poland.

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[50a] Cf., for instance, Kramarek 1963, Wartołowska 1968, and see Szymański 1963: 48-49.

[51] This could be noticed at the Gdańsk conference in 1980 (cf. fn. 1 above), especially in the paper on excavation in Wiślica by Dorota Górna and Joanna Kalaga. Cf., however, Karpluk 1978 (1981): 594-95 for a more optimistic appreciation.

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Kochanowski's Gambit: Kochanowski's *Szachy* and Vida's *Scacchia ludus*

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB

At the very end of his poem *Szachy* (Chess Game) Jan Kochanowski, applying the classical metaphor of literary creation as navigation,[1] stated that he was "taking over" (*przejmował*) from Vida—in other words, that his poem was an adaptation of *Scacchia ludus* by the early sixteenth-century Italian poet, Marco Girolamo Vida.[2]

For a long time, Kochanowski's statement was understood to be a confession that his poem was a sort of a translation of Vida's *Scacchia ludus*. Such an understanding was expressed by, among others, young Mickiewicz, who in his poem *Wąrcaby* (Checkers) addressed Vida as being "so adaptly dressed in Polish garb." Mickiewicz provided his apostrophe with the following footnote: "The *Chess Game* by the Italian poet Vida was translated in an exemplary way by Jan Kochanowski."[3]

Mickiewicz's poem was written in 1819. Seven years later, the learned Cracow historian, bibliographer, and grammarian, Jerzy Samuel Bandkie, published a paper on Kochanowski's *Szachy*.[4] Bandkie was the first to collate the texts of the two poems, and to determine that Kochanowski's dependence on Vida cannot be treated in terms of translation or even adaptation: "There is some translation here, but

[1] See E. R. Curtius, "Nautical Metaphors," in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967), pp. 128-130.

[2] Mnie też czas będzie uchwycić się brzegu
A odpoczynąć nieco sobie z biegu,
Wysiadłszy z morza, gdziem Widę przejmował,
Który po wodach auzońskich żeglował,
Udatnym rymem opisując boje,
Na których miecza nie trzeba ni zbroje (l. 597-602).

I cite *Szachy* after the seventh edition of J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 101-119.

[3] A. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 1, ed. C. Zgorzelski (Wrocław, 1971), p. 79.

[4] J. S. Bandkie, "Rozprawa o 'Szachach' Jana Kochanowskiego," *Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego* 11 (1826): 178-195.

although the subject matter is the same, the contents of the two poems are quite different."[5]

In 1892, the eminent classical philologist, Stanisław Witkowski, tried in a lengthy paper to analyze the degree of Kochanowski's dependence on his Latin model.[6] It turned out that Kochanowski followed Vida in describing the chess figures, their distribution on the board, as well as their moves, and then, up to a certain moment, the story of the ensuing game. Even in this, however, he treated his model quite freely, changing some details and, occasionally, shortening Vida's presentation quite drastically. He parted company with Vida in his frame story. In Vida's poem, the game is played in Ethiopia by two gods, Hermes and Apollo. Kochanowski transferred the action to the royal court of Denmark, where two suitors with East Slavic names, Fiedor and Borzuj, play for the hand of the king's daughter, who herself, by its end, interferes in the game in a discreet but decisive way. Kochanowski's endgame, too, is different from the one we encounter in *Scacchia ludus.*[7] Starting with line 447, the Polish poem, which is more than six hundred lines long, has nothing to do with its Latin counterpart.

Witkowski reprinted in parallel columns all the passages of the two poems having a common content. It seemed that he had exhausted the subject, and that nothing more could be said about it. That is not the case, however, since Witkowski was interested only in comparing the contents of the two poems, whereas a poet trying to adapt a mock-heroic poem like *Scacchia ludus* into the vernacular had to face quite delicate and specific stylistic problems as well. Kochanowski knew and solved these problems in an original and highly interesting way. Thus, the case should be reopened for study.

Scacchia ludus, as well as Vida's another poem, *De bombice*, like *Syphilis* by Girolamo Fracastoro, is, first of all, a didactic poem, a treatise couched in verseform. In the case of *Scacchia ludus* a rather systematic presentation of the rules of the game is given, which are then illustrated by a story narrating the progress of one particular game. For Burckhardt such poems are among the *curiosa* of Renaissance literature. Nevertheless, Burckhardt could not deny that they belong to the Renaissance

[5] Bandkie, "Rozprawa o 'Szachach,'" p. 181.

[6] S. Witkowski, "Stosunek 'Szachów' Kochanowskiego do poematu Vidy 'Scacchia ludus,'" *Rozprawy Wydziału Filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności* 18 (1892): 163-203.

[7] As was proved by Ihor Ševčenko, it is a somewhat simplified version of the so-called "Dilārām problem"; see his "Rozważania nad 'Szachami' Jana Kochanowskiego," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 58, no. 2 (1967): 352-361.

landscape and that even "the most distinguished humanists" were ready to write them.[8]

Mock-heroic style was one possible solution for the problem of how to handle an un-poetic subject matter in a poetic language—a solution especially suitable when the topic treated by the poet was of little importance. By stressing the discrepancy between style and content, the poet indicated that he was well aware of it and that the whole was to be considered a kind of joke.

In the practice of Renaissance Latin poetry, mock-heroic style meant the application of the solemn poetic idiom of Vergil's *Aeneid* to low, trivial subjects. The *Aeneid* was generally considered to be the acme of Latin literature and was thoroughly studied by schoolchildren. Thus, everybody with a modicum of literary culture was familiar with the poem, would recognize a number of locutions from it, and could locate them in their context. A modern Latin mock-heroic poem was sure to be a mockery of the *Aeneid*, and Vida's *Scacchia ludus* was no exception to that rule. In order to enjoy the poem fully, one must keep in mind the humorous use Vida made of Vergil's solemn expressions.

Let us take a closer look at the way this worked in Vida's text:

> Constitit, optataque diu statione potitus
> Letum intentabat pariter regique elephantique,
> Alae qui dextro cornu turritus in auras
> Attolens caput ingenti se mole tenebat.
> Delius ingemuit clauso succurrere regi
> Admonitus: namque indefensum in morte elephantem
> Linquere se videt, atque ambos non posse periclo
> Eripere, et fatis urgeri cernit iniquis.
> Cura prior sed enim est trepidum defendere regem,
> Quem rapit in dextrum latus: at niger emicat ense
> Stricto eques, et magnis elephantem intercipit ausis,
> Damnum ingens: neque enim est saeva post virginis arma.
>
> (235-246)[9]

"In auras attolens caput" (237-38) harks back to "sese attollit in auras" (*Aeneid*, IV, 176) or "se attollens ad auras" (XII, 703). Similarly, Vida's "fatis ... iniquis" (242) reminds one of Vergil's "fatis ... defensus iniquis" (II, 257), or "fatis ingressus iniquis" (III, 17), or "fatis adductus

[8] J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London and New York, 1944), p. 157.

[9] Here and henceforth I am citing Vida's poem after a modern critical edition: M. G. Vida's *Scacchia ludus*, ed. M. A. Di Cesare, Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatica, 13 (Nieuwkoop, 1975).

iniquis" (X, 380), and Vida's "emicat ense" (244) echoes Vergil's "micat aereus ensis" (VII, 743).[10]

It is obvious that phraseological borrowings of this type can be registered by the reader only if the text were written in the same language, namely, in Latin. In Renaissance Poland, as many readers knew the text of the *Aeneid* as anywhere else in Europe, and "my friend Maro," as the poet was called by an old-fashioned squire in *Pan Tadeusz*, was the best-known Latin writer. Nevertheless, in a text written in the vernacular, the peculiar Vergilian stamp of such an expression must have been either lost or only dimly perceived by the reader, all the more so since there was no native tradition of heroic poetry. No wonder that Kochanowski did not try to find Polish equivalents for such expressions. The passage from *Szachy* corresponding to the above-quoted passage from *Scacchia ludus*, nearly half as long, is couched in a much simpler idiom which does not aspire to epic diction:

Stanąwszy, gdzie chciał, otrząsnął się z prochu
  I dał szach Panu o prawego Rochu.
Utraty Borzuj nie mógł się uchronić,
  Obudwu za raz trudno było bronić.
Wziął w prawo Króla, Rycerz natarł Koniem,
  Obalił Rocha i z wieżą, i z słoniem. (199-204)

Mock-heroic stylization also implied much more conspicuous signals, such as extended "Homeric" similes, solemn apostrophes, and rhetorical questions. In these Kochanowski tried to follow Vida quite closely, and thanks to such stylistic devices, the presentation of chess "battles" in the *Szachy* sounds like a mock-heroic poem.

We find in Vida's poem the following "Homeric" simile:

Sicut ubi dextrum taurus certamine cornu
Amisit, dum se adverso fert pectore in hostem,
Saevior in pugnam ruit; armos sanguine, et alte
Colla animosa lavans: gemitu omnis silva remugit.
Talis erat facies caesi post fata elephantis,
Candentis turmae. (256-261)

The corresponding passage in the *Szachy* is a quite faithful rendering of Vida's text:

  Jako gdy w zwadzie wół prawy róg zgubił,
Oślep się miece, a krew z niego pluszczy,

[10] A copious collation of Vida's text with classical Latin poetry, mostly Vergil's, is to be found in another modern edition: M. H. Vidae *Scacchia Ludus*, ed. L. Paletto (Alba, 1964).

Ryk się rozlega wdłuż i wszerz po puszczy,
Tę twarz miał biały po takim popłochu,
Kiedy mu cnego poimano Rochu.[11] (220-224)

The simile in Vida's poem has its prototypes in Vergil. It combines elements from two of the *Aeneid*'s similes:

Mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
Terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat,
Arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
Ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena; (XII, 103-106);

and:

Ac velut ingenti Sila summove Taburno
Cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri
Frontibus incurrunt, pavidi cessere magistri,
Stat pecus omne metu mutum mussantque iuvencae,
Quis nemori inperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur;
Illi inter sese multa vi volnera miscent
Cornuaque obnixi infigunt et sanguine largo
Colla armosque lavant; gemitu nemus omne remugit. (XII, 715-722)

Most probably, numerous sixteenth-century readers of Kochanowski's poem recognized the Vergilian prototype of the simile, and that recognition heightened its mock-heroic flavor. But the artistic function of Kochanowski's trope did not necessarily depend on such a recognition. Even without it, the simile remained a clear signal of the mock-heroic style.

The remaining two solemn, extended similes in *Szachy* (329-334, 373-379) are also modeled on Vida's (345-354, 397-402). In the first, the attacking Queen is compared to a raging storm, and, in keeping with the tenor of the simile, she is ceremoniously called "Pani," meaning "Lady," whereas most often in the poem (82, 100, 213, 245, 256, 286, 301, 306, 391) she is referred to as "Baba," a colloquial appellation for a woman having derogatory undertones. It is a low-key word, and its usage clashes with the heroic stylization of the "battle" scenes; but in old Polish society, so markedly man-oriented, there was something inherently funny in the idea of a woman as a dreaded warrior, and Kochanowski could not resist the humorous effect even if it went counter to the tenor of the context. Obviously, he was making use of the mock-heroic style in a much more perfunctory way than Vida did.

[11] I have corrected an error in Krzyżanowski's edition, where l. 222, has "wzdłuż" instead of the correct "wdłuż."

Vida opened his poem with a long (1-13) mock-solemn invocation to the river nymphs, the Seriades, asking them for inspiration. Since Kochanowski limited his own mock-heroic stylization to the "battle" scenes, he did not try to follow Vida in this respect but started his poem with a matter-of-fact report on the preliminaries of the frame story. He introduced, instead, his own elaborated apostrophe to the Muses, which precedes the account of the chess play between Fiedor and Borzuj, the actual domain of the mock-heroic stylization in his poem (161-170). The particular apostrophe in which the writing of a poem is presented as a navigation is reminiscent of Vergil's similar nautical apostrophe in the *Georgics* (II, 41-46).

Also adapted from Vida's poem (367-385, 372-373) by Kochanowski are two rhetorical questions (345-346, 351-352), the second of which harks back to a rhetorical question in the *Aeneid* (II, 361-362).

As stated earlier, starting with line 447 Kochanowski no longer follows Vida's text, and in the last part of *Szachy* there is no trace of the mock heroic style, not even in the description of the game's dramatic moment, the checkmate. In Vida's poem the event is reported, like others of the game, in an elevated style:

> Ut vero contra exsultantem victus, et exspes
> Constitit invitus, fortunam nacta virago
> Extremam insiliit sedem, totoque minatur
> Limite, nec misero restat locus amplius usquam.
> Tandem illum surgens virgo crudelis in ensem
> Immolat, et finem imposuit sors aspera pugnae,
> Ingenti superum plausu, et clamore secundo. (629-635)

Kochanowski not only has a different checkmate to relate, but tells the story in a different way:

> Tu prózno szukać jakiejś inszej rady,
> Przyjdzie do końca z Rochem patrzyć zwady;
> Folgować darmo, bo tak Króla dusi,
> Że mu rad nierad Król wziąć gardło musi.
> Wtym Drab przyskoczy, Król ustąpi kroku,
> Przypadszy drugi, poimał ji z boku.
> To było tej gry sławnej dokonanie,
> Prawie nad wszytkich ludzi domniemanie. (585-592)

The drama of the unexpected checkmate is brought out by Kochanowski by means of a laconic and very matter-of-fact diction.

Both Vida's divine and Kochanowski's human players have moments of bad temper and altercation. But how differently they are depicted in the two poems. Vida never strays from the dominating stylistic convention of a mock-heroic poem:

Tum, quamquam ambiguae spes sint, incertaque belli
Alea adhuc, tamen, ac si palmae certus, et omne
Discrimen positus sit supra, gaudia ficto
Ore puer Maiae simulat, verbisque superbit
Improbus insultans (astus genus) et sua creber
Vocibus extollens, albae premit arma cohortis.
Quem sic deprensa juvenis Latonius arte
Increpitat, 'Nondum extremam dubia ultima bello
Imposuit fortuna manum, et jam voce superbis.
Proinde mihi insulta, et tumidis reple omnia verbis,
Certa tuum annuerit tibi cum victoria Martem.
Sed jam nulla mora est; tua nunc, nunc irrita faxo
Dicta manu.' Haec fatus, reginam hortatur in hostes. (541-553)

In Kochanowski's poem we move into different stylistic regions where the diction is calm, factual, and even, and where effect is conveyed primarily through irony and wit:

Poszedł na tego Rycerz był człowieka,
  Ale go Fiedor obaczył z daleka;
Uśmiechnąwszy się rzecze: 'Toć nowina!
  A nie tyżeś był wskrzesił Piotrowina?
Nie trzebać świadków trzecioletnych tobie.
  Masz prawo dobre, chowaj tego w grobie!'[12]
Śmiałby się Borzuj, lecz mu nie do śmiechu,
  Nie każe świętych wspominać dla grzechu. (379-386)

Vida refers to his players by paraphrases: Hermes is called "puer Maiae," and Apollo "juvenis Latonius." Throughout his poem Kochanowski always identifies his players only by their first names, as Fiedor and Borzuj.

In general, the narration that relates to the players is characterized by colloquial and proverbial expressions. Nowhere else in Kochanowski's narrative poetry do they appear in such abundance and give the narration such a stamp of low style:

Ledwe tknął palcem, a ten, jako z kusze,[13]
  Porwał Królową wnet za federpusze.
"Stój! — rzecze Borzuj. — *Gorącoś kąpany*,
  Nie tak ci grają, bracie, między pany;
Wróć mi sam Babę, czekaj, aż ja pojdę,
  Bo pewnie z tobą tak *rządu nie dojdę*!"
Więc Fiedor: "Bychwa poprawiać się miała,
  Do sądnego dnia gra by *trwać* musiała;

[12] The allusion is to a legend about Saint Stanislas, who was credited with having resuscitated a man named Piotrowin three years after the man had been buried.
[13] Italics indicates idiomatic expressions with marked colloquial imprint.

Jużeś się dotknął, a w tej grze kto ruszy,
 Wymówki nie masz, z tym się na plac kłuszy!" (241-250)

. . . .

 Czymeś tknął, tym jedź. (258)

. . . .

Na koniec do tej rady się przychylił,
 Aby go był gdzie *przez nogę nachylił.* (263-264)

. . . .

Niemiło stronie, *ale dzień targowy —*
 Patrz każdy swego, a umykaj głowy! (275-276)

. . . .

Cieszą go drudzy, drudzy k'niemu piją,
 A *jemu prawie psi za uchem wyją.* (487-488)

. . . .

Komu Bóg jeszcze nie obiecał śmierci,
 By dobrze skonał, z grobu się wywierci. (523-524)

. . . .

Przeszli na szachy do dawnego stoła,
 Tam (jako mówią) *taż baba, też koła.*[14] (529-530)

. . . .

 "Słuchaj, toć na to, błaźnie, uczyniono." (534)

. . . .

Odpowie Fiedor: "Niechaj pan błaznuje,
 Łacno durować, kiedy przystępuje."
A sam po stole położywszy łokcie,
 Myśli nad szachy, a gryzie paznokcie. (553-556)

. . . .

"Fiedorze, bracie, *sna niedobra sina?*"[15] (564)

In *Szachy* we find elements of a mock-heroic style only in passages dealing with the "wooden army" (*drewniane wojsko*). Any time the players appear, the style gets lower and the language becomes saturated with racy, colloquial expressions. Thus, the poem displays a contrast of two styles, each depicting a different subject. There is no such contrast in *Scacchia ludus*. Thus, although Kochanowski's mock-heroic style is of more limited scope than is Vida's and its texture is of necessity poorer, the Polish poet compensated for those limits by exploring the poetic possibilities of a colloquial language. These were, of course, much more plentiful and much richer in the vernacular than

[14] Obviously a proverb: "jako mówią." It has been overlooked by *Nowa księga przysłów polskich*, while *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 1, s.v. "Baba," mentions the phrase as a proverb and refers only to Kochanowski's text.

[15] The meaning of the expression "Sna niedobra sina" is far from clear. According to Krzyżanowski (*Dzieła polskie*, p. 816), "sina" here means "a blue wound," and the expression refers to the beating of Fiedor. More convincing is K. Nitsch's explanation in his edition of *Szachy* (Lublin, 1923), p. 31, who thinks that "sina," meaning "dark blue," refers to the fact that Fiedor has black chess figures.

in classical Latin. That was Kochanowski's gambit. He toned down the mock-heroic style, treating it rather perfunctorily, but managed to explore, ingeniously and with wit, the new possibilities opened by the vernacular. Hence his poem is not only quite different in style from Vida's, but also richer in texture.

Sixteenth-century literary practice did not require Kochanowski to state that in writing his poem he was following Vida. Even if the subject matter of a poem was taken from a foreign author, the very fact that it was expressed in the poetic idiom of another language sufficed to give it the stamp of originality. In so many of his lyrics, Kochanowski followed Horace, without stating so. Similarily, Mikołaj Rej did not bother to inform his readers that in his *Wizerunk* he was following, in his own idiosyncratic way, the *Zodiacus vitae* by Palingenio. As late as 1788, F.K. Dmochowski could publish his *Sztuka rymotwórcza* without mentioning that it was an adaptation of Boileau's *L'Art poétique*. Until the advent of Romanticism the frontiers between original and adapted or translated poetry comprised a different territory than they do today.

Judging by sixteenth-century standards, Kochanowski's poem, which differed considerably from Vida's not only in content but also in stylistic set-up, was an original work. Why, then, did Kochanowski consider it proper to state he was indebted to Vida?

In order to answer that question, we must realize Vida's position in sixteenth-century European letters. Already in the second quarter of the century Vida was a highly appreciated and internationally known Latin poet. Had the Nobel Prize existed then, he would certainly have been a laureate.

Vida's most ambitious achievement, that to which he owed his fame as a great writer, was *Christias*, an epic poem in six cantos written in Vergilian hexameters. To modern readers, the transposition of the noble simplicity of the Gospels into the poetic idiom of Vergil verges on literary blasphemy. Sixteenth-century readers, however, looked at Vida's epos through different eyes: at long last the life story of the Saviour had found the noblest possible stylistic garb, that of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The poem appeared under the patronage of Pope Leo X. Ariosto and Tasso were enthusiastic about it, and in the next century Milton had only high praise for it.[16] The first edition appeared in Cremona, in 1535, and the next year three more editions were printed, one in Lyons, one in Venice,

[16] See M.A. Di Cesare, *Vida's 'Christiad' and Vergilian Epic* (New York and London, 1964), p. v.

and one in Anvers. By the middle of the century, *Christias* had been published thirteen times.[17]

Even before the appearance of *Christias*, Vida was already a literary celebrity. His renown had rested primarily on two poems. One was a versified treatise in three cantos, *De arte poetica*, which appeared for the first time in Rome in 1527 and was by 1540 reprinted seven times, in Paris, Nürnberg, Basel, Lyons, and Venice. The other one was *Scacchia ludus*. The poem first circulated in manuscript copies, and then a pirated edition appeared in Lyons without year of publication, most probably in 1525 or 1526. The first authorized edition was printed in Rome, in 1527. Until 1566, the latest possible date that the first edition of *Szachy* could have appeared, Vida's poem was available in seventeen editions. In 1544, an Italian translation appeared; the first French translation came out in 1556, the second in 1559. Thus, when Kochanowski visited Paris, sometime at the end of 1558 or beginning of 1559, at least one French version of *Scacchia ludus* was already in circulation.[18]

Poles were familiar with the output of the renowned Latin poet. In 1544, the Cracow printer Vietor published Vida's *De arte poetica*, preceded by a dedicatory letter to Seweryn Boner, a rich Polish dignitary and patron of the arts, who probably defrayed the cost of publication.[19] The letter was written by Severinus Oreander, who was employed in Boner's household as a teacher. Estreicher's bibliography, which refers the reader to earlier bibliographical works by Janocki and Juszyński, does not list any copy of the 1544 edition in a Polish library.[20] It seems that Poles read Vida's *De arte poetica* so avidly that not a single copy has been preserved.

[17] M.A. Di Cesare, *Bibliotheca Vidiana: A Bibliography of Marco Girolamo Vida*, Biblioteca Bibliografica Italica, 39 (Florence, 1974).

[18] Di Cesare, in his bibliography (p. 26), also lists, under the wrong year 1555, Kochanowski's *Szachy* and describes it as an adaptation of the Latin text "greatly amplified." In fact, Kochanowski's poem is more than seventy lines shorter than *Scacchia ludus*.

[19] About Seweryn Boner, see J. Ptaśnik, "Bonerowie," *Rocznik Krakowski* 7 (1905): 56-74 and 91-112.

[20] See Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 32 (Cracow 1938), p. 432. The full title of the Cracow edition of *De arte poetica* is Marci Hieronymi Vidae, Cremonen. Poetae nostra Aetate Elegantissimi, *Poeticorum Libri III. Cum Severini Oreandri Basileen. Epistola ad Magnificum et Illustrem Virum Dominum Severinum Bonerum de Balicze... Omnium Studiosorum Patronum.* Cracovia excudebat Hieronymus Vietor, Anno Christi Salvatoris MDXLIV, XI Kalendas Aprilis. I am citing from M.H. Juszyński, *Dykcyonarz poetów polskich*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1820), p. 25. Di Cesare's bibliography overlooked that particular edition; also, it did not register a reprint of Vida's *Christias* done in Breslau (Wrocław) in the first half of the sixteenth century by Andreas Winkler, about which see G. Bauch in *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, 26 (1911): 103.

In 1566, there appeared in Cracow an *Ecloga* by the Polish Latin poet Samboritanus (Grzegorz z Sambora), with commentaries by the known humanist and religious polemist, Benedykt Herbest. He referred to Vida as "a second Vergil" and mentioned his *Christias* as well as *De arte poetica* and the pastoral poetry.[21] We know as well that a sixteenth-century Cracow Hellenist, Stanisław Grzepski, used Vida's poem as a manual while playing chess.[22]

Thus, Vida must have been as well known and as highly appreciated in Renaissance Poland as he was elsewhere in Europa.[23] Kochanowski had good reason to expect that the *conoscenti* among his readers, those who really counted, would be familiar with *Scacchia ludus*, as well. By mentioning that he was following Vida, Kochanowski was obliging them to compare the two poems. That confrontation would show that in matters of stylistic inventiveness, Kochanowski could measure up, in this particular case, even to the "second Vergil."

Eighty years ago, Aleksander Brückner wrote in a polemical note: "Kochanowski mentioned Vida on purpose, in order that people who knew *Scacchia* could compare his beautiful, interesting work with that colorless original, its mythological commonplaces."[24] The idea, expressed in a casual aside and never substantiated, passed unnoticed in subsequent critical literature. It seems that Brückner was right.

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[21] "Non male etiam successit *Hieronymo Vidae*, alteri nostro saeculo ut nos iudicamus Vergilio, qui in suis Bucolicis Eclogas, in Poëticis Georgica, in Christiadě Aeneida effingens et in Vergilii, Poetarum apud Latinos maximi, vestigiis diligenter insistit." I am citing from J. Fijałek, "Moderniści katoliccy Kościoła Lwowskiego w wieku XVI," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 7 (1908): 41.

[22] See J. Brożek, *Myśli o nauce*, in his *Wybór pism*, ed. H. Barycz, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1956), p. 209.

[23] Later, in the seventeenth century, Vida's *De arte poetica* was referred to several times by M. K. Sarbiewski in his treatise *De perfecta poesi*. Still later, Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, with its extravagant homage to Vida (calling him the leading artist, together with Raphael, of Renaissance Italy under the pontificate of Leon X, as well as a great poet—"next in fame" to Vergil; III, 697-708), was translated into Polish four times, the last in 1822. As late as 1830, Julian Korsak, a friend of Mickiewicz from student days, published *Ulamek z Poetyki Widy o harmonii naśladowczej*, in his *Poezje* (St. Petersburg, 1830), pp. 249-255.

[24] A. Brückner, "Ze studyów nad Kochanowskim," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 3 (1904): 277.

The Two Faces of St. Eupsychius

L. G. WESTERINK

Eupsychius of Caesarea in Cappadocia is a minor saint worshipped by both the Western and the Eastern church,[1] though without much fervor on either side. If he deserves to be introduced to the readers of this Festschrift and its recipient in particular, it is for two reasons. In the first place, his is the not very usual case in which an apparently solid historical tradition exists side by side with the hagiographical flights of fancy usually reserved for entirely unknown martyrs. Secondly, his *Passio*, discovered by Fr. Halkin nearly half a century ago, but to the best of my knowledge published here for the first time, has some interesting literary features, and may preserve a few genuine topographical details.

I. *The historical Eupsychius*. The principal and perhaps the only independent piece of historical information is to be found in Sozomenus's *Church History*, V: 11, 7-8:[2] Λόγος δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μαρτυρίᾳ τὸν βίον μετελθεῖν Βασίλειον πρεσβύτερον τῆς ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ ἐκκλησίας καὶ Εὐψύχιον Καισαρέα Καππαδόκην τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἔναγχος γαμετὴν ἀγαγόμενον καὶ οἷον ἔτι νυμφίον ὄντα. συμβάλλω δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐψύχιον ἀναιρεθῆναι διὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Τύχης, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τότε καθαιρεθέντι, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν εἴρηται, κοινῇ πάντες Καισαρεῖς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς ἐπειράθησαν· οἱ δὲ τῆς καθαιρέσεως αὐτουργοὶ δίκην ἔδοσαν οἱ μὲν θάνατον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πατρίδα φεύγειν καταδικασθέντες. "It is said that at this time were martyred Basilius, a presbyter of the church of Ancyra, and Eupsychius, a nobleman of Caesarea in Cappadocia, newly wed and in a manner of speaking still a bridegroom. As regards Eupsychius, I conjecture that he was executed because of the temple of Tyche, then destroyed, on account of which destruction, as has been

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, April, I: 822-824; ibid., Propylaeum Nov. (= *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*), 23-24; ibid., Propylaeum Dec. (= *Martyrologium Romanum*), 131; 184; Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 117 (= *Menologium Basilii*): 37A-B; 396A-B; Fr. Halkin, *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1936): 175-176; 72 (1954): 15-34; 91 (1973): 414; B. de Gaiffier, ibid., 74 (1956): 5-49 (12-13); the printed *Menaea* under April 9.

[2] Ed. Bidez-Hansen (Berlin, 1960).

said above [V: 4, 2-5], all citizens of Caesarea collectively experienced the emperor's wrath, while those who personally took part in it were punished, some with death, some with banishment."

The time was Julian's reign (361-363). When Sozomenus wrote down his account of it, more than eighty years later, he apparently had no decisive documentary evidence that the two martyrs were in fact among Julian's victims. However, his source did provide some details on Eupsychius's social and marital status which are not part of the legendary tradition; more importantly, we have independent confirmation regarding Basil of Ancyra,[3] to whom the "It is said" equally applies. Sozomenus leaves no doubt that the connection with the affair of the Tyche temple is his own inference; but granting that Eupsychius died in Julian's reign, the inference is almost certainly correct, since Julian did not execute anyone on the ground of his religious beliefs alone.

The only other non-liturgical source is Arethas, metropolitan-archbishop of Caesarea from about 903 until after 932. Contrasting the tolerance of older canonical rules with the later development toward a stricter observance, he says:[4] Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν τινὰς γεγαμηκέναι, ὥσπερ Εὐψύχιος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυς πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ νεογάμῳ τῷ καταστήματι τὸν μαρτυρικὸν ἀναδησάμενος στέφανον; "And did not some even marry after ordination, as for example Eupsychius, the martyr of Christ and presbyter, whose status was that of a newly married man when he received the crown of martyrdom?"

Fr. Halkin[5] thought that a lost *passio* or a local oral tradition was the source of this statement; I have argued elsewhere,[6] on the ground of similar inaccuracies in Arethas, that more probably he drew his information from Sozomenus, confusing in his memory Eupsychius the newly-wed with Basil the presbyter. It would not be surprising to find him so ill-informed about a patron of his own diocese, since the metropolitan of Caesarea, first in rank after the patriarch (πρωτόθρονος), was by tradition an absentee incumbent. In Arethas's case, the only explicit evidence that he ever visited his metropolis at all is a homily on the Edessene confessors, the introductory paragraph of which suggests that he is addressing his own flock.[7]

[3] Cf. *Bibl. hagiogr. Gr.*, nos. 242-243.
[4] Arethae *Scripta minora*, I (Leipzig, 1968), 300.2-5.
[5] *Anal. Boll.* 91 (1973): 414.
[6] *Byzantion* 42 (1972): 200-201.
[7] *Scripta minora* I, 59.4-61.6.

Further, the synaxaria present, under April 9, a basically identical life of Eupsychius with some not uninteresting variants. The recension that may be regarded as coming closest to the original text occurs in the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*: Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Εὐψυχίου τοῦ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας. Οὗτος ὑπάρχων τῆς Καππαδοκῶν χώρας, βίον ἀνεπίληπτον καὶ γνώμην κεκτημένος, γυναῖκα νομίμως ἠγάγετο. ζήλῳ δὲ θείῳ πυρωθεὶς καὶ Χριστιανῶν τοὺς πλείους προσλαβόμενος, καθεῖλεν ἐκ βάθρων τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον τῆς Τύχης, εἰς ὃν πιστεύων ὁ παραβάτης Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ σπονδὰς καθ' ἑκάστην προσφέρων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διεγνώσθη τὸ γενόμενον, σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἰδίων στερηθῆναι καὶ ἐξορίαις καὶ κακώσεσι πολλαῖς παραδοθῆναι· τὸν δὲ μάρτυρα Εὐψύχιον ὡς αἴτιον γενόμενον τοῦ τοιούτου δράματος ξίφει καθυποβληθῆναι καὶ τὸ πέρας τοῦ βίου δέξασθαι. "The contest of the holy martyr Eupsychius of Caesarea in Cappadocia. This saint, an inhabitant of the land of the Cappadocians, a man of blameless conduct and heart, had contracted a legitimate marriage. Inflamed by divine zeal, he rallied around him the majority of Christians and razed to the ground the so-called temple of Tyche, in which Julian the Apostate believed and where he offered daily libations; when the action became known, he gave orders for all Christians to be deprived of their possessions and to be subjected to exile and many kinds of ill-treatment; the martyr Eupsychius, as the initiator of this spectacular deed, was at his command put to the sword and thus terminated his life."

This text, of which the current printed *Menaea* contain a condensed version, may well derive in its entirety from Sozomenus, with a few embellishments added: Eupsychius's exemplary life, and especially Julian's personal presence in Caesarea and his daily visits to the temple.

The other redaction, found in the *Menologium Basilii* (i.e., of Basil II, 976-1025), while syntactically more coherent and in this respect perhaps closer to the original, shows some intentional changes in content: Καὶ ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Εὐψυχίου τοῦ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ. Εὐψύχιος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυς ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ βασιλείας τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τῶν Καππαδοκῶν. ἀνεπίληπτον δὲ βίον καὶ γνώμην κεκτημένος ἁπλοῦν, εἶχε καὶ πόθον πολὺν εἰς Χριστόν. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς εἰδωλολάτρας ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς λεγομένης Τύχης καὶ θύοντας, εἰς ἣν πιστεύων ὁ παραβάτης Ἰουλιανὸς θυσίας καθ' ἑκάστην προσέφερεν, ζήλῳ θείῳ κινηθεὶς καὶ Χριστιανῶν τινῶν προσλαβόμενος, ἀπελθὼν κατέστρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ

συνέτριψεν εἴδωλα. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ παραβάτης ὠργίσθη σφόδρα καὶ ἀποστείλας ἐκράτησεν ἅπαντας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τῶν ἰδίων στερήσας, κακώκεσι ποικίλαις ὑποβαλὼν ἐξώρισε· τὸν δὲ μάρτυρα Εὐψύχιον ὡς αἴτιον γενόμενον τοῦ τοιούτου δράματος πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέκλεισεν εἰς φυλακήν, ἔπειτα τῆς φυλακῆς ἐκβαλὼν καὶ πολλὰ βασανίσας καὶ καταναγκάσας ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ μὴ πείσας ἀπεκεφάλισεν. "Also, the contest of the holy martyr Eupsychius of Caesarea. Eupsychius the martyr of Christ lived in the reign of Julian the apostate, as an inhabitant of the land of the Cappadocians. A man of blameless conduct and simple heart, he also had a strong love of Christ. When he saw the idolaters going to the temple of so-called Tyche and sacrificing, a goddess in whom Julian the apostate believed and to whom he offered sacrifices every day, Eupsychius, moved by divine zeal, took with him some of the Christians, went there, razed it to the ground and shattered the idols that were in it. When the apostate heard this, he was enraged, and sent men to arrest them all. The others he deprived of their possessions and having subjected them to various kinds of ill-treatment he sent them into exile; the martyr Eupsychius, as the initiator of this spectacular deed, he first threw into prison, then, dragging him out of the prison again, he subjected him to many tortures trying to force him to repudiate Christ, and, when he failed to do so, had him beheaded."

In this version, the reference to Eupsychius's marriage is omitted, perhaps because it seemed to be of no interest after the loss, in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, of the tragic detail of his recent wedding; the additional elements of imprisonment, torture and refusal to abjure the faith are no doubt prompted by the desire to turn an agitator into a genuine martyr.

II. *The legendary Eupsychius.* Manuscript 254 of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, a menology for the month of April, contains (under the same date, April 9) a totally different legend of Eupsychius, here identified as a martyr in the reign of Hadrian. The manuscript has been described by Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, I (1937): 611-614, and Fr. Halkin, *Anal. Boll.* 72 (1954): 15-34. The Passio Eupsychii, first signalized by Halkin in *Anal. Boll.* 54 (1936): 176, is printed at the end of this article; an outline of its content follows here.

Preface. "It is only in obedience to your wish, Most Reverend Father, that I have ventured into the subject of history, by writing this prologue to the martyr's story. Let your prayers protect my soul, as those of Moses protected Israel. I shall now proceed to the narrative itself."

The Passio. Eupsychius, son of the Cappadocarch Dionysius, lives alone in the paternal mansion. In Rome, the emperor Hadrian confers the dignity of Cappadocarch on one Sapricius, who after receiving his credentials travels to Caesarea, where he is welcomed by the senate. Only Eupsychius stays at home praying, for after his father's death he had rejected the idols and been baptized by the bishop Agricolaus.

Denounced by enemies, he is arrested and led before the Cappadocarch in the praetorium. At his request, his accusers are summoned to appear, and he gives each of them two gold coins (?) as a reward.

Because of this, he is locked in a cell. An angel appears to encourage him. In the morning he gives orders for all his wealth to be brought to him and distributes it among the poor.

After a lapse of time the Cappadocarch has him transferred to the temple of Serapis for a sacrificial meal attended by the entire senate. As Eupsychius refuses to participate, he is taken to the "sunny porch" for an interrogation. He denounces the magistrate's gods (Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite) as blind and deaf idols.

After a cruel beating he is returned to the prison, singing psalms. The Saviour appears to him in his sleep and promises him the crown of glory. He continues singing until daybreak.

In the morning another court session is held in the sunny porch called Plakion on account of the winter cold. For his disrespectful answers Eupsychius is condemned to be flogged.

During the flogging he prays God to send his healing angel. In response to this prayer, the torturers suddenly turn against one another, scratching out each other's eyes. Baffled and frustrated, the magistrate signs the death sentence.

On the place of the execution Eupsychius is given time for a last prayer, in which he asks for his city to be preserved from idolatry, for his soul to find rest, and for his relics to be given miraculous powers against temptation, diabolic possession, human hostility, crop failure, and hail storms.

Kneeling down, he receives the fatal blow. Water and milk spring from the wound. Devout men bury his body in a villa, where many healing miracles now occur. The date was April 9.

The author of the preface seems to be a monk or cleric, its addressee may be his abbot or bishop, the most obvious guess being of course a metropolitan of Caesarea. This introductory paragraph represents an unsuccessful attempt at writing in the higher literary style: though the unknown person who composed it had collected quite a number of unusual words and phrases, he did not know how to handle them, and the result is a jumble of mixed metaphors and confused syntax. The *Passio* itself, on the contrary, is written in a very simple and straightforward language, faultless on the whole by the standard of Biblical Greek; hypercorrect ἐν for εἰς is frequent and half a dozen Latin words occur (κωδίκελλοι, προτήκτωρ, πραιτώριον, κουβούκλιον, ἀρμεντά-

ριον,[8] κυεστιονάριος). It may be considerably older than the preface, whose author claims only those few lines as his own; though he may have touched up the original text a little, he left no traces of his personal style.

Nicetas the Paphlagonian cannot possibly be regarded as the author of either part, for his Greek is more fluent than that of the preface and more sophisticated than that of the *Passio*. Ehrhard, who made the suggestion (very tentatively), had nothing but the *incipit* to go by; if he had been able to read the text itself, he would never have made it.

The *Passio* itself was put together, without much imagination, from all the commonplaces of hagiographical fiction: high social rank, sudden and resolute conversion, provocative frankness in court, appearances of angels or of Christ himself during imprisonment, torturers struck with blindness, final prayer predicting cult, burial in a villa, healing miracles.[9]

How much truth, relevant or irrelevant, may have been stirred into the mixture, is another question.

Unless modern scholarship is totally mistaken, the author must have misunderstood the meaning of the title of Cappadocarch. A great deal has been written on the subject of this type of formation:[10] the name of a province plus the ending -άρχης, in the first place Asiarch, then also Lyciarch, Pamphyliarch, Armeniarch, Bithyniarch, Syriarch, Cilicarch, Galatarch, Pontarch, Libyarch. Most of the evidence favors the assumption that in Roman times these men were priests, probably of the imperial cult. Others have taken them to be local delegates, or simply rich benefactors; in no case is there reason to regard them as provincial governors with extensive judicial powers. The title must therefore have been extinct at the time of writing, and the author can have had no clear idea as to what it stood for. The name Sapricius is found among the correspondents of Libanius and of Symmachus (second half of the fourth century) and in a law of Theodosius II (A.D. 415).[11] The *Synodicon Vetus*,[12] ch. 31, mentions a bishop Agricolaus of Caesarea in Cappadocia as presiding over the synod of Ancyra in the year 314 jointly with

[8] If this is a Latin word, and not a mongrelized form of its synonym ἑρμητάριον.

[9] Cf. H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1966), pp. 171-226.

[10] D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1950), 1: 449-50; 2: 1298-1301; J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich and Berlin, 1965), pp. 41-55.

[11] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumwissenschaft* (= *RE*) IA 2385 (Seeck); J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 977.

[12] Ed. Duffy-Parker (Washington, 1979).

Marcellus of Ancyra; this text, or a related one, may well have determined the hagiographer's choice of a name for the bishop who baptized Eupsychius. Or again, all these names have been gathered at random from other legends.

The nature of the question changes when we come to the topography of Caesarea, past or contemporary. If the author of the *Passio* was a local priest or monk, there is no reason why his data on this point should not be authentic, or, as far as they relate to a past situation, represent a local tradition. The gods to whom the Cappadocarch orders Eupsychius to sacrifice are Zeus, Apollo, and Aphrodite; from Sozomenus V 4 we learn that besides the temple of Tyche the city's principal sanctuaries were those of Zeus πολιοῦχος and Apollo πατρῷος, both already destroyed before the reign of Julian. To test his willingness to participate in a pagan festival, Eupsychius is taken to the temple of Serapis, whose cult in Caesarea is attested by coins.[13] One only wonders how long the memory of buildings no longer there could last without written documentation. On the other hand, the praetorium, the sunny porch called Plakion and the shrine in a villa (or suburb?),[14] where the miracles happened, may be real local landmarks, still existing at the time of the original *Passio*.

The same legend occurs, in an abridged form, in the synaxaria under Sept. 7. In the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* it appears as follows: Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Εὐψυχίου. Ὅς γέννημα καὶ θρέμμα ὑπῆρχεν τῆς Καισαρέων πόλεως, υἱὸς Διονυσίου συγκλητικοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως, βαπτισάμενος καὶ διαβληθεὶς παρά τινων ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι, παραδοθεὶς Σαπρικίῳ τῷ Καππαδοκῶν ἄρχοντι καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν ἐμβληθείς, παρὰ δὲ τῶν φυλάκων παραχωρηθεὶς ἐξῆλθεν· καὶ πωλήσας πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κατηγόρους δώροις πολλοῖς ἀντημείψατο, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς πένησι διανείμας καὶ εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ὑποστρέψας καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τῷ ἄρχοντι παραστὰς τανύεται καὶ δεινῶς ξέεται τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ αὖθις φρουρεῖται. εἶτα ἀγγέλου ἐπιστασίᾳ θάρσους ἐμπίπλαται καὶ ἀναρρώννυται· καὶ πάλιν ἀναρτᾶται καὶ ξέεται σφοδρῶς, ὥστε τὰ σπλάγχνα

[13] Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* III 1289.58-59 (Ruge).

[14] See Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. προάστειον. Deferrari, in the Loeb edition of Basil's *Letters*, II: 185, fn. 1 and 345, fn. 2, says that a church dedicated to Eupsychius was erected on the site of the temple of Tyche, but he does not cite his source and I have been unable to identify it. He is certainly wrong when he adds that Ep. 252 is an invitation to attend the dedication of this church.

αὐτοῦ προὖπτον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται. καὶ αὐτίκα ἀντὶ αἵματος γάλα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐρρύη, ξένον τοῦτο θέαμα τοῖς πᾶσι φανέν. "On the same day, the contest of the holy martyr Eupsychius. He was born and bred in the city of Caesarea, the son of Dionysius the senator. After his father's death, in the days of Hadrian, emperor of the Romans, he received baptism, was denounced by certain individuals as a Christian, handed over to Sapricius the magistrate of the Cappadocians and cast in prison; with the permission of the jailers he left the prison, sold all his belongings and first rewarded his accusers with generous gifts, then distributed the remainder among the poor; having returned to the prison, he appeared, after some days, before the magistrate, was put to the rack, his sides were cruelly flogged, and he was remanded to prison. Then an angel's appearance filled him with confidence and strengthened him; once more he was hung on the rack and severely scourged so that his inner organs were exposed; finally he was beheaded. Forthwith instead of blood, milk and water flowed, a strange sight for all to see."

This account differs from our *passio* in Eupsychius's temporary release, during which he disposes of his worldly goods; in this respect, as well as occasionally in the wording, the *Menologium Basilii* agrees with the *Synaxarium*, while for the rest they differ not inconsiderably, so that both would seem to be independent summaries of a somewhat longer synaxarium text. The *Menologium* has the following version: Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Εὐψυχίου. Εὐψύχιος ὁ μάρτυς ὑπῆρχεν ἀπὸ Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκίας, ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν βαπτίζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Καισαρείας· εἶτα διαβληθεὶς παρά τινων ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστιν, ἐκρατήθη παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Καισαρείας ἄρχοντος καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν ἐνεβλήθη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελθὼν τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ πωλήσας τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν δέδωκεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς κατηγόροις ὡς προξένοις γενομένοις αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, ἔπειτα τὰ λοιπὰ εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς διεσκόρπισε καὶ διένειμεν. καὶ πάλιν κρατηθεὶς παρέστη τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ κατηναγκάζετο θύειν τοῖς εἰδώλοις· καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς πρῶτον μὲν κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου καὶ ξέεται ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἕως ἐφάνη πάντα τὰ ἔνδον τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ, εἶτα ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἀποβιβασθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους πληγεὶς ἐτελειώθη, παραδοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ κυρίῳ. "The contest of the holy martyr Eupsychius. The martyr Eupsychius was from Caesarea in Cappadocia, in the days of Hadrian, emperor of the Romans. After his father's death he was baptized by the bishop of Caesarea; then, denounced by certain individuals as a Christian, he was arrested by the magistrate of Caesarea and cast

in prison. Later, he left the prison, sold his belongings and first gave some of the proceeds to his accusers because he owed to them the gift of the kingdom of heaven, then he scattered and distributed the remainder among the poor. Arrested again, he appeared before the magistrate and was pressed to sacrifice to the idols. When he refused to comply, he was first hung on a pole and flogged until all his inner organs were visible. Then, taken down from the pole, he died by the sword, committing his spirit to the Lord."

Finally, the office of St. Eupsychius in the *Menaea* (under April 9) comprises a canon by Joseph the hymnographer (ca. 816-886)[15] with the acrostich Τοὺς Εὐψυχίου εὐψύχως ᾄδω πόνους, Ἰωσήφ. The poem closely follows the *Passio*, of which all the principal themes are alluded to, whereas there is no mention of Julian or the temple of Tyche. This gives us at least a firm *terminus ante quem*, unfortunately not much anterior to the *Menologium Basilii* and a great deal later than the probable date of the *Passio*.

III. *The real Eupsychius*. Assuming the two different accounts to be both essentially correct, Baronius concluded that there must have been two saints of the same name. This view is still held in some Greek reference works.[16] Even discarding every single detail of the *Passio*, except the name and the dates, one could nevertheless accept it as possibly true, but for three important facts. First, names of this type (derived from an adjective, preferably composite, by means of the ending -ιος, e.g., Εὐσέβιος, Πολυχρόνιος, Χρυσάνθιος) did not become really fashionable until the fourth century. Second, two distinct personalities would require two distinct liturgical dates, and though two dates are involved, they do not correspond to the two different accounts: while the synaxaria list the "historical" Eupsychius under April 9 and the "legendary" one under Sept. 7, the Patmos *Passio* gives April 9 as the latter's death date, while the canon by Joseph strangely enough appears side by side with the synaxarion entry on the other Eupsychius, also under April 9. Third, St. Basil evidently knows only one martyr of the name.

There are no fewer than four mentions of Eupsychius in Basil's correspondence (Epp. 100, 142, 200 and 252, written in the years 372-376) plus one in a letter to him by Gregory of Nazianzus (Ep. 58, of the

[15] H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 601-602.

[16] E.g., Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, V 1141 (following Eustratiades, Ἁγιολόγιον).

year 372/373). This testimony is of paramount importance, since Basil had returned to Caesarea to become a presbyter almost immediately after Julian's death (ca. 364; he became bishop in 370). One could only wish it were a little more explicit. As for the date, Basil specifies that in his time it fell on Sept. 7 (Ep. 100); in Ep. 252, the feast is said to be that of Eupsychius, Damas, and companions,[17] in the other cases only Eupsychius is mentioned. No further information of any kind is given, though on the ground of some indirect evidence it may be argued that Basil is referring to a contemporary martyr. There is, to begin with, the insistence with which he tries to promote the cult; there might be two reasons for this, either the wish to enhance the prestige of his see, or (more probably) the introduction of a new saint. Further, the name is clearly not familiar to his correspondents in other provinces, since he takes the trouble of spelling it out each time, rather than using such expressions as "the martyr" or "the saint," usual in cases of already familiar cults. Lastly, while meetings in the saint's honor are mentioned repeatedly, there is no reference to a church, possibly because none existed as yet.

Thus, the evidence as a whole is strongly in favor of the historical Eupsychius, a conclusion arrived at long ago by Delehaye, Gaiffier, and Halkin. Yet in the liturgical tradition, the legend may well have priority, since there is little likelihood that it could have supplanted a well-established historical account. The hypothesis that fits the facts best may be that initially (during a period long enough to cause the historical events to be forgotten) the office contained only a name and a prayer, and that the lacking factual information was eventually supplied by the prototype of our *Passio*. The entries in the synaxaria under April 9, taken from Sozomenus, would then represent a third and last stage.

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[17] In the notes to the *Martyrologium Romanum* (p. 131) it is suggested that April 9 is the real date of the martyrdom, Sept. 7 that of a collective celebration.

Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Εὐψυχίου 83r

Τὸ φιλομαθὲς καὶ σπουδαῖον ἰδόμενος τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης, πάτερ τιμιώτατε, αἰδοῖ τε καὶ πειθῷ εἴκων στενωπῷ τινι τῇ παρεισδύσει τῆς ἱστορίας ἐμαυτὸν ἐπαφῆκα, τόνδε τὸν πρόλογον τῆς ἀθλήσεως τῆς τοῦ μάρτυρος πραγματείας συγγράψας, καὶ πολὺ μεῖζον ἢ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἔργον ἀνεδεξάμην | [83v] δέει τῆς παρακοῆς. ἔγνων γὰρ ἐν Παροιμίαις τὸ λαλούμενον, ὅτι δὴ "υἱὸς ἀνήκοος ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ ἔσται," ὁ δὲ ὑπήκοος ἔσται ταύτης ἐκτός. ἀλλά γε δὴ τὰς εὐχάς μοι τὰς σὰς ἐπίδος, καὶ πηδαλίων τρόπῳ πτερώσας τῇδε κἀκεῖσε ἔκτεινον πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καθάπερ τότε Μωϋσῆς ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας ἐξεπέτασεν ἐπαμύνων ποτὲ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, ἵνα δὴ κἀγὼ τὰς τῶν ἀερίων πνευμάτων ἐπαναστάσεις εἰς εὔδιον καθορμίσω λιμένα. ἀρχόμενος τοίνυν τῆς λέξεως ὧδέ πως ἀληθείας ὡς ἔχει διηγήσομαι.

Οὗτος ὁ Εὐψύχιος ἦν υἱὸς Καππαδοκάρχου τινός, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Διονύσιος· τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἦν ὁ Εὐψύχιος μόνος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. βασιλεύοντος δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ τις ὀνόματι Σαπρίκιος λαβεῖν τὴν τάξιν τῆς Καππαδοκαρχίας· λαβόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοὺς κωδικέλλους ἦλθεν ἐν τῇ πόλει Καισαρείᾳ, καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἀπῄει πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς συντυχίας αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Εὐψύχιος ἦν προσευχόμενος τῷ θεῷ· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προσῆλθεν ὁ Εὐψύχιος Ἀγρικολάῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἐδεήθη λέγων αὐτῷ, "Ῥῦσαί με ἐκ τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων." καὶ γνοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὅτι θερμῶς προσῆλθεν τῷ θεῷ ἔλαβεν καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· καὶ κατηχηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διῆγεν εὐλογῶν τὸν θεόν.

Καί τινες φθόνῳ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Καππαδοκάρχῃ λέγοντες | [84r] ὅτι "Ἰδού ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν τις συγκλητικὸς ὀνόματι Εὐψύχιος, ὅστις οὐ ποιεῖ τὰ θελήματα τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ προσεύχεται τῷ ἐσταυρωμένῳ. κελεύει οὖν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία προσκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ σὸν μέγεθος, καὶ γνώσει τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ." καὶ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν προτήκτορας ὥστε αὐτὸν παραστῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἱ προτήκτορες εἶπαν αὐτῷ καθὰ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀπῄει ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἔστη. λέγει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης· "Εὐψύχιε, ἰδοὺ ἤκουσα παρά τινων ὅτι οὐ σέβῃ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ θυσίαν αὐτοῖς προσάγεις, ἀλλὰ προσκυνεῖς τῷ ἐσταυρωμένῳ." ὁ δὲ Εὐψύχιος ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον περιχαρὴς γενόμενος εἶπεν· "Κελεύσει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία παραστῆναι τοὺς κατηγόρους." ἐλθόντων δὲ πάντων ἔδωκεν ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν ὁ Εὐψύχιος †πρόσσυρας† δύο λέγων ὅτι "Δι᾽ ὑμῶν ἀπολαμβάνω τὸν στέφανον παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου."

Τότε ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ γνοὺς τί ἐποίησεν τοῖς κατηγόροις ἐθυμώθη λίαν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀποτεθῆναι ἐν

3 αἴδοι *P* | πιθω *P* || *6-7* Prov. 13.1 || *6* δὴ] δι *P* || *7* ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε? || *8* τρόπων *P* || *9-10* Exod. 17.8-13 || *11* ἐπαναστάσεις < ἐκφυγὼν > ? || *13* οὗτως *P* || *17* ἀπείη *P* || *19* ἀγρηκολάω *P* || *27* perh. κελεύσει, cf. l. 35 || *29* προτίκτορας (but *30* -ή-) *P* || *31* ἀπείη *P* | πραιτορίω *P* || *36* perh. ὄβρυζα (or an unattested alternative form, e.g., ὄπρυσσα, cf. Latin *obrussa*?) or ὑπέρπυρα

κουβουκλίῳ τινί. διανυκτερεύοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κουβουκλίῳ παρίσταται αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου λέγων· "Θάρσει, Εὐψύχιε, ὁ γὰρ στέφανός σου ἡτοίμασται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· βλέπε οὖν μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ τοῦ θεοῦ σου." πρωΐας δὲ γενομένης μετεκαλέσατο τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "Ἀπελθὼν κόμισόν μοι πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν ἐνταῦθα." καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ ἐπιτεταγμένος καθὼς διετάξατο ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤνεγκεν πᾶσαν τὴν | οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· ὁ 84v δὲ μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ διέδωκεν τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος σφόδρα.

Διάγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κουβουκλίῳ καὶ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν ἱκανῶν μετεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπήει ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Σεράπη, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκλητον παραγενέσθαι πρὸς εὐωχίαν τῶν θεῶν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς. τοῦ δὲ Εὐψυχίου μὴ θελήσαντος προσενέγκαι θυσίαν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις, θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπήει ἐν τῷ θερμοπεριπάτῳ πρὸς ἐξέτασιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσεν παραστῆναι τὸν Εὐψύχιον· καὶ λέγει ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης· "Πόθεν τυγχάνεις καὶ τί τὸ ὄνομά σου;" ὁ δὲ Εὐψύχιος λέγει· "Ἐγὼ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης εἰμί, υἱὸς Διονυσίου Καππαδοκάρχου." καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης· "Καὶ τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς υἱὸς ὑπάρχων διὰ τί οὐ φρονεῖς καὶ τὰς εὐμενεῖς θυσίας προσφέρεις τοῖς θεοῖς;" ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Εὐψύχιος εἶπεν· "Ποίοις θεοῖς ἀναγκάζεις με θῦσαι;" ὁ δὲ λέγει· "Τῷ Διὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ." λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἅγιος Εὐψύχιος· "Οὗτοι οὓς σέβεις οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί, ἀλλ᾿ εἴδωλα κωφά. λέγει γὰρ ὁ ὑμνῳδὸς Δαυίδ· 'Τὰ εἴδωλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων· στόμα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσιν, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐχ ὄψονται, ὦτα ἔχουσιν | καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσονται, ῥῖνας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ὀσφρανθήσονται, χεῖρας 85r ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ ψηλαφήσουσιν, οὐ φωνήσουσιν ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν· ὅμοιοι αὐτῶν γένοιντο οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς.'"

Καὶ θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀποταθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις καὶ σπαθίζεσθαι αὐτὸν εὐτόνως, λέγων· "Μὴ ὕβριζε τοὺς μεγίστους θεοὺς καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα βασιλέα καὶ τὰς καθεξῆς ἐξουσίας." ὁ δὲ ὄντως ἀγωνιστὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὄμμα ἔχων εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔλεγεν· "Υἱὲ θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ μὴ συναπολέσῃς με σὺν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ ἀνοήτοις εἰδωλολάτραις καὶ ταῖς ἀνομίαις αὐτῶν." ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς ἔγνω τὴν ἀμετάθετον ἔννοιαν τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ὅπως σκέψηται περὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν ἀπολέσῃ. ἀπαγόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἔψαλλεν τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγων· "Μὴ ἐγκαταλείπῃς με, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, μὴ ἀποστῇς ἀπ᾿ ἐμοῦ· πρόσσχες εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου, κύριε τῆς σωτηρίας μου." καὶ τελέσας τὸν ψαλμὸν εἰσήχθη ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ· καὶ πάλιν ἤρξατο ψάλλειν τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον· "Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλισθήσεται· ἐρεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ καταφυγή μου, ὁ θεός μου, ἐλπιῶ ἐπ᾿ αὐτόν." καὶ πληρώσας τὴν εὐχὴν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀθυμίας ὕπνωσεν. καὶ παρίσταται αὐτῷ ὁ σωτὴρ λέγων· "Δεῦρο, ὁ παῖς μου, τὸ ἔργον τὴν πίστιν ἐτήρησας· λοιπὸν ἀπολάμβανε τὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεώς σου

49, 54 ἀπείη *P* || *54* θερμωπεριπατῶν *P* || *62-67* Ps. 113. 12-16 || *64* ουχόψονται *P* || *76-78* Ps. 37.22-23 || *77* πρόσχες *P* || *79-81* Ps. 90.1-2 || *82* εὐθυμίας? || *82-84* cf. 2 Tim. 4.7-8 || *83* ἔργον <ἐτέλεσας>?

βραβεῖον." καὶ ἀνῆλθεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς μετὰ τῶν | ἁγίων ἀγγέλων 85v αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ μάρτυς ἔξυπνος γενόμενος καὶ μνησθεὶς τῶν λόγων τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς ἐπιστασίας αὐτοῦ ἔχαιρεν σφόδρα καὶ ἔψαλλεν λέγων· "Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν, λέγω ἐγὼ τὰ ἔργα μου τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἡ γλῶσσά μου κάλαμος γραμματέως ὀξυγράφου· ὡραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων," καὶ καθεξῆς ἐστιχολόγει ἕως ὄρθρου.

Πρωΐας δὲ γενομένης ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Καππαδοκάρχης στρωθῆναι τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ θερμοπεριπάτῳ τῷ ἐπιλεγομένῳ Πλακίῳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος δριμύτητα πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν παραστῆναι· οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι σχηματίσαντες αὐτὸν ἤγαγον ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν. καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ ἐπιτεταγμένος τὰς δίκας λέγει· "Ἕστηκεν πρὸ τοῦ βήματός σου Εὐψύχιος." καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν λέγει· "Οὐκ ἐτράπη σου τὸ κακὸν φρόνημα καὶ ἤνεγκέν σε εἰς εὐθεῖαν, ἵνα θύσῃς τοῖς θεοῖς; ἢ ἔτι ἐμμένεις τῇ μανίᾳ σου, καὶ καθὼς θέλεις ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς;" ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Εὐψύχιος λέγει· "Οὐκ ἐμάνην, ἀνόητε, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ μανίας πολλῆς κατέστην καὶ οὐκ ἀπόλωμαι." ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· "Καὶ ἐτόλμησας τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα ἀνόητον καλέσαι; μὰ τοὺς μεγίστους θεούς, βασάνοις πικραῖς ἀναλώσω τὸ σῶμα." καὶ κελεύει κρεμασθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἀρμενταρίῳ καὶ ξέεσθαι εὐτόνως.

Ξεομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὁ ἅγιος· "Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ φοβερὸν ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν, ὁ πυρσεύσας ἥλιον, ὁ τὸν κόσμον ὁροθετήσας, ὁ παντὸς στοιχείου εὑρετής, καὶ τροφεὺς ἀνθρώπων | καὶ κτηνῶν 86r καὶ πετεινῶν, καὶ νῦν ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ πέμψον τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰαμάτων καὶ ἅψεταί μου τῶν μελῶν, ὅτι πολὺ ἐκλείπω." ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐξέσθη, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔνδον τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ ἔξωθεν φαίνεσθαι. καὶ τελειώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐστράφησαν ἄφνω οἱ δήμιοι καὶ ἀλλήλων τὰς ὄψεις διεσπάραξαν. καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ ἄνομος τὸ γεγονὸς εἶπεν· "Μὰ τοὺς μεγίστους θεούς, νενίκημαι ὑπὸ Εὐψυχίου." καὶ καθίσας γράφει κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπόφασιν λέγων· "Εὐψύχιος ἀπειθήσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐνυβρίσας, ἐμοῦ δὲ καταφρονήσας καὶ διὰ τῆς μαγείας αὐτοῦ νικήσας τὴν φρόνησίν μου, οὗτος τῷ ξίφει παραδοθήσεται."

Λαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀπόφασιν χαίρων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, καὶ λέγει τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτόν· "Μείνατε μικρόν, ἵνα προσεύξομαι." καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· "Πρόσευξαι ὡς ἂν βούλῃ." καὶ σταθεὶς ὁ ἀθλητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς προσηύξατο λέγων· "Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς πάσης πνοῆς, ἐπάκουσόν μου δεομένου σου καὶ παράσχου μοι τὸ αἴτημά μου· καὶ διαφύλαξον ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μὴ ἔστω ἐν αὐτῇ κνῖσα εἰδώλων μήτε πλάνη τοῦ διαβόλου, ἀλλὰ κατασφάλισαι αὐτὴν διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀγγέλων, καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν δοῦλόν σου φύλαξον καὶ ἀνάπαυσον τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. ** λάβῃ δὲ βραχύ τι τοῦ κρασπέδου τῶν ἱματίων μου ἢ τοῦ σώματός μου, καὶ μνείαν μου ἐπιτελῶν οὐ διαλείψῃ, μὴ ἔστω ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ διαβολικὴ πεῖρα μήτε θλίψεις μήτε ὄχλησις πνευμάτων μήτε ἐνέργεια

86-89 Ps. 44.2-3 || *94* αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ? || *97* καθὼς <ἔζησας>? || *98* ἀπόλλωμαι *P* || *106* τὸν[2]] τῶν *P* || *113* οὗτως *P* || *122-123* Luc. 16.22 || *123* e.g. <ὃς ἂν> λάβῃ || *125* ἐνεργεῖα *P*

ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν μήτε σπερμάτων ἀφορία τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς | μήτε 86v χάλαζα· ἀλλὰ δός, κύριε, πλοῦτον καὶ χάριν τοῖς ποιοῦσιν τὴν μνείαν μου, καὶ ἀπελασθήτω ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν πᾶν πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, καὶ ἔλθοι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον. ναί, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐπάκουσόν μου."

Καὶ πληρώσας τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ ποιήσας τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγῖδα, κλίνας τὸ γόνυ λέγει τῷ κυεστιοναρίῳ· "Ποίει τὸ προσταχθέν σοι ἐν τάχει, ὅτι περιμένει με ὁ στέφανος τῆς ἀθλήσεως." τμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ γάλα. καὶ ἐλθόντες ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἦραν τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ ἀπέθεντο αὐτὸ ἐν προαστείῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ· ἔνθα καὶ ἰάσεις πολλαὶ γίνονται. ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Εὐψύχιος μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ θ', βασιλεύοντος Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ἡγεμονεύοντος Σαπρικίου Καππαδοκάρχου, καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς δὲ βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ᾽ οὗ τῷ πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑξῆς καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Ottoman Diplomacy and the Danube Frontier (1420-1424)

ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU

This article proposes to re-examine the writings of Ghillebert de Lannoy which help us understand Mehmed I's policy regarding Southeast Europe and shed light on the Ottoman civil wars that erupted after the sultan's death and in the early years of Murad II's reign.

Ghillebert de Lannoy[1] was councilor of the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good. When the Hundred Years' War came to a temporary halt in May 1420, he was entrusted with a special mission by the king of England Henry V, by the king of France Charles VI and by the duke of Burgundy to inform the East European rulers of the willingness of the sovereigns he was representing to participate in a crusade against the infidel. He was also to visit the sultan Mehmed I and offer him a golden clock, present of the king of England.[2] De Lannoy began his tour from Sluis in May 1421.[3] Travelling by land, he visited the courts of King Vladislav V of Poland, Grand Duke Vitold of Lithuania, and the Moldavian voyvoda Alexander the Good. In the winter of 1421-1422 he was in Constantinople, where he was received by the Byzantine emperor Manuel II, and his son, John VIII, then junior emperor. Mehmed I's

[1] Ch. Potvin, *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy, voyageur, diplomate et moraliste* (Louvain, 1878). On Ghillebert de Lannoy, see mainly N. Jorga, *Les voyageurs français dans l'Orient européen* (Paris, 1928), pp. 15-16; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, ed. Maria Holban, vol. 1 (Bucarest, 1968), pp. 43-52; R. Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk* (Nieuwkoop, 1967), pp. 94, 99-100, 138. A general survey of de Lannoy's mission to Southeast Europe and the Levant has been presented by Maria Holban, "Du caractère de l'ambassade de Guillebert de Lannoy dans le nord et le sud-est de l'Europe en 1421 et de quelques incidents de son voyage," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 5 (1967): 419-34; the author thinks that de Lannoy's information is thoroughly confused, and concludes with the remark, "l'incohérence ne peut aller plus loin"; I, on the contrary, find de Lannoy's information, at least that regarding the Ottomans, very accurate.

[2] Potvin, *Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 67. This was an early attempt at Anglo-Ottoman relations, which were firmly established in the second half of the sixteenth century; see Susan A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (London, 1977).

[3] Potvin, *Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 51; cf. also the safe-conduct given to de Lannoy by Henry V: J. Caro, "Liber Cancellariae Stanislai Ciołek," *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 45 (1871): 403-404.

death prevented de Lannoy from accomplishing the last part of his mission. Considering the emissary's personality and the nature of his mission, the information which de Lannoy collected in the courts of Southeast Europe can be regarded as trustworthy.

After ten years of disruptive civil war following the battle of Ankara (July 1402), the Ottoman state was restored by Mehmed I in the summer of 1413. The young sultan knew that the unity which he imposed was fragile and for this reason he adopted a policy of peace towards the Christian rulers of Romania and of the Balkans. His intention was facilitated by the hostility prevailing among his main enemies. Venice and the king of Hungary, Sigismund, were in dispute over the Dalmatian coast; although a five-year armistice was made in 1413, relations between the two parties remained hostile. The Byzantine emperor, deeply concerned about the conflict between Venice and Sigismund, wished to maintain good relations with the Ottomans. Having ensured peace with his European enemies, Mehmed I consolidated his position in Anatolia by defeating the emir of Karaman and by putting a temporary end to the separatist movement of Djunayd, Lord of Smyrna. Feeling more confident, the sultan then turned his attention to the vulnerable frontier of Bosnia, the region disputed between the Ottomans and Sigismund of Hungary.[4]

The Ottomans' enemies, both Christians and Turks, soon tried to divide them once again. Contacts between the Turkish and the Christian side were established, and in 1416 the emir of Karaman, the Venetians, and, above all, the voyvoda of Wallachia, Mircea, supported a pretender to the Ottoman throne, Bayezid I's son "Düzme" Mustafa, who was also favored by the emperor of Constantinople. Mustafa's campaign from Wallachia, made with the support of Djunayd, recently appointed by the sultan *uç begi* at Nikopolis, and combined with the social revolt of the sheyh Bedreddin, posed a serious threat to Mehmed I, but one which was soon dispelled. Defeated near Thessalonica, Mustafa and Djunayd were compelled to take refuge with the Byzantines while the revolt was ruthlessly crushed; meantime, however, the Venetians profited from the

[4] *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Mehmed I" by I. H. Uzunçarşılı; G. Beckmann, *Der Kampf Kaiser Sigmunds gegen die werdende Weltmacht der Osmanen, 1392-1437* (Gotha, 1902), pp. 72-83; J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), p. 288ff.; P. Wittek, "Das Fürstentum Mentesche," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 2 (1934): 97-98; F. Szakály, "Phases of Turco-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács (1365-1526)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33, no. 1 (1979): 79.

situation by destroying the Ottoman fleet at Kallipolis at the end of May 1416.[5]

After these events the sultan radically revised his former policy of peace towards the Christians. In 1417 he launched a large-scale punitive campaign against the Wallachian territories and reduced the voyvoda Mircea to the status of a tribute-paying vassal.[6] On the other hand, he tried to re-establish relations with Venice and a quick exchange of embassies took place in the spring of 1417.[7] Peace was not concluded, however, and the Ottomans launched raids on Venetian territories in Albania that resulted in a most positive success—the conquest of the strategically important port of Avlona at the narrow entrance of the Adriatic in June 1417.[8] In 1418 negotiations between Venice and the Ottomans were resumed. In this year the armistice with Sigismund of Hungary expired and perhaps with the resumption of the war, the Venetians were more willing to reach an agreement with the sultan; they finally concluded a treaty with him in November 1419.[9]

After this treaty the sultan was free to focus his attention on the great power of the Balkans, King Sigismund's Hungary, which constituted a real menace to the Ottomans in Europe. Sigismund maintained friendly relations with the Byzantine emperor. The latter openly considered the conflict between the Hungarian king and Venice as an obstacle preventing any effective action against the Ottomans, and he repeatedly made the offer to mediate with Sigismund to the Venetian Senate.[10] The king of Hungary was certainly an ally on whom the Byzantines could count, for he was the leader of a strong anti-Ottoman block in Southeast Europe. He controlled Serbia and he exercised considerable authority in

[5] G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, vol. 8, nos. 2007, 2014, 2016; J. Radonić, *Acta et Diplomata Ragusina*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Belgrade, 1934), no. 130; C. Manfroni, "La battaglia di Gallipoli e la politica Veneto-turca," *Ateneo Veneto* 25, no. 2 (1902): 3-34 and 129-69; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 340-43; E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht—Die Osmanen* (Leipzig, 1978³), pp. 217-33. On the contacts between the Christian and Muslim enemies of the Ottomans, see also W. von Stromer, "Eine Botschaft des Turkmenenfürsten Qara-Yuluq an König Sigismund," *Jahrbuch für Fränkische Landesforschung* 22 (1962): 433-41. On Mustafa, cf. also V. L. Ménage, *Neshri's History of the Ottomans* (London, 1964), p. 17.

[6] P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1977), p. 405-406.

[7] Valentini, *Acta Albaniae*, vol. 8, nos. 2123, 2161, 2168; C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1880), p. 67.

[8] K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 404.

[9] [G. M. Thomas-R. Predelli], *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1894), pp. 318-319; cf. Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 337 and fn. 72.

[10] Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 332-35.

Bosnia. He was, on the whole, the protector of Mircea, the strong voyvoda of Wallachia. In March 1412 at Lublau Sigismund concluded a treaty of alliance with King Vladislav V of Poland, who was already the suzerain of the voyvoda of Moldavia; Grand Duke Vitold of Lithuania acceded to this treaty one month later. By its terms the three allies assumed control of Wallachia and, more importantly, of Moldavia, thus extending their control to the shores of the Black Sea, where the Moldavian voyvoda, Alexander the Good, possessed the important ports of Kilia (Kellion) and Akkerman (Asprokastron, Citatea Alba, Bilhorod).[11] This alliance strengthened Sigismund's position in regards to Mehmed I. In 1415, when the Ottomans menaced Bosnia, Vladislav and Vitold sent an embassy to Mehmed I and another to the latter's ally, the voyvoda Herwoja of Bosnia, declaring that they were ready to confront any Ottoman aggression on Sigismund's territories.[12] Despite this warning the sultan dispatched new forces to Bosnia, but he was compelled to command them to withdraw and fight Mustafa's troops near Thessalonica at the end of 1416.[13] After Mustafa's defeat the Ottomans attacked Sigismund's territories again in 1418 and, presumably as a response, Sigismund organized a campaign and defeated an Ottoman army near Nikopolis before October 1419.[14]

In 1420 circumstances favored Mehmed I: he had just ensured peace with the Venetians and disorder prevailed in Wallachia, where after the death of Mircea (17. I. 1419), wars of succession erupted among his sons.[15] On the other hand, the Ottomans' enemies had made new efforts

[11] C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, vol. 2 (Gotha, 1918), p. 140ff.; N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité Orientale*, vol. 3 (Bucarest, 1937), pp. 328-406. On the Black Sea policy of Sigismund, see W. von Stromer, "Die Schwarzmeer- und Levante-Politik Sigismunds von Luxemburg," *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge de Rome* 44 (1974 = Miscellanea Charles Verlinden): 601-611; Ş. Papacostea, "Kilia et la politique orientale de Sigismond de Luxemburg," *Revue Roumaine d'histoire* 15 (1976): 421-36; S. Paul Pach, "La route du poivre vers la Hongrie médiévale. Contribution à l'histoire du commerce méditerranéen au XV^e siècle," in *Mélanges F. Braudel* (Paris, 1973), pp. 449-458; cf. also Z. Spieralski, "Die Jagiellonische Verbundenheit bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 41 (1980): 51-83.

[12] A. Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae, 1376-1430*, Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia, 6 (Cracow, 1882), pp. 332-333.

[13] Radonić, *Acta*, nos. 120, 130.

[14] Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, p. 433; there were rumours, reflecting the situation in Europe, that these Ottoman raids had the aid of the Venetians. W. Altmann, *Die Urkunden (Regesten) Kaiser Siegmunds*, vols. 1-2 (Innsbruck, 1896-1900), nos. 3914, 3916, 3926a.

[15] N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 1 (Gotha, 1908), pp. 389-391; on Mircea's death, see Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 2: 409.

to unite at the beginning of the year. In January 1420, two Byzantine ambassadors were in Venice. The Byzantine emperor renewed his offer to mediate with Sigismund, and one of the ambassadors, Manuel Philanthropenos, was to visit the king of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the grand duke of Lithuania.[16] Perhaps disquieted by these movements, Mehmed initiated military action and early in 1420 the Ottomans raided Rumanian territories.[17] Vladislav V, the king of Poland, informed Sigismund that the Turks had conquered the Transalpine territories, compelled their rulers to make obeisance to them, imposed tribute, and left garrisons there; and that then their fleet had sailed to the Black Sea, where they had invaded Akkerman; that the Moldavian voyvoda had appealed for help to Vladislav and Vitold and that both had dispatched an army.[18] In August Sigismund acknowledged that he had received Vladislav's information; by this time Kilia had also been conquered by the Ottomans.[19]

It is doubtful whether the troops of Vladislav and Vitold ever confronted Mehmed's forces. Nothing is known about the final outcome of this important campaign that ruined Sigismund's plans regarding the Black Sea. The Ottomans seemed to have aimed at permanent effects by imposing obeisance and by extracting tribute. The two ports of the Black

[16] Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 337-38; on Philanthropenos's mission, see also O. Halecki, "La Pologne et l'empire byzantin," *Byzantion* 7 (1932): 41-67.

[17] G. Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 4 (Hermannstadt, 1937), p. 121; cf. idem, "Die Türkeneinfälle in Siebenbürgen bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 2 (1937): 397-398.

[18] Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, pp. 486-88: "Terras transalpinas furori referti intraverunt ... ipsas ... sibi subegerunt et omagiis fidelitatis ... tributa et dacias graves receperunt ac deinde sub tuicione suorum presidiorum derelictis, ad terras Valachie Minoris cum ingenti classe navigantes per maria descenderunt et quoddam castrum Balohrod ... vallaverunt impugnacionibus illud invadentes." Although the document is not dated, it was evidently written before August 1420. Cf. also Caro, *Liber Cancellariae*, pp. 390-92. V. Pervain, "Lupta antiotomană a țarilor române în anil 1419-1420," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Archeologie Cluj-Napoca* 19 (1976): 74, writes that the Turkish attack was not made by sea because the Ottomans did not possess a fleet then. Nevertheless, Vladislav's letter is very clear, and undoubtedly the king of Poland had received his information from the voyvoda of Moldavia, who knew the course of the operations perfectly.

[19] Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, pp. 491-492; Altmann, *Die Urkunden*, no. 4241; N. Iorga, *Studiĭ istorice asupra Chilieĭ și Cetățiĭ-Albe* (Bucarest, 1899), pp. 80-81; Papacostea, *Kilia et la politique orientale*, p. 428, fn. 22; the addition "Feind" to the text of the document quoted by Papacostea is unnecessary; *Cristi* stands for *Kyritzes* — that is, the usual name given by the Christians to Mehmed I — which in the documents appears in the forms *Christen*, *Crissia*, etc.; see Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, pp. 332-33; Radonić, *Acta*, 1: 226, etc.; On *Kyritzes*, see P. Wittek, "Der 'Beiname' des Osmanischen Sultans Mehemmed I," *Eretz-Israel* 7 (1963 = L. A. Mayer Memorial Volume): 144*-153*.

Sea, Akkerman and Kilia, appear a little later as possessions of Rumanian rulers, the former once again of the Moldavian Alexander and the latter of the Wallachian Radu, nicknamed the Praznaglava.[20] However, the Ottomans did not just simply evacuate the territories that they conquered, but apparently they came to terms with the king of Poland, with the latter's vassal, the Moldavian voyvoda, and perhaps with the grand duke of Lithuania.

Ghillebert de Lannoy helps us reconstruct the course of events. When he visited the King of Poland in the summer of 1421, he was given letters of recommendation to the sultan, with whom Vladislav V "estoit alyez contre le roy de Hongrie." A little later, de Lannoy visited the grand duke of Lithuania, who was "alliez avecq le roy de Poulane et avecq les Tartres[21] contre le roy de Hongrie." Finally, when he visited Akkerman, de Lannoy described it as belonging to Alexander of Moldavia, but added that Vitold had erected a fortress near this port "par force," that is, presumably against the will of the voyvoda.[22]

It is known that Vladislav had been displeased with Sigismund of Hungary. Early in 1420, when a Reichstag had been summoned at Breslau to consider questions of arbitration between the king of Poland and the Teutonic Order, Sigismund made a decision favoring the knights.[23] However, the alliance between the two monarchs remained valid, as is evident from documents reporting their contacts when the Ottomans invaded the Rumanian lands. It seems to have been broken only after the Ottoman invasion. Probably the king of Poland was then compelled to conclude a treaty with the Ottomans so that his vassal, Alexander of Moldavia, could recuperate his territories. But this treaty was directed against Sigismund, who, due to Mehmed's diplomatic maneuvers, seems to have been isolated from his Southeast European allies for a time. If one considers the Ottoman methods of conquest of that period,[24] it seems likely that Alexander of Moldavia retained

[20] Papacostea, *Kilia et la politique orientale*, p. 428.

[21] The Khanate of the Golden Horde in the Crimea. On the relations between the grand duke of Lithuania and the Tatars of the Crimea, see O. Halecki in *The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski (to 1696)* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 225; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 144-59; cf. also G. G. Musso, "Russi e Genovesi nel Levante nel Quattrocento," *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* 25 (1965): 230.

[22] Potvin, *Ghillebert de Lannoy*, pp. 53, 56, 59, 60.

[23] Halecki, *La Pologne et l'empire byzantin*, p. 56.

[24] H. Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 103-129. When the Moldavians became tribute-paying vassals of the Ottoman sultan for the first

control of his territories (except Kilia) by becoming a tribute-paying vassal of the sultan. As an ally of the king of Poland Vitold retained his feudal rights in Moldavia, but he was dragged into the alliance against Sigismund. Finally the sultan seems to have detached the port of Kilia from the Moldavian voyvoda and to have granted it to the Wallachian Radu, well-known later for his pro-Ottoman and anti-Hungarian policy. The documents substantiating these agreements among the Ottomans, the Moldavians, and the Poles have apparently not survived because they soon became void, due to the events that followed. Anyhow, in the summer of 1421 Sigismund knew that Vladislav had concluded a secret treaty with the sultan[25] and that Vitold had turned against him.[26]

The death of Mehmed I (May 1421)[27] was immediately followed by civil wars, as noted both in an Ottoman chronicle known as the Annals of Murad II and in the writings of Ghillebert de Lannoy. According to the Annals, Murad II fought against his brothers in the year of his accession to the throne (A.H. 824 = January 1421 - December 1421).[28] De Lannoy was informed about Mehmed's death by the king of Poland, who knew that "toute la Turquie estoit en guerre," and he learned more when he visited Alexander the Good: civil wars were going on in Anatolia and in Europe, "tant au costé devers Grèce comme oultre le

time remains unresolved; see M. Guboğlu, "Le tribut payé par les principautés roumaines à la Porte jusqu'au début du XVI^{e} siècle d'après les sources turques," *Revue des études islamiques* 37 (1969): 49-80. The problem perhaps lies in that after the Ottomans imposed tribute upon the Moldavian voyvoda, he was able to avoid it several times.

25 Altmann, *Die Urkunden*, no. 4602.

26 Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, p. 523.

27 Mehmed I apparently died on 21 May 1421: Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 2: 412. The Ottoman authorities kept the sultan's death secret for more than a month: Ducas, *Historia Turcobyzantina (1341-1462)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucarest, 1958), pp. 165-69; Sphrantzes, *Memorii (1401-1477)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucarest, 1966), pp. 10-12; cf. *Kitâb-i Cihan-nümâ Neşrī Tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, vol. 2 (Ankara, 1957), pp. 550-55. Hence the sources give rise to confusion about the exact date of Mehmed's death. Sigismund wrote that the sultan died on the first of June: Altmann, *Die Urkunden*, no. 4578.

28 V. L. Ménage, "The 'Annals of Murad II,'" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): 573-74; these brothers were certainly not the young Mustafa or Murad's uncle, Mustafa, as both are mentioned separately in the subsequent entries of this text for the years 1422 and 1423. Neşrī, *Tarihi*, 2: 554-55, reports that when Mehmed I died, he left four sons — Murad, Mustafa, Yusuf, and Mahmud; although he adds that the last two died of plague in Proussa, his information seems to be wrong. Another pretender to the Ottoman throne, a grandson of Murad I, took refuge with King Sigismund; see F. Babinger, "Dâwud-čelebi, ein osmanischer Thronwerber des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Südost-Forschungen* 16 (1957): 297-311. A son of one of Murad's brothers, Savdji, was in Constantinople around 1444: *Anchiennes cronicques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Wawrin*, ed. Dupont, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), p. 100.

bras Saint-George, devers la Turquie," because three "seigneurs" aspired to the Ottoman throne. Due to this situation, de Lannoy could not cross the Danube and journey on to Constantinople by land; instead he went to Kaffa, where he caught a Venetian boat and reached the Byzantine capital.[29]

When de Lannoy arrived at Constantinople, a new Ottoman civil war was going on. Murad II had emerged victorious from the strife against the other "seigneurs" (presumably his brothers) but the Byzantines, probably encouraged by the recent turmoil among the Ottomans, had set against the new sultan the pretender "Düzme" Mustafa and Djunayd, both of whom had been their hostages since 1416, when they had taken refuge with the emperor. A treaty had been concluded between the Byzantine emperors, Manuel II and John VIII, and Mustafa late in the summer of 1421. The Byzantines offered military help to the pretender, who in exchange was obliged to surrender territories in the region of Chalkidike, on the Black Sea, and, more important still, the fortress of Kallipolis.[30] De Lannoy gives additional information concerning this treaty. Mustafa vowed to surrender not only Kallipolis, but also his fleet to the Byzantines; he also promised never to cross to Anatolia, but to settle in Rumili and fight Murad from there.[31] The Byzantines' purpose was therefore clear: the state of Mustafa that they had fostered would prevent Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, while a state under Murad II, based exclusively in Anatolia, would be rendered powerless, since Timur's son, Shahrukh, still exercised considerable authority over the Ottomans and offered protection to the emir of Karaman, who strongly opposed Ottoman supremacy in Asia Minor.[32]

The Byzantine plans came to nothing. The Genoese podestà of Phocaea, Adorno, put his fleet at the disposal of Murad II, who, in the autumn of 1421, began to prepare a campaign against Mustafa. At Djunayd's instigation, Mustafa attempted, late in January 1422, an ill-fated campaign in Anatolia to prevent Murad's crossing.[33] The

[29] Potvin, *Ghillebert de Lannoy*, pp. 53-54, 59, 61-65.

[30] On these events, see Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 357-58; cf. Ducas, ed. Grecu, p. 181; on the date, cf. also E. Mioni, "Una inedita cronaca bizantina (dal Marc. gr. 595)," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 1 (1981 = Miscellanea A. Pertusi): 76.

[31] Potvin, *Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 66.

[32] H. Inalcık, "Byzantium and the Origins of the Crisis of 1444 under the Light of Turkish Sources," in *Actes du XII^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 159-60; cf. idem, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age* (New York, 1973) p. 18; idem, "Murad II," in *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*.

[33] Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 359.

pretender's army reached Lopadion and encamped on the north shore of Lake Apolloniatis, while the sultan's army was encamped on the south shore; the situation became a standoff.[34] De Lannoy's reports on this phase of the operations show that he was well informed. Emperor Manuel II prevented de Lannoy from crossing to Asia Minor, where presumably he would have fought on the pretender's side. Afterwards de Lannoy left on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and his narrative regarding the Ottomans and the Byzantines ceased.[35]

At Lopadion Mustafa was deserted by Djunayd, who marched to the region of Smyrna where he made his last and fatal effort to establish his own state.[36] Mustafa returned to Rumili; persecuted by Murad, he was finally put to death early in 1422. After having disposed of this pretender, the sultan resided for a time in Adrianople and a little later began a fruitless siege of the Byzantine capital (June-September 1422).[37] The Byzantines recruited another Ottoman pretender, Murad's younger brother Mustafa, who led a revolt in the regions of Nicaea and Nikomedeia. Perhaps this uprising compelled Murad to give up the siege of Constantinople; in any case, it was rapidly put to an end and early in 1423 young Mustafa was put to death.[38] The Byzantine state was still endangered by Ottoman attacks in the Morea, where the Ottomans destroyed the fortifications of Examilion (May 1423) and exercised such pressure on Thessalonica that the despot Andronikos, unable to defend the city, surrendered it to the Venetians (September 1423). These circumstances caused the junior emperor John VIII to leave for Venice in November 1423, seeking help. He offered mediation with Sigismund to the Venetian Senate, and he visited Sigismund. Soon after his departure, the sultan proceeded to conclude a treaty with Emperor Manuel II, in

[34] These events are reported in detail by Ducas, ed. Grecu, p. 213-21, who, being in the service of Adorno, was also a close observer; see G. Moravscik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. I (Berlin, 1958), p. 247. Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 359, fn. 106, writes that Ducas ignores Mustafa's campaign in Anatolia, but this is a slip. The events are also related by Neşrī, *Tarihi*, 2: 559-63. On Lopadion, see W. M. Ramsay. *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), p. 160.

[35] Potvin, *Ghillebert de Lannoy*, pp. 66-67.

[36] In May 1422, Djunayd was established in Theologo and his fleet made raids against Chios and Lesbos: E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 171-73.

[37] In April 1422, Murad was in Adrianople: P. Wittek, "Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 59/60 (1963-64): 201-204. On the events, see Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 359-66.

[38] Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 367-69; on young Mustafa's revolt, cf. Ménage, *Annals*, p. 574; *rnkmwdn* or *er.nkumur* probably stands for *Iznikmüd* (Nikomedeia).

February 1424.[39] It was not only the prospective success of John VIII's journey which made the sultan come to terms with the Byzantines, but also the situation on the European frontier of the Ottoman state and the internal strife against Djunayd.

While Murad dealt with the abortive revolts of the pretenders in Thrace and Bithynia and retaliated against the Byzantines by attacking their territories, his father's policy regarding Southeast Europe fell apart. The king of Poland reverted to his alliance with Sigismund and the Wallachians tried to profit from the shaky position of the Ottoman state. Before October 1421, Vladislav V and the grand duke of Lithuania appealed to Sigismund for help against the Turks.[40] Early in 1423 the Wallachian voyvoda Dan II, supported by the Hungarians, attacked the Ottomans while Vladislav and Sigismund renewed their alliance. The sultan organized a campaign against the Wallachian voyvoda, but later concluded a treaty with him, most probably by the end of 1423.[41] Nothing precise is known about the Moldavians, but before May 1424 the Ottomans seemed to threaten Poland.[42]

Early in 1424, from his residence at Adrianople, Murad initiated diplomatic activity. He refused to come to terms with the Venetians, who had sent an ambassador, Niccolò Giorgio,[43] but he began negotiations with Sigismund and a two-year truce was concluded before June.[44] At this time Sigismund, who was absorbed by the Hussite movement and involved in conflicts with the German Electors,[45] needed peace with the sultan, who also needed peace to put down Djunayd's revolt. For this reason negotiations continued: Murad sent an ambassador whose stay in Sigismund's court perhaps coincided with John VIII's visit; finally,

[39] Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 369-379; on the treaty, see B. Ferjančić, "Notes de diplomatique byzantine," *Zbornik Radova* 10 (1967): 263. The Genoese podestà of Phocaea, Adorno, mediated with the sultan in the conclusion of the treaty: see N. Bănescu, "Archives d'état de Gênes," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 4 (1966): 581-82.

[40] Altmann, *Die Urkunden*, no. 4630; in the same year the Turks raided Transylvania; see J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. 1 (Hamburg, 1840), p. 534, fn. 1; cf. Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch*, p. 148.

[41] Halecki, in *The Cambridge History of Poland*, p. 223; Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains*, 4: 20; cf. Ménage, *The Annals*, p. 574, where the name of the voyvoda appears as "Durkula." The attack against Wallachia and the treaty are reported by Ducas, ed. Grecu, p. 239 (who adds that the voyvoda agreed to pay tribute) and by Neşrī, *Tarihi*, 2: 579, but without any clear chronological indication.

[42] Altmann, *Die Urkunden*, no. 6638.

[43] F. Thiriet, *Regestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, vol. 2 (Paris and The Hague, 1959), nos. 1929, 1934.

[44] Altmann, *Die Urkunden*, no. 5885a.

[45] R. G. D. Laffan, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 8: *The Close of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 126-31.

a treaty of peace between the sultan and the king of Hungary was concluded shortly before 25 November 1424.[46]

The only serious problem still before the sultan was Djunayd's revolt, which took on a new dimension as another Ottoman pretender appeared on the scene— "Düzme" Mustafa's seventeen-year-old son who resided in Thessalonica. In May and June 1424, Djunayd, who had moved his headquarters to Hypsele, corresponded with the Venetians about a future revolt against Murad.[47] In April 1425, the Venetian Senate gave instructions to the captain general Fantino Michiel, who was ready to sail to Romania; he was to take the Ottoman pretender from Thessalonica and continue to Hypsele, where Djunayd was besieged, to liberate him and begin a new revolt against Murad.[48] The captain general reached the Aegean during the summer[49] and by September 3 the Senate was informed that he and the young pretender were in danger of falling into Ottoman hands. The senate abandoned all belligerent plans and began to favor negotiations with Murad.[50] Nothing more is heard about Djunayd, whose revolt was apparently crushed in the spring of 1425. The sultan was in Philippoupolis in July of that year.[51] According to the well-informed Ducas, Murad crossed to Asia Minor immediately after the pacification of the region of Smyrna, settling for a time in Theologo (Ephesos), where he received several ambassadors of the Christian rulers. Among them was Loukas Notaras, sent by the Byzantine emperor, and the ambassadors of the Wallachian Dan II and of the Serbian despot. Murad concluded treaties with all the ambassadors except the Venetian, Fantino Michiel, who was now instructed by the Senate to come to terms with the sultan.[52] These events must be placed in the autumn or winter of the year 1425, which was followed by the first, though short-lived, period of peace in Murad's reign.

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46 Caro, *Liber Cancellariae*, p. 423; Altmann, *Die Urkunden*, no. 6016.

47 Sathas, *Documents*, 1: 167-68; on Hypsele, see Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIIIe siècle," *Travaux et mémoires* 1 (1965): 68; cf. H. Akın, *Aydın oğulları tarihi hakkinda bir araştırma* (Ankara, 1968), p. 82.

48 Thiriet, *Regestes*, 2: no 1980.

49 Sathas, *Documents*, 3: 291-92; Thiriet, *Regestes*, 2: no. 2000.

50 Sathas, *Documents*, 1: 177; Thiriet, *Regestes*, 2: no. 2004.

51 C. Manfroni, "La marina veneziana alla difesa di Salonicco," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 20 (1910): 30; Wittek, "Zu einigen ... Urkunden," pp. 219-20.

52 Ducas, ed. Grecu, p. 245-47; Thiriet, *Regestes*, 2: nos. 2006, 2007; Sathas, *Documents*, 1: 178.

Un témoignage inaperçu, relatif à la diffusion de l'idéologie politique byzantine dans le milieu slave, au 9e siècle

BOHUMILA ZÁSTĚROVÁ

Jusqu'à présent, les ouvrages scientifiques n'ont examiné qu'exceptionellement les éléments de l'idéologie politique byzantine qui apparaissent dans les œuvres littéraires vieilles-slaves originaires de la Grande-Moravie. Les savants qui ont abordé cet aspect particulier[1] se sont bornés à analyser uniquement les mentions que les biographes de Constantin et de Méthode font de l'empereur byzantin. Ils ont constaté que ces mentions contiennent des éléments de l'idéologie impériale byzantine, ils ont étudié les rapports de ceux-ci au legs antique et analysé la conception byzantine du pouvoir du souverain et l'initiative des empereurs dans la grande œuvre missionnaire de Byzance au 9e siècle. Cependant, un fait semble avoir, jusqu'à l'heure actuelle, échappé à l'attention des spécialistes: c'est que, à une époque antérieure de plusieurs années, un document littéraire était né en Moravie, qui donne une interprétation fort intéressante de la conception byzantine de la justice et du pouvoir du souverain.[2]

Ce texte était auparavant connu sous le nom de l'*Homélie Anonyme* du manuscript de Cloz (ci-après *HA*). Il est conservé dans un recueil écrit en alphabet glagolithique et dénommé Glagolita Clozianus qui appartient au groupe de fort anciens documents vieux-slaves, datés du 11e siècle. Le

[1] M. V. Anastos, «Political Theory in the Lives of the Slavic Saints Constantine and Methodius», *Harvard Slavic Studies* 51 (1954): 12-38; P. Christou, «The Missionary Task of the Byzantine Emperor», *Byzantina* 3 (1971): 279.

[2] J'ai, une première fois, attiré l'attention sur ce fait, dans mon étude intitulée «Über zwei grossmährische Rechtsdenkmäler byzantinischen Urpsrungs», *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, herausgegeben von V. Vavřinek (Prague, 1978), pp. 366-67, pour aborder ensuite le problème plus amplement, dans ma communication, «Au sujet du rayonnement du droit byzantin en Grande-Moravie», *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten* II/2 (= JÖB 32/2) (Wien, 1982): 313-319. La présente étude est une version approfondie de cette communication.

manuscrit, dont il ne reste qu'une partie, comprend 12 feuilles déposées à la bibliothèque du Museo Civico de Trente et 2 feuilles au Musée du Ferdinandeum à Innsbruck.[3] À côté de *HA* dont le début est mutilé par suite de la perte de plusieurs feuilles précédentes, le codex comprend deux sermons de Jean Chrysostome, une homélie attribuée à Athanase et le début d'un sermon d'Épiphane. Par leur contenu, toutes ces oraisons sont rattachées aux différents jours de la Semaine Sainte.[4] A l'exception de *HA*, il s'agit en somme de traductions, en langue vieille-slave, d'homélies des Pères de l'Église d'Orient. *HA* s'en distingue par le fait qu'on n'a pas découvert l'original grec de son texte,[5] et que, par son contenu consacré aux problèmes juridiques, le document accuse son appartenance à une époque considérablement plus récente. V. Vondrák attribuait d'abord cet ouvrage à Clément de Bulgarie[6] mais, dans une de ses formulations postérieures, il en parle comme d'un document anonyme.[7] Dans les années trente, R. Nahtigal, se basant sur une analyse linguistique, s'est efforcé de faire remonter le document à l'époque cyrillo-méthodienne. Il a constaté en même temps que son contenu ne saurait être compris que dans le contexte du milieu historique vieux-morave.[8]

[3] L'édition la plus récente du document est due à A. Dostál, *Clozianus codex palaeoslovenicus glagoliticus, Tridentinus et Oenipontanus* (Prague, 1959). Dans l'introduction, il cite, avec une évaluation critique, les précédentes éditions du texte (p. 7s.).

[4] Le sujet de la première homélie de Jean Chrysostome est relatif à l'entrée de Jésus à Jérusalem, la deuxième homélie du même auteur étant consacrée à une réflexion sur la trahison de Judas. L'oraison attribuée à Athanase a trait à la Passion, à la mise au tombeau et à la résurrection du Christ; l'homélie, attribuée à Épiphane, traite de la trahison de Judas. A. Vaillant, «Une homélie de Méthode», *Revue des études slaves* 23 (1947): 44-45, rattache *HA* au Mardi Saint avec référence à Mat. 24,36 - 26,2 «qui contient les paraboles du serviteur fidèle et des talents, et c'est justement par le verset Mat. 25,21 qu'elle se termine». J. Vašica, «Právní odkaz cyrilometodějský», *Slavia* 32 (1963): 338 et Ch. K. Papastathis, Τὸ νομοθετικὸν ἔργον τῆς κιριλλομεθοδιανῆς *ἱεραποστολῆς ἐν Μεγάλῃ Μοραβίᾳ* (Thessalonique, 1978), pp. 86 et 140, rattachent *HA* au Jeudi Saint, "car, dans l'Église d'Occident, les peines canoniques imposées aux fidèles étaient révoquées publiquement dans l'église-même, le Jeudi Saint».

[5] Les savants de l'époque précédente supposaient que *HA* aurait été traduite du grec, à l'instar des autres homélies du Clozianus. Encore A. Vaillant s'en tenait à cette hypothèse "Une homélie», p. 40. Par contre, V. Vondrák, «Studie z oboru církevněslovanského písemnictví», *Rozpr. Čes. akad.* (Prague), 3/2 (1903): 117-23, estime qu'il s'agit d'une œuvre originale de la littérature vieille-slave. Cette opinion est communément partagée, au moment présent. Cf., p. ex. F. V. Mareš, «Die Anfänge des slavischen Schrifttums und die byzantinisch-griechische Literatur», *Cyrillomethodianum* 3 (1975): 7. Une attention particulière a été consacrée à ce problème; voir Papastathis (n. 4), pp. 37-42, rés. 135-137, où l'auteur conclut à l'originalité de *HA*.

[6] Vondrák, «Studie z oboru ... písemnictví».

[7] Id., *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1912), p. 26.

[8] R. Nahtigal, *Starocerkvenoslovanski študije* (Ljubljana, 1936), p. 59.

L'éclaircissement définitif de la genèse de *HA* a été donné, dans les années quarante de notre siècle, par F. Grivec[9] et A. Vaillant.[10] Indépendamment l'un de l'autre et par l'application de procédés différents, les deux auteurs ont abouti à la même conclusion, qui attribue l'ouvrage à l'archevêque morave Méthode. Leurs arguments se complètent à merveille.

Grivec part de l'exégèse effectuée jusqu'alors qui attestait le caractère archaïque du langage du recueil de Cloz, et conclut que les documents vieux-slaves du type du Clozianus, Codex Suprasliensis, ou de l'Homéliaire de Mihanović, doivent être rattachés au passage du 15[e] chapitre de la Vie de Méthode (ci-après *VM*), où il est dit expressément que Méthode avait traduit «otьčьskyję kъnigy».[11] Sous la notion de «otьčьskyję kъnigy» Grivec entendait un recueil mixte, comprenant homélies et Vies de saints. Il estimait que même le Clozianus comprenait, à l'origine, en dehors des homélies aussi des Vies de saints. R. Nahtigal soutient le point de vue selon lequel la notion de «otьčьskyję kъnigy» signifierait la plus ancienne collection d'homélies representée, p.ex., par le Clozianus.[12] L'examen de *HA* amena Grivec à la conclusion que Méthode était, selon toute vraisemblance, l'auteur même de ce petit ouvrage de rhétorique. A l'appui de son hypothèse il invoque la haute autorité morale du prédicateur, sa solide formation théologique et le vigoureux talent de rhéteur qui émanent du texte. Il considère comme inimaginable qu'un dignitaire ecclésiastique adressant, avec une telle souveraineté morale, ses leçons et réprimandes aux dirigeants de l'État grand-morave, eût pu occuper une fonction inférieure à celle de l'archevêque Méthode. Ainsi que Nahtigal l'avait fait auparavant, Grivec démontre que l'homélie ne saurait être rattachée au contexte historique bulgare ou byzantin, mais que, par son contenu, elle relève de l'ambiance de la Grande Moravie.[13]

Cette conclusion se vit corroborée par un nouvel argument, fourni par A. Vaillant. Ce dernier a en effet prouvé une correspondance directe

[9] F. Grivec, «Clozov-Kopitarev glagolit v slovenski književnosti in zgodovini», *Razprave* I, 5 (Ljubljana, 1943), où l'auteur publie une nouvelle édition de *HA* (pp. 353-57) et sa traduction en langue slovène (pp. 357-64). Un chapitre spécial est consacré à Méthode en tant qu'auteur de *HA* (pp. 364-76).

[10] Vaillant, «Une homélie», a également publié une nouvelle édition de *HA* (pp. 34-38) et sa traduction en français (pp. 38-40); sur sa conclusion au sujet de l'auteur de *HA*, v. p. 41.

[11] Grivec, «Clozov-Kopitarev glagolit», p. 351.

[12] R. Nahtigal, «Otьčьskyję kъnigy», *Razprave - Dissertationes* I, Cl. II: Philologia et litterae (Ljubljana, 1950), pp. 7-24.

[13] Grivec, «Clozov-Kopitarev glagolit», p. 365.

entre un des passages centraux de l'homélie, où le prédicateur condamne la conclusion de mariages entre partenaires liés par une parenté spirituelle,[14] et le 11e chapitre de *VM*,[15] décrivant la dispute de Méthode avec un membre de la suite princière et conseiller du prince Svatopluk, qui épousa sa commère. Vaillant suppose — très justement, nous semble-t-il, que cet événement suscita l'oraison de Méthode. Par contre, son opinion que l'accusation d'un coupable haut-placé était le but principal du prédicateur,[16] restreint à l'excès l'importance de l'homélie, car celle-ci constitue un document fondamental du programme juridique et politique que la mission byzantine s'efforçait de réaliser en Grande-Moravie.

En plus de la solution du problème de l'auteur de l'homélie, les deux savants nous ont fourni une précieuse contribution à un examen plus approfondi de plusieurs autres aspects du texte: A. Vaillant quant à la connaissance du caractère spécifique de la langue employée, et F. Grivec quant à la qualité du style. Ils sont, en outre, parvenus à identifier, dans la partie initiale endommagée un fragment de citation puisé dans le début du Livre de la Sagesse; de sorte qu'ils ont pu, ensuite, compléter le texte, par les mots qui manquaient et qui sont les suivants: "Aimez la justice, vous qui jugez la terre, ayez envers le Seigneur des pensées bonnes et dans la simplicité du cœur cherchez-le».[17]

Les deux auteurs ont également considéré le rôle du droit canonique dans l'œuvre de Méthode — problème auquel J. Vašica[18] a consacré une attention plus particulière. Cependant, ce n'est que tout récemment, que Ch. Papastathis a tourné résolument son attention vers les problèmes juridiques de l'homélie de Méthode et les rapports évidents de celle-ci avec le plus ancien code vieux-slave dit *Zakon sudnyj ljudem* (ci-après *ZSL*) et la traduction du *Nomocanon*, par Méthode. Papastathis compare les trois documents juridiques anciens et, dans la solution qu'il donne des problèmes du contenu et des rapports mutuels de ces documents attribue à l'oraison de Méthode une place de premier rang.[19]

Si l'oraison de Méthode a été ainsi analysée du point de vue de

[14] Ce problème est minutieusement analysé du point de vue juridique par J. Vašica, «Anonymní homilie rukopisu Clozova po stránce právní», *Slavia* 25 (1956): 231-32.

[15] Vie de Méthode, chap. XI, éd. Lavrov, *Materialy po vozniknovenii drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti*, Trudy slavjanskoj kommissii AN SSSR (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 75-76.

[16] «Ce n'est pas une homélie, c'est un réquisitoire, avec sommation au prince de faire appliquer la loi», écrit Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 42.

[17] Grivec, «Clozov-Kopitarev glagolit», p. 358; Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 38.

[18] J. Vašica, «Anonymní homilie», p. 221-33.

[19] Papastathis (n. 4), p. 134.

langage, de style, de son contenu juridique et des rapports historiques,[20] l'un de ses aspects les plus frappants a toutefois échappé, jusqu'à un temps peu éloigné, à l'attention des savants: à savoir le fait que l'oraison contient plusieurs éléments de l'idéologie politique byzantine pénétrant tout le texte, et conditionnant aussi la structure de sa composition. Pour exprimer cette idéologie, l'auteur se sert de certains clichés qui s'étaient formés depuis l'époque de Platon et d'Isocrate, à travers le déclin de l'antiquité et jusqu'aux phases postérieures de l'histoire byzantine pour se perpétuer, depuis Themistius, dans les discours impériaux ainsi que dans les prooimia des chartes et des recueils juridiques.[21] Au souverain grand-morave et aux princes-juges, auxquels étaient confiées l'administration du pays et la juridiction, l'archevêque Méthode essaie d'inculquer deux principes fondamentaux de la conception byzantine de l'Etat et du droit: l'idée de l'origine divine du pouvoir du souverain, et la conception de la justice, à la fois comme don et commandement de Dieu.[22] Dans ce sens, Méthode s'inspire, dans son oraison, du début du Livre de la Sagesse,[23] dont les paroles initiales ont été reconstituées par A. Vaillant et F. Grivec[24] comme suit: «Aimez la justice, vous qui jugez la terre ...». Après avoir ainsi présenté la justice comme l'une des principales vertus des souverains, il démontre, dans l'interprétation qui suit et qu'il puise dans l'introduction du *Nomos Mosaïkos*, son origine divine: «Le prophète Moïse se présentera, instruit par Dieu, et le premier qui parlait aux princes: Tu n'accueilleras pas, dit-il, le vain bruit ...».[25] Partant de cette citation, le prédicateur démontre ensuite le devoir des juges d'examiner patiemment les litiges se basant sur les dépositions dignes de foi des

[20] La littérature pertinente est citée surtout dans les ouvrages suivants: *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici.* IV: *Leges - Textus iuridici - Supplementa*, curaverunt D. Bartoňková, K. Haderka, L. Havlík, J. Ludovíkovský, J. Vašica, R. Večerka (Brno, 1971), pp. 199, 440-51, et Papastathis (n. 4), pp. 121-31.

[21] J. Scharf, «Jus divinum. Aspekte und Perspektiven einer byzantinischen Zweigewaltentheorie», in: *Polychronion* (Heidelberg, 1966), p. 465s.; H. Hunger, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (= *Wiener Byz. Studien*, 1) (Wien, 1964), p. 115.

[22] Une riche documentation relative aux éléments de l'idée byzantine impériale a été rassemblée surtout par F. Dölger, *Die Kaiserurkunde der Byzantiner als Ausdruck ihrer politischen Anschauungen*, réimprimé dans: *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), pp. 9-33; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell - Von oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*, vol. 2 (Darmstadt, 1956); H. Hunger, *Prooimion*; J. Scharf, "Jus divinum"; J. Karayannopoulos, «Der frühbyzantinische Kaiser», *BZ* 49 (1956): 369-84.

[23] Sap. I. 1-2.

[24] Voir ici, n. 17.

[25] Dostál, *Clozianus*, 1b 28-31, p. 127; Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 39.

témoins. Puis, il instruit ses auditeurs, utilisant à cette fin plusieurs exemples de l'Écriture Sainte, de l'obligation d'impartialité que sont tenus d'observer en justice «tous ceux qui» ont «reçu leur pouvoir de Dieu».[26] De son exposé, il découle également qu'en recevant de Dieu son pouvoir, le souverain assume des engagements qui, au sens de la conception byzantine, ont trait aux domaines juridique et politique en même temps qu'ecclésiastique.[27] Dans ce même contexte, le prédicateur accentue le caractère apostolique du pouvoir du souverain. Ce trait de la théologie chrétienne byzantine jouait, on le sait, un rôle important dans la politique de l'Empire, surtout au 9e siècle quand les missions byzantines, s'appuyant sur l'initiative et l'aide des empereurs, servaient à propager le christianisme orthodoxe dans un nombre croissant de nouveaux pays que, par là-même, elles incorporaient dans la communauté religieuse et culturelle de Byzance, en les attachant politiquement à l'Empire.[28] L'application du devoir du souverain, d'élargir la foi chrétienne devait avoir une importance particulière dans un pays qui, seulement quelques dizaines d'années auparavant, avait embrassé le christianisme comme religion d'État et où, ainsi que l'atteste la légende sur la Vie de Constantin, les coutumes et les idées païennes n'avaient guère disparu encore de la vie privée et publique.[29] L'importance que Méthode attribue à cette obligation du souverain envers Dieu et ses sujets, découle clairement de la formulation que voici: «C'est pourquoi tout prince est tenu sans ménagement pour (aucun de) tous ceux qui sont sous son autorité, à les exercer dans la sainte loi du Christ, des prophètes, des apôtres et des bienheureux Pères ...».[30] En harmonie avec cette obligation, les princes doivent veiller à ce que leurs sujets renoncent aux coutumes et aux serments païens et respectent les règles strictes de l'Église touchant le droit conjugal. Le discours sur ce thème, par son contenu et par sa forme rhétorique accentuée, occupe une place centrale dans la composition générale de l'homélie. Le prédicateur réprouve les mariages déjà mentionnés, conclus entre personnes spirituellement apparentées[31]

[26] Dostál, *Clozianus*, 1b 35, p. 127; Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 39.
[27] À propos du problème, cf. Dölger, *Die Kaiserurkunde*, p. 28; Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, p. 259.
[28] P. Christou, «The Missionary Task of the Byzantine Emperor», *Byzantina* 3 (1971): 279s.; cf. aussi D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453* (London 1974), p. 104.
[29] Vie de Constantin, chap. XV, éd. Lavrov, 29; cf. aussi Zástěrová, «Dvě velkomoravské památky», p. 371.
[30] Dostál, *Clozianus*, 2a 9-12; Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 39.
[31] Au sujet de ce problème voir Vašica, «Anonymní homilie», pp. 231-32.

et ensuite, la violation de la monogamie, l'adultère et toute infraction à l'indissolubilité du mariage. Dans l'explication qu'il donne du premier de ces méfaits, le prédicateur rappelle énergiquement la responsabilité des princes pour le maintien de l'ordre juridique,[32] responsabilité qui, au sens de l'idéologie politique byzantine, comptait parmi les devoirs que l'origine divine de leur pouvoir imposait aux souverains. Lorsque Méthode condamne ceux qui concluent des mariages avec leurs commères et leurs filleules du Saint Baptême, il dit: «Car tout cela, les saints conciles œcuméniques l'ont anathématisé; et aussi leurs princes, qui tolèrent tels ou tels désordres, et qui ne les instruisent pas, comme il convient, au jeûne approprié, ils les ont rejetés de la communauté».[33]

Aux princes-juges, l'archevêque enjoint catégoriquement non seulement de punir leurs sujets pour avoir violé leurs obligations religieuses et juridiques, mais aussi de respecter strictement eux-mêmes ces devoirs dans leur vie privée. «Qu'il n'y ait pas de prince qui, dominé par le Malin, se déclarant fidèle des lèvres, mais le cœur bien loin de Dieu, tente de ne pas observer quelqu'une de ces (prescriptions) écrites, du fait des ténèbres de la négligence, ou de quelque autre ignorance, ou de l'affection charnelle, et s'estime non passible de la condamnation au feu éternel, et, dans ce monde, de la colère de Dieu ...».[34]

Par tous ces ordres, Méthode tâche d'inculquer au prince grand-morave Svatopluk et à ses courtisans la conception byzantine du souverain chrétien, dont les vertus principales comprennent la justice (δικαιοσύνη) l'esprit judicieux et la maîtrise de soi (σωφροσύνη)[35] et dont les actes ne sauraient être exempts de philanthropie[36] — vertu qui interdit de faire du mal aux faibles. Revenant, à la fin de son oraison, à l'idée fondamentale de l'homélie, sur la justice, valeur suprême, Méthode clôt son sermon par la sentence du Pr. 14, 34 «La justice élève une nation, un peuple devient pauvre par les péchés et les injustices», par une citation modifiée de St. Paul «Qui nous séparera de l'amour de Dieu et de la

[32] Cf. Dölger, *Die Kaiserurkunde*, p. 27; Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, p. 258.

[33] Dostál, *Clozianus*, 2a 22-28, p. 134; Valliant, «Une homélie», p. 39.

[34] Dostál, *Clozianus*, 2b 27-34, p. 139; Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 40.

[35] Cf. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, p. 259; Hunger, *Prooimion*, p. 114.

[36] Pour la notion de philanthropie voir H. Hunger, «Philanthropia. Eine griechische Wortprägung auf ihrem Wege von Aischylos bis Theodoros Metochites» in: *Anzeiger phil.-hist. Klasse*, Österreichische Akad. d. Wiss. 1963, Nr. 100, pp. 1-20; id., *Prooimion*, p. 143s.; T. E. Gregory, «The Ecloga of Leo III and the Concept of 'Philanthropia'», *Byzantina* 7 (1975): 267-87.

Sainte Loi», pour formuler, dans une variation philosophique et stylistique originale, la conception du souverain chrétien en tant que prince «rendant assurées et saintes la fermeté de la loi, l'inviolabilité de la loi de Dieu et l'autorité qui en émane ...».[37]

De l'analyse du texte, on peut déduire les conclusions suivantes, concernant l'ouvrage, son auteur et les buts de la mission byzantine en Moravie:

1. L'homélie de Méthode présente une structure claire et systématique. La conception de la justice comme vertu principale des souverains auxquels le prédicateur destine son oraison, imprègne tout son exposé sur les questions du droit et de l'idéologie politique abordées dans l'oraison. Avant de terminer, il revient à cette idée centrale de son oraison et parachève sa composition par un éloge de la justice. Le texte de l'ouvrage de Méthode apparaît donc, quant à sa forme et à son contenu, comme une création littéraire très équilibrée. Etant donné le caractère incomplet du manuscrit, on peut naturellement se demander si l'homélie s'est conservée intégralement sous la forme dont on dispose, ou si le texte contenu dans le Clozianus faisait partie d'un sermon plus vaste de l'archevêque morave.

2. La richesse des pensées qui appartiennent aux idées fondamentales de l'idéologie d'État byzantin, la perfection stylistique avec laquelle elles sont exprimées, et la façon magistrale dont elles sont incorporées au texte, peuvent être considérées comme une preuve de plus, à l'appui de l'hypothèse qui attribue l'oraison à l'archevêque Méthode.

3. Du contenu et du ton de l'homélie, il découle que Méthode, au moment de remplir la fonction d'archevêque morave, a formulé le but final de l'œuvre pastorale que la mission byzantine devait poursuivre, et qui consistait à placer la juridiction et l'administration politique de la Grande Moravie sur les bases nouvelles de la conception byzantine du droit et du pouvoir du souverain. Comme l'idéologie politique byzantine était essentielle au christianisme d'Orient, la réalisation de ce but apparaissait comme l'achèvement de la christianisation, dans un pays nouvellement incorporé à la communauté religieuse et culturelle byzantine des États orthodoxes.

L'oraison de Méthode possède, cependant, un autre trait spécifique, particulièrement significatif pour l'ambiance culturelle de la Grande Moravie. Il s'agit des concordances frappantes de l'oraison, au point de vue idéologique et littéraire, avec le prooimion de l'*Eclogue* des empe-

[37] Dostál, *Clozianus*, 3a 3-16, p. 142; Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 40.

reurs byzantins Léon et Constantin. On vient de souligner déjà que ledit prooimion était l'une des sources dont s'inspirait l'école littéraire de la Grande Moravie. Un témoignage de ce fait nous est fourni, d'une manière tout à fait indépendante, par le passage de l'introduction à *VM*, où il est dit que Dieu, après avoir créé l'homme, lui donna «une intelligence raisonnable et le libre arbitre». Il est évident que cette idée avait été reprise de la première phrase de l'introduction à l'*Écloque*.[38] Le rapport étroit entre l'homélie de Méthode et le préambule de ce recueil de lois, est attesté surtout par le fait que l'idée centrale des deux textes exprime des principes sus-mentionnés de la théorie juridique et politique de Byzance: la conception de la justice et du pouvoir souverain, en tant que don de Dieu et, en même temps, en tant qu'obligation et tâche divines. C'est à cette idée que se rattache étroitement la conception d'après laquelle Dieu rémunère ou châtie, selon le mérite, tous les actes des hommes.[39] La comparaison que voici, des phrases initiales des deux textes, montre à quel point l'auteur de l'homélie s'est inspiré de sa source. Le prooimion de l'*Eclogue* commence par les mots suivants: «Le maître et créateur de toutes choses, notre Dieu, a créé l'homme et l'a orné de liberté, en lui donnant en aide la foi ... afin que, par elle il connaisse toutes choses qu'il doit faire et toutes celles qu'il ne doit pas faire, et de la sorte qu'il suive celles-là comme moyen de salut, et qu'il évite celles-ci, comme causes de souffrances».[40] Dans le même sens, Méthode formule le début de son oraison: «Si donc la parole de Dieu enjoint aux maîtres de la terre d'aimer la justice et (dit) encore: Le commencement de la bonne voie est de faire ce qui est juste, — car c'est par les actions justes que nous débutons dans la vie bienheureuse — voyons avec crainte ce que la loi de Dieu indique qui corrompt cette (vertu), et cela, fuyons-le comme plus brûlant que toute flamme et plus venimeux qu'une morsure venimeuse».[41]

Un thème commun aux deux documents juridiques est, de plus, l'exigence de l'impartialité en justice. Déjà les savants ont signalé que le passage pertinent de l'homélie dépend du Prooimion de l'*Eclogue*.[42]

[38] Vašica, «Anonymní homilie», p. 230. Traduction du passage de la *VM* en français par F. Dvorník, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (= Byzantinoslavica Supplementa, 1) (Prague, 1933), p. 382.

[39] Au sujet des idées principales dans le prooimion de l'*Eclogue*, voir Scharf, «Jus divinum», p. 465.

[40] J. et P. Zepos, *Ius Graeco-Romanum*, vol. 2 (Athènes, 1931), p. 12; traduction en français par C. A. Spulber, *L'Eclogue des Isauriens, Texte - traduction - histoire* (Černivci, 1929), p. 2.

[41] Dostál, *Clozianus*, 1b 22-28, p. 127; Vaillant, «Une homélie», pp. 38-9.

[42] Vašica, «Anonymní homilie», p. 230.

Dans le texte du prooimion, on lit: «Ceux-là cependant qui sont employés pour appliquer les lois, nous leur conseillons et à la fois leur ordonnons de se tenir loin de toutes les passions humaines et avec le jugement sain de donner des sentences de vraie justice et de ne pas mépriser le pauvre ...».[43] Pareillement, l'auteur de l'homélie rappelle avec insistance aux princes-juges, qu'ils «sont tenus à ne préférer à la loi de Dieu aucun des hommes qui sont sous leur autorité, ni frère, ni enfant, ni ami, ni personne d'autre ...» et, un peu plus loin, « ... tout prince est tenu ... à prescrire à tous journellement de ne pas léser quelque faible ...».[44]

Pour étayer l'hypothèse que l'auteur de l'homélie a eu recours à l'*Eclogue*, un autre témoignage indirect peut être cité. J. Vašica suggère que la citation de l'Exode 23.1., par laquelle Méthode ouvre son exposé sur l'importance des témoins et sur le principe de l'impartialité, a été puisée dans le début du Choix de la législation mosaïque.[45] Cette observation apparaît sous un jour nouveau, grâce aux recherches de L. Burgmann et de Sp. Troianos; ceux-ci ont en effet conclu que le *Nomos Mosaïkos* avait sans doute dès le 8^e^ siècle, formé souvent une partie des manuscrits de l'*Eclogue*.[46]

À la lumière des rapports qu'on a pu constater entre l'*Homélie* de Méthode et l'*Eclogue*, une importance plus profonde doit être attribuée au fait que l'oraison de Méthode est liée, ainsi que J. Vašica[47] l'a prouvé, par des accords remarquables de contenu et de terminologie, au plus ancien document juridique slave, *ZSL*, qui, à l'exception de trois articles, représente la traduction, en partie littérale, en partie modifiée, du 17^e^ titre de l'*Eclogue*.[48] Je me borne à souligner au moins l'identité des sujets

[43] *Ius Graeco-Romanum*, 2: 14; Spulber, *L'Eclogue*, p. 5.

[44] Dostál, *Clozianus* Ib 39-40 et 2a I, p. 127 et 131; Vaillant, «Une homélie», p. 39.

[45] *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, 4: 200, ann. 2. Le *Nomos Mosaïkos* fut très tôt traduit en slavon ecclésiatique et fut repris par la *Kormčaja kniga* imprimée, chap. 45. Papastathis émet l'hypothèse que la traduction du *Nomos Mosaïkos* avait été déjà faite en Grande Moravie et que son traducteur est l'auteur de l'homélie anonyme (op. cit., pp. 94, 141.).

[46] L. Burgmann et Sp. Troianos, «Nomos Mosaïkos», in: *Fontes Minores*, vol. 3 (= Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, 4), hrsg. von D. Simon (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1979), p. 134.

[47] J. Vašica, «Origine cyrillo-méthodienne du plus ancien code slave dit «Zakon sudnyj ljudem»», *ByzSlav* 12 (1951): 159s; id., «Anonymní homilie», pp. 221-33.

[48] L'édition la plus récente du *ZSL* est due à M. N. Tichomirov et L. V. Milov, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem kratkoj redakcii* (Moscou, 1961). Pour l'ensemble des problèmes relatifs au *ZSL*, y compris la question litigieuse concernant l'origine — grand-morave ou bulgare — de ce monument juridique voir *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, 4: 147-77, et V.

juridiques traités dans les deux documents. L'article 1 de *ZSL* fixe la peine pour les sacrifices et les serments païens; l'objet de l'article 2 est le devoir du prince-juge de ne point accepter de dénonciations sans témoins; l'article 7 prescrit la pénitence pour tout mariage entre personnes spirituellement apparentées; l'article 7a qui comprend les règles de procédure, souligne, en analogie avec l'homélie, l'obligation d'une enquête judiciaire soigneuse et patiente, et le principe de l'impartialité; l'article 30a concerne les motifs de la dissolution du mariage.[49] L'importance des témoins pour le procédé judiciaire est, une fois de plus, accentuée au chapitre final où le rapport entre *ZSL* et l'*Homélie* se révèle d'une façon particulièrement nette. Presque par les mêmes mots que dans la citation sus-mentionnée de l'oraison de Méthode, on y trouve souligné le devoir d'exercer journellement, «tous dans la loi de Dieu», ce qui rappelle aux princes-juges leur mission apostolique. Le texte de *ZSL* se termine ensuite par la citation relative à la recompense que recevront de Dieu les serviteurs fidèles (Mat. 25, 21) et ceci dans une formulation qui s'accorde presque littéralement avec le texte de l'oraison de Méthode.[50]

Ce rapport étroit des deux documents juridiques est accentué par la conclusion à laquelle a abouti la présente étude, conclusion selon laquelle la source de l'oraison de Méthode — aussi bien que de *ZSL* — est à chercher dans l'*Eclogue* des empereurs syriens. L'origine cyrillo-méthodienne de l'oraison de Méthode étant, à l'heure actuelle, pleinement reconnue, on peut considérer cette conclusion comme un autre argument en faveur de l'origine grande morave du plus ancien code slave.

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Procházka, «Le Zakon sudnyj ljudem et la Grande Moravie», *ByzSlav* 28 (1967): 359-75, et *ByzSlav* 29 (1968): 112-50. Les arguments avancés par les savants bulgares en faveur de la provenance bulgare du *ZSL* sont reproduits dans l'ouvrage de M. Andreev et D. Angelov, *Istoria na b''lgarskata d''ržava i pravo* (Sofia, 1959), pp. 26-30. Pour l'autre littérature relative à ce thème voir Zástĕrová, «Über zwei grossmährische Denkmäler», pp. 381-82, n. 12.

[49] Pour citer les différents articles du *ZSL*, nous suivons la numération de V. Ganev, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem. Pravno-istoričeski o pravno-analitični proučvanija* (Sofia, 1959).

[50] Cf. aussi *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, 4: 204, n. 11.